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IX

THE

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

VOLUME II

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH AMERICA

For the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX AND INDEX BY

ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
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GENERAL WOOLFE.

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AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS in NORTH-AMERICA,

FOR

The YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760:

CONTAINING

The Moſt REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES of that PERIOD;

PARTICULARLY

The Two SIEGES of QUEBEC, &c. &c.

THE

ORDERS of the ADMIRALS and GENERAL OFFICERS;

Deſcriptions of the Countries where the AUTHOR has ſerved, with their Forts and Garriſons; their Climates, Soil, Produce;

AND

A REGULAR DIARY of the WEATHER.

AS ALSO

Several MANIFESTO's, a MANDATE of the late BISHOP of CANADA;
The FRENCH ORDERS and DISPOSITION for the Defence of the Colony, &c. &c. &c.

BY

CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

VOL II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;

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M DCC LXIX.

AN

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH-AMERICA,

FOR THE YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, AND 1760, &c. &c.

THE reader will be pleased to remember I ended, in the preceding volume, the operations of the army before Quebec, on the 31st of July, upon their being repulsed in the attempt that was made on the enemy's intrenchments; in consequence of which, the General was pleased to issue out the following orders:

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The check, which the grenadiers met with yesterday, 1759. August. 1st.
"will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come;
"such *impetuous*, *irregular*, and *unsoldierlike* proceedings destroy
"all order, make it impossible for their Commanders to form
"any disposition for an attack, and put it out of the General's
"power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not sup-
"pose, that they alone could beat the French army, and
"therefore it was necessary, [2] that the corps under Brigadier
"Monckton and Brigadier Townshend should have time to
"join, that the attack might be general; the very first fire of

1759. August. "the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all "sense of order and military discipline; Amherst's and the "Highland regiments* alone, by the soldierlike and cool "manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beat "back the whole Canadian army, if they had ventured to "attack them. The loss, however, is inconsiderable, and may "be easily repaired, when a favourable opportunity offers, if "the men will shew a proper attention to their Officers. The "grenadiers of Louisbourg are to remain on the Isle of "Orleans till farther orders; Lieutenant-Colonel Murray is "to command in that island. The companies of grenadiers

* Major P. Æ. Irving[1] was at the head of Amherst's regiment; Colonel Fraser being confined by a wound he had a [*sic*] received before that day, I cannot recollect who was then at the head of his Highlanders: the reader may remember that these corps were commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and were part of his brigade from the Point de Levi.—*Note by author.*

[1] Paulus Æmilius Irving, son of William Irving, was born September 23, 1714, at Bonshaw, Dumfriesshire. He married the daughter of Captain William Westfield, of Dover. On June 20, 1753, he was appointed Captain of the 15th Regiment of Foot, and promoted to the rank of Major in the same regiment on September 19, 1758. He sailed from Portsmouth with his regiment, in February, 1759, to take part in the expedition to the St. Lawrence under Saunders and Wolfe. He took an active part in the unfortunate descent on Montmorency on July 31, and was wounded. At the battle of the Plains his regiment was at the extreme left of the line towards the rear, facing a part of Townshend's Brigade, and he was detached to protect the Côte Ste. Geneviève. After the capitulation of Quebec he was appointed Deputy Quartermaster-General by Murray. On January 15, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the 15th Regiment.

He remained in Quebec, and on August 13, 1764, took the oath of allegiance as a member of the first Council, composed of the Chief Justice and Messrs. Gregory, Irving, Cramahé, Walter Murray, Holland, Dunn, Francis Mounier, and Mabane. On August 27, 1764, he was given his commission as Lieutenant-Governor of the District of Montreal. About the time that his appointment was made, a letter was sent from England to Murray advising him that the Government did not approve of the system of creating Lieutenant-Governors. Murray made a strong plea for retaining the Offices in Montreal and Three Rivers, and Irving continued to hold his post. He was sworn in President of the Council and Administrator on June 20, 1766; but in the month of November following he was dismissed from office by Governor Carleton, as a result of being involved in the Walker affair. Later, Colonel Irving was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey under Amherst. He died on April 22, 1796.

COLONEL PAULUS ÆMILIUS IRVING

From "Old Quebec,"
by Sir Gilbert Parker and Claude G. Bryan

"of the battalions incamped at Montmorencie are to join 1759. August.
"their regiments, and those belonging to the regiments of
"Brigadier Monckton's corps are likewise to join their regi-
"ments; the Highlanders are to return to their camp, and
"Lawrence's grenadiers to join their regiment at Montmo-
"rencie. After this day the men are to begin work at six
"in the morning, except on particular occasions, and con-
"tinue till ten; then cease till two, or, perhaps, three
"o'clock, in case of excessive heat, and work till six or
"seven. The troops to receive provisions to-morrow, to the
"fifth inclusive, &c. &c."

Some of the enemy's boats attempted to pass down to the ruins of our late armed transports, but, receiving a very uncivil salute from the battery eastward of the fall, as also from the Point of Orleans, they were obliged to sheer off. Two soldiers of the forty-third regiment were wounded in their camp by accident. [3] A Serjeant has deserted this day from one of the regiments in the north camp, and has taken the company's orderly book with him.[1] Fine weather, after a heavy night of rain, thunder, and lightning. Wind fresh at W. S. W. Brisk firing on the town this evening.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"Every regiment and corps is to send a return to the 2d.
"Adjutant-General, the day after to-morrow, of their Officers,
"non-commissioned Officers, and private men that have been
"killed and wounded in the course of the campaign, to the
"last day of July inclusive, specifying, as far as they can
"learn, the day, or night, and place, where it happened, and

[1] The following order was issued in the French camp on August 2, calling for a return of the killed and wounded at Montmorency. From the particulars

1759. August. "on what occasion; for the time to come, reports of any loss "are to be made as soon as possible."

The enemy appear much elated at our miscarriage on the 31st *,—and have these two days hoisted several white flags on their intrenchments; they are now very assiduously employed, endeavouring to render their works still more inaccessible.

required, it would seem that the French Government intended to make provision for the families of the soldiers killed in action:

"Order of the 2nd to the 3rd.
"St. Thomas and Casal.
"Countersign: Toulouse and St. Thomas.
"Picket officers: M. Dalquier, M. Desperiers.
"Guards, defences and pass-words as usual.
"The Regiment of Languedoc will mount guard this evening to the left without its grenadier company. The three battalions not on duty will supply the customary posts.
"The majors will transmit to the chief of staff to-morrow morning, with the pass-words, a return of soldiers and militia killed and wounded, indicating the names of their families, the names of their parishes, and the names of their militia companies, those that are married and unmarried, and how many children they have.
"The La Sarre, Béarn and Trois Rivières regiments will have brought to their camp the gabions and fascines made long ago. Orders are [hereby] given to pay for all the tasks owing to the soldiers and militia men.
"The troops will be notified that the Intendant has fixed the price of the tools found in the English ships, to wit, iron-bound shovels three livres, iron shovels five livres, mattocks or picks four francs, axes six francs, and guns twenty francs. The majors are requested to see that those who have any, bring them in. They will give receipts for them on which they will be paid by the Intendant. The majors will give notice that all who have horses to be shod may send them between eight and eleven o'clock to-morrow morning." (*Canadian Archives: Campagne de* 1759–1760: *Ordres.*)

* Captain St. Felix, of the regiment de la Sarre,[1] told me, that his Generals had not, until that day, any great dependence on the prowess of the Canadians; for they intermixed them with their regulars, and gave the latter public orders to shoot any of them that should betray the least timidity: however they behaved with so much steadiness throughout the whole cannonading, and, upon the approach of our troops up the precipice, fired with such great regularity, that they merited the highest applause and confidence from their Superiors.—*Note by author.*

[1] The five regiments of the line under Montcalm at the battle of the Plains were La Sarre, created in 1655; Guienne, created in 1610; Béarn, created in 1595; Royal Rousillon, created in 1655; Languedoc, created in 1672. All

We bombarded the town with great spirit last night. The troops, on this side, begin to grow sickly, particularly the marines, who are therefore ordered to remove to the westward of the church, where they have room enough to render their camp more open and airy; the disorders prevailing among the men are fluxes and fevers, such as troops are usually subject to in the field. Admiral Holmes has sent down to acquaint the General, that several detachments of the enemy have crossed [4] from the north to this side of the river. A flag of truce came down in the evening. At night a number of Howitzers, that have been ranged for some time past in the front of the left of our camp, were drawn down to the Point and re-imbarked. A deserter from the enemy says, "that Monsieur

1759. August.

wore the usual small three-cornered hat trimmed with yellow, below which protruded their white queues. For the Regiments of La Sarre, Languedoc, and Royal Rousillon the regulation colour of collar and facings was blue. The vest was of red with white facings and yellow buttons. The Regiments of Béarn and Guienne had red facings. The coats were unlined but the vests had sleeves. All wore black stocks fastened behind the neck with a buckle. The regiment of La Sarre was commanded by M. de Senezergues.

We think that the author of this *Journal* is in error in referring to Captain Saint Félix as belonging to the Regiment of La Sarre, as the name does not appear in the lists of the officers of that regiment for 1758 or 1759. There was, however, a Captain de Saint Félix of the Regiment of Berry in Quebec at the time. He was appointed an Ensign Lieutenant in the Regiment of Royal Rousillon on May 30, 1754, and promoted to the rank of Captain in 1757. Bourlamaque sent to the Chevalier de Lévis a record of his services in 1754, but it is not found with the correspondence. At the fall of Quebec, in 1759, Saint Félix was taken prisoner. On October 21, 1759, Bernier wrote to Bougainville that Monckton had given orders for MM. Tourville, Deschambault, de Léry, and La Chevrotière to embark on the next day and the MM. de Saint Félix and de Crévecœur were not to be sent as prisoners; adding that M. de Saint Félix would accept any route that would lead to Europe. (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. x. p. 22.) And under date of October 29 Bernier says, "MM. Boisset et Saint Félix partent pour les barques." (*Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 32.) Bougainville was to have sent a letter by Saint Félix, but in his haste to depart Saint Félix forgot to take it. In the month of May 1760, General Murray demanded of Brigadier Malartic the return of a deserter, Walter Murray, who had been guilty of stealing from the French, and was then serving in the Regiment of Berry. In return Murray offered to restore a domestic of Saint Félix and a soldier of Malartic's guard. (*Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 227.)

1759. August. de Levi, at the head of three thousand men, will soon strike a bold coup at our batteries."[1]

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

3d. "As the government has provided good store of rum for "the men, half a jill may be delivered out regularly every day, "and a jill when the weather is wet and cold, or when the men "are much fatigued with work or duty. The ground within "the three redoubts that are in the front of the line of battle is "to be kept as clear as possible from huts, and other obstacles, "that might hinder the movement of the troops. All horses "that can be collected, or may hereafter be driven in by our "parties, are to be carried over to the Isle of Orleans, and "turned to graze in the meadows opposite to the north "camp: cattle that are taken must be likewise carried over "to that island, for the use of the sick and wounded soldiers."

The intention of yesterday's flag of truce[2] was to acquaint the General that they had given decent burial to all the men who were killed on the 31st, and to some of the wounded who are since dead: that a Captain[3] and several others who are in their hands shall be taken good care of, in order to be exchanged, when they are recovered. Part of the town was in flames early this morning, but was soon extinguished; we

[1] On this day the French declared that it was absolutely necessary to obtain a supply of provisions at once. As the British commanded the river, supplies for the French camp were brought from Batiscan, a distance of eighteen leagues. There were few hands for this work, except old men, women, and children, and yet the French say: "It was however by the aid of such weak hands that 700 barrels of Pork or Flour were conveyed in 271 carts from Batiscan." (*Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm: Mémoire du Sieur de Rameray, Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec*, 1861, p. 51.)

[2] The men who were picked up by the French were probably dead or unable to give their names, as they are not mentioned in the list registered at the General Hospital.

[3] Captain David Ochterloney.

continue to bombard and cannonade it vigorously, though we have seldom any return from the enemy. Ships are arrived with stores and provisions for our fleet and army: it is now asserted, that we are to be reinforced by [5] troops from the West-Indies. A deserter has surrendered this morning to one of our frigates at Coudre; he reports, that General Amherst has been very successful on the side of the Carillon, and has surmounted the greatest difficulties with little or no loss. The parole this day is Coudre, and the countersign is Carillon. A detachment of one Captain, three Subalterns, and seventy rank and file are ordered to parade to-morrow evening at four o'clock. The privates are to be volunteers, they being, as it is said, intended for a particular service. Dalling's light infantry are in readiness to go on a scout this night. 1759. August.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The six companies of grenadiers are to be under arms at "six o'clock this afternoon in the front of their camp. When "a deserter comes in from the enemy, the Officer command- "ing the guard or party who takes him up is immediately to "send him to the head quarters, and not permit him to be "examined, or any questions asked him by any person what- "soever, until he is presented to the General." 4th.

Brigadier Murray, with a strong detachment, are under orders to proceed on board of Admiral Holmes's division, to make a diversion above the town, with a view to divide the enemy's attention; we are inclined to hope the General's schemes[1] may still be productive of some great event; the

[1] The prestige of the General at this time was at a low ebb, and the general officers talked freely of the disastrous July 31. "One of them," wrote Gibson, "of Knowledge, Fortune and Interest I have heard has declar'd the attack *then* and *there*, was contrary to the advice and opinion of every officer; and when things are come to this you'l judge what the event may be!" (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 67.)

1759. August. harvest must be reaped, or a famine is inevitable: and, if the Canadians should disperse for that purpose, and General Amherst should be inabled to advance farther into the province, and thereby compel Monsieur Montcalm, to draw off some of his forces hence to the side of Montreal, we may yet have it in our power to give a satisfactory account of the capital of Canada. Our fire against the town has been very heavy these last twenty-four hours; the light infantry returned [6] this afternoon with a great stock of cattle, and other plunder, among which was a library,[1] said to be the property of a priest. A flag of truce came down to-day, and another was sent up from us. Some detachments on this side, who are to accompany Brigadier Murray to the upper country, paraded this evening, marched into the woods, and performed several manœuvres which were shewed them, in case of being attacked in front, rear, right, or left.[2] At night General Wolfe amused the enemy by making a feint to cross the ford by the fall, whereupon they beat to arms, and lined their intrenchments; which as soon as he perceived, he gave them a formidable fire from all his cannon and howitzers on the hill.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

5th. "A Subaltern, and twenty men of the company of marines, "on the right, are to relieve the party of marines at the lower "battery this evening: the two companies are to take this "duty alternately; the company on the left is always to give "the Serjeant and nine for the Point: in case of an alarm,

[1] It is not probable that there were many men of a literary turn of mind amongst Dalling's Scouts, and cattle would no doubt appeal to them more than books. There were, however, a few Scotsmen in the company, and they may have suggested the desirability of taking everything in sight.

[2] According to the *Journal* of Captain John Montresor, "Six Companies of Grenadiers were instructed in some new manœuvres by the Commr-in-Chief." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. p. 327.)

"the Officer commanding the party of twenty is to retire to 1759. August.
"the redoubt above the battery, leaving such a number with
"the artillery Officer as he may want; the provision guard,
"in that case, is also to retire to the redoubt just above the
"provisions."

The purport of the last flag of truce[1] was to desire that the bedding, linen, and necessaries of Captain Ouchterlony, of the Royal Americans, who lies dangerously wounded in the enemy's hands, may be transmitted to him: and that, if he should not recover, they will be taken due care of, &c. Scarce a day passes but we hear of some brilliant coup, which the French intend to strike at one or other of our three incampments: now we are told by deserters, that they will wait until General Wolfe is obliged to draw his troops from the north camp,—then fall [7] on him with their whole force, and cut the flower of his army to pieces.—An attempt to this effect would afford his Excellency the highest satisfaction, as he might then hope to bring them to a regular action, what he seems most to wish for. We are changing our guns at the batteries from thirty-two to twenty-four pounders,[2] and our mortars from thirteen to ten inches; these being deemed sufficient to keep the town in ruin. Wet weather this evening; as soon as it was dark, the fifteenth regiment, with three hundred Royal Americans, two hundred marines, and the like number of light infantry, under Brigadier Murray, marched up to Goreham's post; an Officer and twenty volunteer rangers accompanied them, they being intended for a particular service. One Subaltern, one Serjeant, and thirteen rank and file, all likewise volunteers, are ordered to be in readiness at a moment's warning.

[1] This flag of truce was on the 4th. Several letters were brought for the French prisoners which were returned unopened.

[2] A French officer stated on this day that between July 12 and August 4, 4000 shells and between 9000 and 10,000 cannon shot had been discharged against the town from the British batteries. (The Hartwell *Journal du Siège de Québec.*)

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

1759. August. 6th. "Lascelles's regiment marches this night towards the village "of Ange Gardien; the light infantry that are not upon duty, "and that part of Anstruther's off duty, formed in the order "they were the last time they were under arms, are to march, "to-morrow morning at six o'clock, two or three miles to the "right, into the woods that are above the cultivated country; "three small parties of rangers are to lead the files."[1]

Twenty of our flat-bottomed boats went up last night with the tide of flood, rowed by the enemy's batteries, and passed the town: the garrison did not discover them until they got almost clear, and then they discharged three guns and one mortar, which we think was a signal of alarm; for their Drummers in the town and camp instantly beat to arms, and continued to do [8] so near an hour and an half; by this we are inclined to believe they apprehended a storm. Our batteries, who have now an unlimited credit for every species of ammunition, fired so quick and so regular, while the boats were passing, as to resemble platoons; the weather being wet, and the night dark, favoured our intentions: the boats are for the service of the troops under Brigadier Murray,[2] whose

[1] In its *Fourth Series of Historical Documents*, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec prints an interesting Regimental Order of this date, explaining the tactics to be adopted in various eventualities. Its explicit direction of a two-deep line makes it certain that Wolfe was already using this formation.

[2] During the operations of the British before Quebec, the French frigates and the ship *La Fronsac*, which had succeeded in getting up to Quebec before the arrival of the British fleet, were in the vicinity of Three Rivers and the Rapids of the Richelieu. The object of the British was to destroy these vessels as they cut off direct communication with the wing of the army under Amherst.

Early in August, Wolfe learned from a deserter that the French had valuable stores of provisions and clothing at Deschambault. On August 5, at night, Brigadier Murray was ordered to march up the south shore with 1260 of the troops to Goreham's Post, there to embark in twenty flat-bottomed boats to

object is to destroy a large magazine of flour, corn, and stores, which the enemy are said to have, a few leagues above the town: also to endeavour, in concert with Admiral Holmes, 1759. August.

join the *Sutherland*, which was farther up the river. Admiral Holmes was sent up by land to board the *Sutherland* in order to act in concert with Murray in the descent at Deschambault. Holmes was also instructed by Saunders to destroy the enemy's ships at the Richelieu.

On the 7th, Murray's detachment, consisting of Amherst's Regiment, Dalling's Light Infantry, some Rangers and 200 Marines, was taken on board the *Sutherland* and other ships in the upper river, where already the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans was stationed. On August 11, Wolfe received a despatch from Murray saying that on the 8th he had made two unsuccessful attempts at Pointe-aux-Trembles and had lost several men. As no reason seems to have been given in the despatch for the descent at Pointe-aux-Trembles, Murray's action was the cause of comment in the camp. "His conduct curious," says Bell.

The night of the 11th the *Lowestoffe* frigate, *Hunter* sloop, *Eden and Mary* transport (Captain Longdill), and some smaller vessels, having on board a reinforcement of 200 men from the 43rd Regiment under Major Elliott, attempted to pass the town. They were driven back by the batteries, and only one small schooner reached Murray. It was not until the night of the 27th, at the fourth attempt, that the *Lowestoffe* and *Hunter* got up. Elliott's detachment landed and marched to Goreham's Post, intending to proceed in open boats, but found the enemy's floating batteries in control of the river. The heavy rains had flooded the Etchemin, barring further progress on land. (See pp. 27 and 33.)

Wolfe evidently expected that Murray would return about the middle of the month, but when the 20th passed without news he became anxious and wrote to the Admiral on the subject. Two attempts to send an order of recall to Murray failed. On the 24th, rockets were ordered to be sent up from Goreham's Post on the south shore, near the Etchemin, to attract the Brigadier's attention. From the correspondence and journal of Wolfe it appears that he intended to make an attack on Quebec in the month of August. On the 7th he wrote, "Large detachments sent to scour the woods to use the troops to the country, to oblige the enemy to keep at a fit distance, and *to prepare the troops for a decisive action.*" (*Journal.*) The scheme could not be carried out until Murray's return. On August 19 Wolfe wrote to Monckton, "I wish we had Murray's Corps back that we might decide it with 'em," and in a letter of the 23rd he said, "Murray, by his long stay above, and by detaining all our boats, is actually master of the operations, or rather puts an entire stop to them." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 68.) Murray's action has always seemed mysterious; but from Bougainville, Moncrief and Wolfe's letters his account is quite clear. When Murray passed above the town "different movements which the enemy were observed making in that quarter created an impression that it might be a design to attempt something more. M. de Montcalm determined to send a reinforcement thither, so that we found ourselves having

1759. August. to destroy the French ships, if they can get at them, and thereby open a communication with General Amherst; for this purpose, in case we succeed, Lieutenant Crofton[1] and

between Quebec and Saint Augustine about 1000 men, whereof M. de Bougainville had the chief command." (*Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm*, in *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec*, 1861.)

Bougainville had three floating batteries on the north shore which opposed the passage of the ships, and it was to "favour the seamen in cutting off" these floating batteries that Murray made the attempt at Pointe-aux-Trembles.

"The first [attempt] was made at low water, which he was informed was the "most proper time, as he would have room to form on the beach out of the reach "of the enemy's fire; but a landing at low water proved impracticable; there "are ledges of rocks along the shore which boats cannot pass, with gulleys and "ponds of water between them and the shore, which the men could not pass "without wetting their ammunition; when the attempt was made, the enemy "showed about five hundred men. The second attempt was made at high "water; the enemy kept pretty much concealed until they got almost ashore, "and then opened with such a heavy fire of small arms that the sailors could not "sit to their oars. There was a diversion made to the right to divide their fire "which in some measure answered, but it still continued too hot to face it with "a landing. The numbers of the enemy were greatly increased, the woods "were everywhere lined, all the houses of the village occupied, a considerable "body of regulars drawn up behind the church, and a body of cavalry dismounted near the shore; these circumstances made it more than probable "that the attempt, if pushed farther, would be attended with a considerable "loss, without any success; it was, therefore, ordered to retreat." (*Journal of Major Moncrief: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 45.)

The British loss in this affair was about 140 killed and wounded. The necessity of caring for the wounded, and the cramped quarters on ship-board, were sufficient justification for a landing on the south shore, which was effected on the 10th at St. Antoine. It was also desirable to capture some prisoners for the sake of information. On the 11th Murray wrote to Holmes in regard to the further execution of the tasks assigned to them. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D.) Doubtless the disagreeable weather caused a delay, but the situation of the French magazine had been learned from the prisoners, and on the night of the 18th the troops were quietly embarked in the boats. At daybreak on the 19th the boats drew near the shore, and an hour later the troops effected a landing two miles below St. Joseph's church, at or near Portneuf. A column was then formed with Delaune's and Cardin's companies in the van, while the rear-guard was composed of Fraser's company and a detachment of the Royal Americans. When the van came within a short distance of St. Joseph's church, a captain and sixty regulars of the regiment of La Sarre were observed

[1] For note on Lieutenant Crofton, see p. 384.

twenty rangers, who are all volunteers, are to be detached express. A farther object of the Brigadier's is to draw such parties of the enemy as he may meet with to action, and 1759. August.

to be preparing to make a stand. The French, however, believing that the British had landed in force, retreated to the shelter of a wood. "Near this "church found a store-house, in which store was all the effects, including "equipage and apparel, of all the officers in Quebec, civil and military, besides "arms and ammunition, the whole valued at 90,000 pounds sterling money, "which we consumed by fire." (*Journal of the Particular Transactions: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 181.)

"Les Anglais firent une descente à Deschambault à la maison de M. "Perrot, capitaine du lieu. Cette maison servait de retraite à la belle Amazone "avanturière. C'est madame Cadet, femme de Sieur Joseph Ruffio. Cette "maison était riche par le dépot que plusieurs officiers avaient fait de leurs "malles, lesquelles ainsi la maison ne furent point sauvées de l'incendie." (*Panet's Journal*, p. 26.)

One French journal states that the British did not lose a man during this expedition, but that they reimbarked when the French troops arrived. "I "must say that no blame can attach to our troops if they were not able to "charge the enemy when retreating; they endeavoured to do so with much "ardour; they used prodigious diligence to get there, but the English com- "mander, who expected to be attacked, had them closely watched by his ships, "and regulated his movements according to their signals." (*Journal tenue à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm*, in *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, Société Littéraire et Historique de Quebec*, 1861.)

Another version of this affair is furnished by an aide-de-camp of the Marquis de Montcalm:

"Les Ennemis au nombre d'environ 1200 hommes, après leur seconde "tentative à la pointe aux trembles furent prendre poste à St. Antoine. Paroisse "de la cote du sud à environ sept ou huit lieues de Québec, et faisoient de là des "incursions dans les campagnes pour brûler et ravager les habitations. Les "Ennemis instruits par les correspondances qu'ils entretenoient dans le pays, "que nous avions à Deschambeaux à douze lieues de Québec des magasins où "tous les officiers des cinq bataillons de l'Armée et plusieurs autres avoient "leurs équipages, y firent une descente au nombre de mille hommes, brulerent "ces magasins sans y trouver d'opposition que celle d'une garde de vingt "soldats estropiés aux ordres d'un Lieutenant du Regiment de Languedoc, "qui avoit perdu un bras à l'affaire du 8 juillet 1758. Cette garde fut obligée "de se retirer. M. de Bougainville dès qu'il fut averti de cette irruption, y "marcha de suite avec sa Cavalerie, deux Compagnies de grenadiers qu'il "avoit à ses ordres, et les troupes qu'il put rassembler. Les Ennemis se "rembarquèrent à son arrivée. La Cavalerie chargea leur arrière garde, leur "tua quelques hommes et fit deux prisonniers." (*Journal abrégé d'un aide-de-camp: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 293.)

Montcalm was so alarmed at the news of the landing that he hastened to

1759. August. thereby divide the attention of their army below the town. Our weather now extremely sultry. A French regular deserted to-day, and surrendered to the troops in the north camp. This morning I was an eye-witness to the ceremony of burying a sailor alive, *mirabile dictu*, for the cure of the sea scurvy. To explain this matter it must be observed, that a pit was made in the ground, and the patient stood in it, with his head only above the level of the earth; then the mold was thrown in loose about him, and there he remained for some hours: this I am told is to be repeated every day, until his recovery is perfected; the poor fellow seemed to be in good spirits, laughed and conversed with the spectators who were about him*. [9] The detachment of seventy, with Officers in proportion, who were ordered in readiness on the 3d instant,

Pointe-aux-Trembles. The British, however, after destroying a small French brigantine and getting sight of other vessels farther up, returned to St. Antoine. On the 22nd Admiral Holmes went up in an armed sloop to reconnoitre, and decided that to proceed further was impracticable. Orders for the return were given on the 24th, the day the rockets were to be fired at Goreham's Post. Murray and Holmes went on board the *Squirrel* on the morning of the 25th, but the majority of the troops did not leave the camp till the following day. It would seem that Murray got a despatch through to Wolfe describing the situation, and on the 25th or 26th received an answer ordering him to leave the Royal Americans and Marines in possession of St. Antoine and to return with the remainder of his detachment. (See Wolfe's letter, p. 68.)

An account by an eye-witness of Murray's expedition is contained in the *Journal of the Particular Transactions*, &c.: *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 177–183. See also Murray's report printed in the Appendix, and the Logs of the *Sutherland* and the *Squirrel: Canadian Archives*, M. 597. For the French side, the Hartwell *Journal du Siège* and the letters of Bougainville (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv.) may be consulted.

* This remedy for that inveterate disorder is an ancient discovery, first revived by Lord Anson in his famous voyage into the South Seas, and practised by his Lordship on the island of Finian,[1] where our Admiral had ocular experience of its great efficacy: it is called by physicians an Earth-bath, and is deemed salutary in various other cases, as well as scorbutic complaints; a device, whilst it is thus attempted to preserve life, is adapted to a very different use in Russia; for a woman who compasses the death of her husband is punished by being in like manner interred up to her neck, and is there shockingly doomed to languish and die of hunger.—*Note by author.*

[1] "Tinian": see Errata.

were this day countermanded.[1] The party of one Subaltern, Serjeant, and thirteen rank and file, volunteers, ordered yesterday to be in readiness, were joined to-day by the like number from all the regiments in this and the north camps, commanded by Captain Goreham; and, accompanied by his rangers, embarked this day, and sailed down the river; their destination is to St. Paul's bay, near Coudre, with orders to lay waste that parish and circumjacent country, for the presumption of the inhabitants in firing at our men of wars' sounding boats, and at a boatful of the 15th regiment, as we first worked up the river. One of our frigates, seeing some floating batteries coming down, edged over to the north shore, and engaged them: the floats were supported by the batteries on the high ground above the Point de Lest, and Mr. Wolfe sustained the frigate from the eastern eminences; whereupon a general cannonading ensued, which lasted an hour and an half; the enemy were silenced, one of their floats was knocked to pieces, one escaped up to the town, and two were forced on shore; an old mortar was brought down to annoy the frigate, but she boldly rode it out, firing and contemning the worst they could do. The enemy take the benefit of the flags of truce passing and repassing, to repair their works, and erect new batteries; they are now making an epaulement to their great Barbet Battery next the bason. Smart firing on the town this night, which is faintly returned; the wind right-a-head of our fleet. 1759. August.

[10] ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The commanding Officers of regiments and corps are 7th.
"to order all the tools that are in and about their respective

[1] The French seem to have understood the intention of the English, for they sent a courier to the frigate commanded by M. Vauquelin, the *Pie*, commanded by M. Sauvage, and the *Fronsac*, commanded by M. Grani. (See *Panet's Journal*, August 5.)

1759. August. "incampments to be carefully collected together, that whatever "number they may have, over and above what they were first "ordered to receive for each regiment, may be immediately sent "to the artillery. Whatever soldier is seen drunk, is to be "struck off the roll of those who receive rum;[1] this order is "repeated, and will be more strictly complied with for the "future."

No alteration in wind or weather. Some sailors and marines strayed to-day into the country, contrary to repeated orders, to seek for vegetables: they were fired upon by a party of the enemy, and three were killed and scalped; the remainder, being ten in number, made their escape; two of them, however, were slightly wounded. Three Indians shewed themselves to the westward of our batteries, and set up a war-shout; whereupon an Officer and thirty rangers, being detached to that quarter, scoured the environs for several miles, without making any discovery. All is quiet to-day between our batteries and the town. We esteem ourselves very happy in this country, having no fogs as in Nova Scotia, nor are we tormented with musketa's: we have myriads of the common black window fly, which, though they have no sting, are nevertheless troublesome in tainting our victuals. We are now tolerably well provided with the conveniencies of life; at times butchers' meat is scarce, but that is supplied by young horse-flesh; a loin of a colt eats well roasted, and there are many other parts of the carcase, which, if disguised in the same manner that one meets with other victuals at table, may deceive the nicest palate. I shall here annex the prices of the several under-mentioned articles, which only vary as there is plenty or otherwise.

[1] The effects of the half gill of rum ordered on August 3 were apparently other than those desired. The knowledge that there was a plentiful supply may have induced the men to qualify for the double portion mentioned in the order.

[11] Beef, from ninepence to one shilling per pound.
Mutton, from one shilling to one shilling and three pence per pound.
Hams, from nine pence to one shilling per pound.
Salt butter, from eight pence to one shilling and three pence per pound.
Gloucester or Cheshire cheese, ten pence per pound.
Potatoes, from five to ten shillings per bushel.
A reasonable loaf, of good soft bread, six pence.
Bristol Beer, eighteen shillings per dozen, bottles included, (these were useless.)[1]
London porter, one shilling per quart.
Bad malt drink from Halifax, at nine pence per quart.
Cyder, New England, from six to eight pence per quart.
Bad spruce beer,[2] two pence per quart.
West-India rum, eight shillings per gallon.
New England rum, from six to ten shillings per gallon.
Sour claret, eight shillings per gallon. 1759.
Excellent Florence, two shillings and six pence per flask. August.
Madeira, twelve shillings per gallon, or eleven pounds per cask.
Red Port, ten shillings per gallon, or eight pounds per quarter cask.
Lemons from three to six shillings per dozen.
Lump sugar, from one shilling to one shilling and six pence per pound.
Ordinary powder sugar, ten pence per pound.
Hyson tea, one pound ten shillings per pound.
Chouchon, one pound per pound.
Plain green, and very bad, fifteen shillings per pound.
Roll tobacco, one shilling and ten pence per pound.
Leaf ditto, ten pence per pound.
Snuff, from two shillings to three shillings per pound bottle.
Hard soap, from ten pence to one shilling per pound.
N.B. All currency of Nova Scotia.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The piquet on the left is by no means to cut any of the 8th.
"brushwood round their post, as has been hitherto practised.
"Those regiments and corps that have got hand-barrows from
"the artillery are forthwith to return them, as they are much
"wanted."[3]

[1] The bottles were probably not as convenient for the pocket as the flasks containing the "excellent Florence."

[2] Evidently an honest vendor. Two pence per quart would hardly be a fair price for *good* spruce beer in time of war.

[3] Great destruction was wrought in the vicinity of Champlain's market on this day. The house of Claude Panet and several buildings in Champlain Street were totally destroyed. The homes of M. Déscry and of M. Maillou in Sault au Matelot were laid in ruins. The fire extended to the house of the Sr. Voyer in the Cul-de-Sac, which escaped. A shell penetrated the vaults under the houses of M. Perrault and M. Tachet and ignited twenty-two pipes

1759. August. A deserter surrendered yesterday to the north camp; the enemy fired many signals last night from their batteries, and other works, nearest to Charles's river; it was apprehended they would have sent [12] down some fire-rafts, as there are many of them floating at the entrance of that river;—the transports, traders, and other small craft, fell down a-stern of the fleet to be out of danger, and the men of wars' boats were instantly spread over the bason, in readiness to receive and grapple them. Three frigates and two transports are to pass the town with the first fair wind, they being for some time under orders for that purpose. A flag of truce was sent to the Point de Lest, with directions to the French General to return an answer from the same quarter; that for the future no regard will be paid to those that may be sent from the town, as the enemy take indirect advantages of them. Captain Ouchterlony, who is wounded and a prisoner, had the good fortune to be protected from the savages by a French grenadier, to whom it is confidently reported that General Wolfe sent twenty guineas, as a reward for his humanity: M. Montcalm returned the money, saying, 'the man had not 'particularly merited such a gratuity, having done no more 'than his duty, and what he hoped every Frenchman in his 'army would do under the like circumstances:'—This is an absurd piece of ostentation which the enemy greatly affect upon particular occasions.[1]—Ships are arrived with stores and

of brandy which were stored there for safety. At the close of the day 167 houses had been destroyed. Several spacious vaults extending across the street near the church of Notre Dame des Victoires remained unharmed, and they are still used for storing produce. (See *Panet's Journal.*)

[1] There does not seem to have been any "ostentation" on the part of the Marquis de Vaudreuil in returning the twenty guineas sent by General Wolfe to the soldier of the Regiment of Guienne who conveyed the wounded Captain Ochterloney to the General Hospital. The man, as Vaudreuil said, simply did his duty. It would be, no doubt, dangerous to allow men to receive gifts from the enemy. Ochterloney was cared for most tenderly by Madame de Ramezay, directress of the hospital, "who wept when he died." Ochterloney died on August 23, and all his effects, which had been sent to him from the British camp, were returned. General Wolfe addressed a letter to Madame de

provisions, under convoy of a frigate, who has brought some money for the subsistence of the army. Two of our twenty-four pounders are disabled at the batteries, whence we still maintain a brisk fire against the town, which appears to be in a most ruinous condition. In the evening Mr. Wolfe cannonaded and bombarded the left of the enemy's camp for above an hour; they were erecting some traverses to prevent his enfilading that flank, but were obliged to desist. A drunken Indian,[1] who crossed the river Montmorencie to-day, was surrounded and made prisoner by some centinels of the thirty-fifth regiment; he had no other weapon than a scalping knife, and has confessed that his intention was to surprise two or three centries, and carry back their scalps, in order to recover his credit with Monsieur [13] Montcalm, who had punished him for some misdemeanor.[2] We are now preparing a quantity of combustible materials, which are to be sent by the first opportunity to Admiral Holmes in the upper river. 1759. August.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The two companies of grenadiers of the Royal American "battalions are to embark in four flat-bottomed boats at six 9th.

Ramezay thanking her for her kindness to his officer and assuring her that he would protect the community if fortune favoured his arms. (*British Magazine*, 1761 : see Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 540, note.) This promise was faithfully carried out by General Townshend.

[1] The advent of this drunken Indian is responsible for a choice entry in the *Journal* of Townshend, Wolfe's second brigadier, on the 8th: "This morning an Indian Swam over the ford below the Falls with an Intention as we supposed to scalp a Centry, but on the Centry running up to him and presenting his piece to his breast he got down on his knees, threw away his knife and delivered himself up, he was a very savage looking brute & naked all too an arse Clout, he seem'd to be very apprehensive of putting him to Death, altho' there was several in the Camp that spoke Indian Language we cou'd not get him to understand any sort of Languages . . . Most Nights we hear the Indians Hollow in the Woods all about us." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 257.)

[2] It is not probable that Montcalm punished the Indian in any way, except in limiting his supply of rum. On this occasion he had imbibed a sufficient quantity to render him incapable of understanding any "sort of Languages."

1759. August. "o'clock to-morrow morning, to fall down with the tide, and "escort the General as far as St. Joachim; they are to take a "day's provision with them. This detachment returns with "the flood, and the men are to assist the seamen in rowing. "A detachment of light infantry and Bragg's regiment to "march early to-morrow morning, three or four miles into "the woods, in the same order that Anstruther's marched; "this corps is to keep something more to the left, and then "fall down into the country, supply themselves with pease, or "other greens, and then return to camp."

About one o'clock this morning a fire broke out in the lower town, and, by the wind's freshening, the flames spread with great rapidity, and continued burning until ten, by which the greatest part of that quarter was destroyed *: it communicated to one of their batteries, blew up a small magazine or powder-chest, burned their platforms and carriages, and discharged some of their guns. Another fire was perceived to burst forth in the upper town at the same time, which [14] was extinguished in less than an hour. Our artillery Officers observe, that they can now reach the north suburbs, where the Intendant's superb palace is situated; and this quarter they hope they shall soon put on the same romantic footing with the rest.—*A plan was this day sent over to General Wolfe for a*

* The low town, in the center of which stood l'eglise de la Sainte Victoire,[1] was completely destroyed by this conflagration: it was occasioned by one of our shells, which forced its way into a vaulted cellar, hitherto deemed bomb-proof, wherein were twenty pipes of brandy, and several smaller casks of other spirituous liquors; this was the richest and best inhabited part of the whole city, and contained the most magnificent houses, churches and public buildings excepted.—*Note by author.*

[1] The church of Notre Dame des Victoires. The corner-stone was laid on May 1, 1688, in the presence of Monseigneur Laval and the Governor. It was dedicated to the Infant Jesus, and the chapel on the left was named Ste. Geneviève. When Phips besieged the city in 1690 the ladies of Quebec pledged themselves to make pilgrimages to the church if the Blessed Virgin obtained their deliverance. When the invader withdrew, the Bishop changed the name of the church to Notre Dame de la Victoire, and ordained that a feast should be observed and a procession held in honour of the Blessed Virgin

fort, which, it is pretended, will be constructed on the island of Coudre, to contain fifteen hundred men, who are to garrison it this winter, in case we cannot become masters of Quebec. A great smoke is perceived this morning on the north side, at a distance below Orleans: this is supposed to be occasioned by Captain Goreham's detachment, who are burning the settlements a-breast of the isle of Coudre. When the lower town was in flames early this morning, Mr. Wolfe ordered the piquets and grenadiers to march down to the beach, and make a feint to cross the ford leading to the Point de Lest; which the enemy perceiving, beat instantly to arms, and lined their works; whereupon the General gave them a spirited discharge from all his cannon and howitzers, and did great execution among them. The batteries of the town have re-assumed a little vigour to-day, in dealing their shot and shells with great profusion, and to as little purpose as heretofore. When the last flag of truce came from the enemy, the bearer of it was told, that we were surprised at their silence, and that we took unkind our not hearing from their batteries as often of late as usual. To which Monsieur replied—'they had in-'telligence from our deserters that they did no execution, and 'would therefore reserve their ammunition for another occasion.' He then demanded, why we did not fire as briskly on the garrison for some time past as before? And was answered to 1759. August.

on the fourth Sunday in October in each year. Twenty-one years later the city was again threatened with siege, when Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker sailed to attack Quebec. The fleet was wrecked off Egg Island, and when the inhabitants heard the news they repaired to the church in the Lower Town to pay their devotion to Our Lady of Victory. Subscriptions were opened and a porch was built to the church, and Notre Dame de la Victoire gave place to Notre Dame des Victoires.

The first pilgrimage was held in 1711. In 1855 the administration of the diocese formally established an annual pilgrimage to the church. The walls of the church remained after the siege of Quebec. The feast of Ste. Geneviève is celebrated on the first Sunday following the 3rd of January. After the Gloria has been chanted the Chaplain blesses small loaves of bread, destined for those who dread the pains of childbirth. This custom is very old and has not fallen into disuse. (See Doughty and Dionne, *Quebec under Two Flags*, pp. 282–285.)

1759. August. this effect:—"We have sufficiently damaged your town "already, and we not chuse to destroy all its buildings, as we "hope soon to be in possession of it."[1]

[15] ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

10th. "The Quarter-master Serjeant is immediately to see all the "bad straw burned in the front of the quarter-guard; and a "man of each tent, under the direction of an Officer, to parade, "in order to cut green corn in the front of the incampment, "which is to be dried, and made use of as straw."

General Wolfe, with Colonel Carleton, &c. are gone a few miles down the river, escorted by two companies of grenadiers, on a reconnoitring party. A brisk discharging of small arms was heard to-day, for near two hours, above the town, which resembled platoon-firing. Smart cannonading and bombarding between the town and our batteries. Wind right-a-head of our fleet, which prevents the Admiral's reinforcing the squadron above. This night, at ten o'clock, we were alarmed by a volley of small arms near our camp: upon immediate inquiry, our centries informed us it was on the river, a-breast of the Point; it proved to be a base invention called a fire organ, sent down by the enemy as a bait for some of the boats which are moored a-head of our ships. This machine was placed in a shallop, and consisted of a square frame of timber laid on the seats, and in which were fixed a number of barrels, resembling pipes in the sound-board of an organ, twenty inches in length, loaded up to their muzzles with old nails and square slugs of lead and iron, and pointed inwards: there was

[1] Major Mackellar in his report, made in July, 1757, two years before the siege of Quebec, says: "It will be very Proper, in Case of Getting in, to take Possession Immediately of the Buildings, around the Great Square. Particularly the Jesuits Convent, (e) [thus marked on the plan which Wolfe had in his camp], and the Parish Church (g)." (See Appendix.) These buildings had already been destroyed.

a groove in the frame for a train of powder, and, when it was set adrift, a slow match was left burning. A Midshipman who was in the headmost boat, seeing the shallop falling down with the current, rowed up till he got along-side of it, and then he, with two of his men, jumped into her, when, instantly, the fire catched, and discharged the pipes [16] among them: the Officer [1] and two men were severely wounded, and, I am told, a man in the boat, that lay close to her, was killed. 1759. August.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"When any detachment either sees or hears notice of the 11th.
"enemy, the Commander must send immediate advice of it to
"the General. When the escorts that cover the working
"parties are posted, they are to receive the enemy in that
"situation till the Commander thinks proper to reinforce
"them or call them off: in the mean time the working men
"are to get under arms, and wait for such orders as the
"Commanding Officer thinks proper to give. The General
"was extremely surprised to see the disorder that seemed to
"run through the working party this morning; and foresees,
"that, if a stop is not immediately put to such unsoldiery
"proceedings, they may have very dangerous consequences.
"The men fired this day upon one another, and upon the
"light infantry; and were scattered in such a manner, that
"a few resolute people would easily have defeated them; it
"is therefore ordered and commanded, that, when there is
"any alarm of this kind, every soldier shall remain at his post
"till ordered to march by the proper Officer: if any man
"presumes to detach himself, and leave his platoon, division,

[1] This officer was Joseph Bartlett, coxswain of one of the *Dublin's* boats. The bone of his left leg was shattered, and so "obliged to be cut off." One of the sailors wounded was Fred Bushby, who died on the 18th, from wounds. (From the ship's Log: *Canadian Archives*, M. 594-E.)

1759. August. "or party, the Officer will make an immediate example of "him.—Divine service will be performed to-morrow morning "at half past ten, for Bragg's, Monckton's, artillery, light in- "fantry, and rangers; in the afternoon at five, for Anstruther's, "Otway's, Lascelles's, marines, and Lawrence's grenadiers."

This morning[1] some working parties were detached from the troops in the north camp into the woods, to cut fascines and palisadoes, with light infantry to cover them. After being settled at [17] work, they spied a body of Indians creeping towards them; whereupon they ran in confusion to their arms, and, without any kind of order, fired impetuously at every thing they saw, whether friends or enemies; the General, hearing the alarm, flew to their assistance, leaving orders for an artillery Officer and two six-pounders to follow without delay. Upon the appearance of the General, the men recovered themselves, and vigorously attacked the savages in front; another body of them attempted to flank our parties, which an Officer suspecting, by an excellent disposition, anticipated their scheme, and repulsed them; by this time the field-pieces came up, just as the Indians were seemingly about to rally; which completely put an end to the affair, and drove the rabble across the river with great loss;[2] we had about fifteen men wounded, though none killed. Captain Goreham has sent an express to the General to acquaint him, that he has burned a large settlement, and made some prisoners; that his rangers met with some Canadians dressed like Indians, had routed them, and took a few scalps. A Serjeant and fourteen of the forty-eighth regiment, being detached to scour the environs of an advanced post, came up with a party of our rangers, and, not knowing them, as they were on the inside of a hedge, they fired, which our irregulars, under the like

[1] The order previously quoted was issued after the events here described by the author. Wolfe, who was present, notes the "bad disposition of our people, loss sustained on that account." (*Journal.*) The order was evidently issued in consequence.

[2] Wolfe says that the enemy escaped "with little damages to them."

mistake, returned; but the Officer of the latter, luckily discovering their error, called out to the Serjeant to prevent farther mischief; one soldier was killed, and two wounded; the rangers had also two men wounded. An express is arrived from Brigadier Murray, the particulars of which have not yet transpired.[1] Our batteries fire briskly on the town to-day, without any return. The wind is at length fair for ships to pass the garrison, with a fine breeze. A Major, two Captains, six Subalterns, and two hundred men of the forty-third regiment, were ordered to embark this evening, with all their camp equipage, on board of the following ships:—on board the Leostaff frigate, sixty; Hunter sloop, forty; Eden and Mary, a transport, one hundred: this detachment is intended as a reinforce- [18] ment for Brigadier Murray. Some wretched Canadian families are brought in to-day by our rangers. General Wolfe having lately dispersed some placarts throughout the country, wherein he limited the inhabitants to disperse by a certain day, and observe a neutrality; some of their Chiefs went lately to Monsieur Vaudreuil, and to Monsieur Montcalm, to inquire what part to take, when the appointed time should expire?—to which they got for answer, 'This is a piece of policy in the British General; continue to 'defend your country, as ye have hitherto nobly done; for we 'have certain intelligence, that their fleet is only victualled at 'full allowance to the latter end of this month.'—Our batteries, eastward on[2] the fall, have again obliged the enemy's floats to remove higher up, being inclined to edge down towards the Point de Lest. This night at nine o'clock, the Leostaff, Hunter, and some transports, worked upwards, and attempted to pass the town; but, the tide of flood being almost at the height, and the wind failing them, they were obliged to put back: while they were within reach, the enemy bombarded and cannonaded them vigorously, which was most spiritedly returned by our batteries. The Chaplains of the regiments

1759. August.

[1] See note 2, p. 12.

[2] "of": see Errata.

1759. August. in this camp are very diligent in discharging their duty, at every convenient opportunity.[1]

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

12th. "A return of the killed and wounded to be given in to-"morrow at orderly time, from the 1st to the 11th instant, "both days inclusive; a return to be given in at the same time "of what ammunition is wanting to complete each regiment "and corps. Provisions will be delivered to-morrow to the "troops to the 17th inclusive, &c. &c. &c."

[19] This morning, at day-break, our weather changed to uncommon heavy rain, which continued several hours without intermission; the wind is still fair, and blows fresh. A command of Highlanders is to go out this night, to distress the country. The town and our batteries have been respectively complaisant to-day. By deserters we are informed, that, a few days after the affair of the 31st of July, at the Point de Lest, the Sieur de Montcalm, in discourse with some of the Indian Chiefs, told them,—'You see we beat the English, we 'drove them away, we conquered them, we defeated them, '&c. &c.,' to which the savages replied, 'Conquered them, and 'defeated them,—we will never believe that, until you drive 'them back to their ships; are they not still firing against 'Quebec, and are they not as unconcerned in their camps, as if 'nothing had happened?'—This anecdote evinces that, though illiterate, as these unhappy people are, they are not deficient in good natural parts, or so easily to be imposed upon, as

[1] Several of the regimental chaplains were absent during the Quebec campaign. The following seem to have been with the troops: George Lloyd, of the 15th Regiment, appointed February 19, 1756; Ralph Walsh, of the 28th, appointed March 12, 1754; Michael Houdin, of the 48th, appointed April 29, 1757; Henry Walker, of the 58th, appointed February 4, 1756; and Robert M'Pherson, of the 78th, appointed January 1, 1757.

some travellers insinuate.[1] At night our weather cleared up, and the wind came right a-head; the detachment intended to reinforce Brigadier Murray still remain on board of the ships. 1759. August.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The General has ordered five guineas to be given to the 13th.
"centries of Otway's, for taking an Indian alive; whose busi-
"ness was to surprise some negligent centinel, and assassinate
"him. When a small party of volunteers of any regiment are
"inclined to lay wait, during the night, for the small recon-
"noitring parties, which the enemy may push towards the
"camp, the General will give them leave to try it; and, if any
"soldier kills an Indian, or takes him alive, which is still more
"difficult, he shall be handsomely rewarded; these parties

[1] As an illustration of the discussions which took place between the Indians as to the merits of the two great European nations, we quote a portion of a letter dated at Albany, N.Y., October 23, 1759:

"*Cayenquiliquoa* and *Rattle-snake Sam*, two *Mohawk Indians*, came here yesterday. They were about fourteen days ago at *Oswegatchie* in *Canada*, on a visit to some relations who have been many years settled with the *French*. They say they endeavoured to pursuade their relations, and the other *Mohawks* at *Gowegatchie*, to leave the *French* in good time, and return to their own country; telling them, 'that the *English*, formerly women, were now all turned into men, and were as thick all over the country as the trees in the woods. That they had taken the *Ohio*, *Niagara*, *Cataracqui*, *Ticonderoga*, *Louisbourg*, and now lately *Quebec;* and they would soon eat the remainder of the *French* in *Canada*, and all the *Indians* that adhered to them.' But the *French Indians* answered, 'Brethren, you are deceived, the *English* cannot eat up the *French;* their mouth is too little, their jaws too weak, and their teeth not sharp enough. Our father *Onontio* (that is, the Governor of *Canada*) has told us, and we believe him, that the *English*, like a thief, have stolen *Louisbourg* and *Quebec* from the Great King, while his back was turned, and he was looking another way; but now he has turned his face, and sees what the *English* have done, he is going into their country with a thousand great canoes, and all his warriors; and he will take the little *English* King, and pinch him till he makes him cry out, and give back what he has stolen, as he did about ten summers ago; and this your eyes will soon see.'" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1759, p. 560.)

1759. August. "should not consist of above four- [20] teen or sixteen men, "unless when a Subaltern commands, and, in that case, they "may be twenty or twenty-four men. When the soldiers are "not employed at work, they are to dress and clean them- "selves, so as to appear under arms, and, upon all occasions, "in the most soldierlike manner. Each regiment and corps "is to parade a man of a tent to-morrow morning at six, in "the rear of Monckton's, with their arms, and Officers in "proportion to their numbers: they are to go out for garden- "stuff, and are to be covered by that part of the five piquets "of the line which is not upon duty: the whole to be under "the command of Major Morris, Field-Officer of the piquet."

Last night a great firing of cannon and small arms was heard up the country at a distance above the town; the enemy were thereby alarmed, and their drums in the garrison and camp beat to arms for a considerable time: this is supposed to have been occasioned by Admiral Holmes and Brigadier Murray in the upper river.[1] The General bombarded the enemy's camp warmly this morning, by which one of their houses took fire, and, while they were endeavouring to extinguish it, he gave them a vigorous discharge from all his artillery, and maintained it above an hour. The detachment of the forty-third disembarked, and were ordered to dress three days' provisions. Upwards of a thousand cannon-shot, and twenty thirteen-inch shells, which came from the enemy at different times, have been collected in the precincts of our batteries, and were sent on board an ordnance-ship to be transmitted, as it is said, to Louisbourg; the soldiers are allowed two pence for a shot, two shillings and six pence for a ten-inch, and five shillings for thirteen-inch shells. Two marines deserted to-day. Nothing extraordinary at our batteries; moderate firing between them and the town: our weather gloomy; wind right a-head, and, by the deluges of rain we

[1] They were from the floating batteries under Bougainville above the town.

have had of late, the air is rendered cool, and our camp uncomfortable.[1] 1759. August.

[21] A company of grenadiers from the Royal Americans, and a company of marines, both from the north camp, are this day ordered to hold themselves in readiness to relieve the Louisbourg grenadiers, who are on duty at the west of Orleans. The detachment of the forty-third regiment, which was on board the ships that made the last attempt to pass the town, marched this morning to Goreham's post, there to embark in boats, and proceed to reinforce Brigadier Murray. It is confidently said that General Wolfe has received dispatches from the Commander in chief, but through what channel is not mentioned, which makes it doubtful. *A strong fortress, to contain a garrison of three thousand men, this winter, on the island of Coudre, is again reported to be determined upon,* 14th.

[1] The heavy rain was favourable to the British, for Montcalm had given orders to Bougainville to cross to the right of the river, leaving his post well guarded, which it was thought would tempt the British to an attack. Bougainville when least expected was to return and fall upon the enemy. The bad weather caused this project to be abandoned. (*Journal tenue*, &c., in *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay*.)

The following orders were issued from the French camp:

"Order of the 13th to the 14th.

"St. Rigaud and Carcassonne,

"Countersign, Lion and St. Loup.

"Picket officers,

"M. de Sennezergues, M. de Longueuil.

"The service as usual.

"Six pickets of the Guienne Regiment with a Major will mount guard this evening on the left; the Languedoc grenadier company will go to the city at the fall of night, where it will be posted by the town major. M. de Privat will relieve M. de Ramezai this evening and M. de Joannès will do duty as Major of the said place. M. de Barante, first sentry in the Béarn Regiment, will this evening relieve M. de Fonbonne, commandant of the Lower Town, and this will be counted as a guard duty to the first sentries. An order to this effect will be transmitted to these 3 officers by the Mis. de Vaudreuil. The communications of the entrenchments will be repaired to allow easy passage on horseback from the right to the left. The Sr. Maillou's Company under the Sr. Isambert's command will proceed to the Lower Town at the fall of night to be at the disposal of the first sentry of the Béarn [Regiment]." (*Canadian Archives: Campagne de* 1759–1760: *Ordres*.)

1759. August. *and the plan to be very soon put in execution.* The enemy are diligently employed in repairing their batteries, and are throwing up some works on the north-east corner of the upper town, which occasions our cannonading and bombarding them to-day with great spirit.[1] General Wolfe attacked some of the enemy's floating batteries, who were edging down to the Point de Lest, and obliged them to retire very precipitately. Fine weather, wind still perverse.

15th. Seven marines deserted last night, and were seen crossing the river in canoes.[2] Our new six-gun battery plays with great success against the Governor's house and the Bishop's palace. A party of two hundred Highlanders have passed over to Orleans; the enemy galled them with their floating batteries, which was spiritedly returned by the batteries eastward of the cataract. Four sailors, who have been for some time missing, were found scalped on the lower end of the isle of Orleans. Colonel Williamson is marking out ground for a new battery to destroy the citadel.[3] General Wolfe engaged one of the floats this afternoon, and she soon after blew up. The town is warmly bombarded this evening.

[1] Two sailors were killed on the ramparts by a discharge from the batteries at Lévis.

[2] One of the marines was Vincent Delestrea, a petty officer of the *Dublin*, who attempted to escape by swimming from the boat. He was captured on the Island of Orleans (Logs of the *Dublin: Canadian Archives*, M. 594-E.). Perhaps as a result of this and other desertions an order was issued on this day: "Any soldier who passes the out-sentrys on any pretence whatever, shall be brought to a Court-Martial and punished." On August 25 the following appeared: "The out-posts and guards are to be more careful for the future in stoping all soldiers who are found attempting to slip by them." (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series.)

[3] There was a small redoubt on Cape Diamond called the Citadel, but the "Citadel" here referred to was the Château within Fort St. Louis, the residence of the Governor. The first Fort St. Louis was begun by Champlain in 1620, and the first Château St. Louis within the Fort was begun in 1647.

[22] ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The regiments are to give in returns to the Majors of "brigade of the number of smiths, masons, carpenters, brick- "layers, miners, and sawyers in their corps *. As the enemy's "light troops are continually hovering about the camp, in "hopes of surprising some small guard, or some of the "centinels; it is necessary to be extremely vigilant upon "duty. The outposts and guards in the redoubts are never "to have less than a third of their men under arms; for an "hour before day, and at least half an hour after broad day- "light, the whole are to be under arms." 1759. August. 16th.

A fire broke out in the town last night, and the flames spread with great rapidity; the enemy then, as in such cases, fired vigorously on our batteries, though without execution. The detachment of the forty-third regiment returned this morning from Goreham's post; they waited the arrival of boats to take them up the river, but, the communication being interrupted by the enemy's floats, our boats cannot pass up or down; the Major,[1] who commanded, made an attempt to cross the river Etchemin, in order to proceed by land until he should get a-breast of Mr. Holmes's squadron, and then make a signal to be taken on board; but the waters were so much out, occasioned by the late heavy rains, that the rivulet was not passable; one man was unfortunately drowned in the attempt, and some arms, &c. were lost, many of the soldiers being taken off their feet by the rapidity of the current, who were obliged to swim a-shore: to complete the disagreeableness of their situation, the enemy fired at them, while they were

* The frequent mention made of erecting a fortress on the island of Coudre is not merely an idle camp packet; it has been often circulated through policy; and the foregoing order, though it does not confirm such an intention, plainly refers to it.—*Note by author.*

[1] Major Elliot: see note, vol. i. p. 168.

1759. August. [23] fording, from their battery at Sillery, though without any effect. A Midshipman has made several efforts to go up the river with a packet to Brigadier Murray, but cannot succeed: when he was sent down express from Admiral Holmes's squadron to General Wolfe, he spied the enemy's floating batteries at the Toulon;[1] whereupon he unshipped his oars and helm, directed his men to lie down in the boat, and let her drive, knowing it was tide of ebb, with the current; by this means he passed the town, if not unobserved, at least unmolested; it is probable, if the enemy did discern the boat, they supposed it might be, as the night was dark, an old tree, or piece of timber, floating up and down with the tide; a circumstance not uncommon in this river. The weather changed this evening, which brought the wind about, but it did not continue long fair; our new batteries are in great forwardness.

ORDERS.

17th. "Mr. Cameron, a volunteer in the light infantry of "General Lascelles's regiment, having distinguished himself in "a remarkable manner in the defence of a house, with only "a Serjeant, Corporal, and sixteen men of Lascelles's light "infantry, against a body of Savages and Canadians greatly "superior in number, the General has ordered that the first "vacant commission in the army be given to Mr. Cameron, in "acknowledgement of his good conduct and very gallant "behaviour. A flanking party of the twenty-eighth regiment, "commanded by a Serjeant, distinguished themselves upon "the same occasion, and hastened to the assistance of his "friends with very great spirit."

Part of the town took fire again last night, but, there being no wind, and a heavy rain, it was soon got under. Such of the marines as are foreigners are ordered on board their

[1] "Foulon": see Errata.

ships, to prevent farther desertions. The rangers brought in a parcel of sheep and other cattle to-day. The floating stages which we made were never used, [24] and are now all ordered to be torn up, *to be sent* (as it is said) *to Coudre, and applied to the building barracs and hospitals.* Yesterday, on the north side, a party of Indians were discovered, in number between two and three hundred, by a small party of men under the command of the volunteer* of the light infantry company of the forty-seventh regiment, who is so justly distinguished by General Wolfe in the orders of this day. They first shewed themselves, and then retired to a house at a small distance, whence they drubbed the savages very gallantly. The General, upon the alarm, flew to their assistance with the picquets, sustained by a detachment from the line: upon sight of these troops, they took to flight over the river, dragging their killed and wounded with them, to the number of fifteen, or more, according to their practice; if the General, with his succours, had not appeared quite so soon, the Indians would have been totally cut off by Colonel Howe and the light infantry, who, at the first firing, took to the woods for that purpose: they gave the rascals, however, a brisk discharge, as they were going off. The town and our batteries were silent all last night and to-day, until two o'clock in the afternoon, when they broke out, and a smart cannonading and bombardment ensued on both sides. The new batteries we are erecting are to mount nineteen twenty-four pounders. A storm is strongly talked of, in which the Admiral, it is said, will assist

1759. August.

* I regret that I cannot particularise Mr. Cameron[1] by his Christian appellation, as there are several of the same name in the army.—*Note by author.*

[1] Charles Cameron, appointed by Wolfe, Ensign in the 2nd battalion (Monckton's) of the 60th Regiment (Royal Americans). Monckton appears to have wished to appoint a volunteer by the name of Trew, but Wolfe wrote on August 22: "You know I promised Mr. Cameron the first vacancy in the army, or no recommendation whatever should have interfered with yours in your own regiment." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 69.) Ensign Cameron was afterwards wounded at the battle of the Plains. See list of officers killed and wounded, in Appendix.

1759. August. with a few ships and some thousands of seamen. There was one man killed and three wounded at our batteries this evening; one of whom died soon after, and another underwent the amputation of an arm; *it is remarkable, that this is the first death that has happened, by shot or shell from the town, since we first broke ground* within the range of their artillery.*

[25] ORDERS.

18th. "If a soldier pretends to dispute the authority of an Officer "of another corps under whose command he is, and if any "soldier presumes to use any indecent language to the non-"commissioned Officers of his own, or any other corps, such "soldier shall be punished in an exemplary manner. The "regiments upon the establishment of seven hundred men "will, upon application to Mr. Porter, the Pay-master General, "receive five hundred pounds on account; and those of a "thousand men, seven hundred pounds. Divine service will "be performed to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, and four in "the afternoon, &c."

We have supported a brisk fire upon the town all this last night and to-day. In the afternoon they gave us three shells and about twenty shot, with no better success than usual. As some sloops were dropping down to General Wolfe's camp with provisions, the enemy bombarded them from their mortar battery above the Point de Lest, and the compliment was returned from our battery on the eastern eminence by the fall. A few prisoners were brought in by the rangers. The chief Engineer disapproves of storming Quebec, as an enterprise extremely dangerous, and without any prospect of succeeding, particularly as the fleet cannot assist us, their guns not having sufficient elevation to affect the upper town; Major M'Kellar (who is well acquainted with all the interior

* The second of July; and the 12th we opened our batteries.—*Note by author.*

parts of the place)[1] is also of opinion, that, if we were even masters of the lower town, we could neither carry our point, nor continue in possession of it. 1759. August.

The weather excessively hot for some days. Divine service performed at different hours for the convenience of the troops. Nothing extraordinary at our batteries. At ten o'clock this night our camp was alarmed by a discharging of small arms off the point upon the river; this was occasioned by one of the enemy's watch-boats and our's having met in the dark, whereupon a scuffle ensued, and [26] Monsieur sheered off, after exchanging a volley: we had one sailor killed, and two wounded; the loss* of the enemy is unknown to us. Cool weather, gloomy air, with a British wind to pass the town. A great firing of cannon was heard early this morning above Quebec.[2] The enemy having presumed to fire several muskets into Mr. Wolfe's camp, and wound one of his advanced centries, he retaliated it by a discharge of all his cannon and howitzers. The detachment under Captain Goreham, that went down the river the 6th instant, returned this afternoon: at setting out, they crossed over to Orleans in boats, and embarked at the lower end of that island in small trading sloops. After they passed l'isle de Madame, they bore down upon the Zephir sloop of war, who was cruising in the river, Captain Goreham being charged with a particular message for the Commander of her; but, as it was late in the evening, and there being 19th.

[1] Patrick Mackellar spent a short time in Quebec in the month of July 1757. He made a detailed report of the works and buildings of the city, and enlarged a French plan of the Engineer Bellin, to which he added numerous English references. The plan and the report were handed to General Wolfe in February 1759, and they are now in the possession of the editor. See Appendix.

* I was told, at Quebec, it was not a regular watch-boat. Eight volunteers of the enemy thought to amuse themselves and surprise one of our boats; they had two killed, and three wounded, one of whom died after lingering three weeks.—*Note by author.*

[2] This, doubtless, was the firing of the British ships at Pointe-aux-Trembles to distract attention from the descent being made at Portneuf. (Log of the *Sutherland: Canadian Archives*, M. 597.)

1759. August. many creeks and bays yet unknown to us, where it is not improbable but the enemy might have small craft concealed, the Zephir fired upon them, and continued to do so for a considerable time, not chusing to know them in the dark. At length, Mr. Goreham, ordering his vessels to lie too, took to his boat, and rowed up within hailing of the Zephir; and, telling who he was, and that he brought some commands from the Admiral and General, he was taken on board; luckily there was no mischief done in this blundering rencounter. The sloop of war then taking the detachment under convoy, they came to an anchor off the island of Coudre, and next morning, at day-break, they got into their boats, and rowed to Paul's bay; when they came within reach of the shore, they were saluted with a shower of musketry, by which one man was killed, and eight were wounded; among the latter was a Midshipman (dangerously)[1] and two sailors; before the villagers could load again, the boats were grounded, and the troops instantly pushed on shore, charged, and [27] routed the wretched inhabitants. Captain Goreham, finding the houses abandoned, set fire to the village, and destroyed every building therein, except the church; on the door of which he fixed up an advertisement of the General's, informing the Canadians, "that the rigorous measures he now pursued, and should "certainly persevere in, were occasioned by the contempt they "shewed to the manifesto he published in June, and to the "gracious offers he therein proposed to them; moreover, that "they made such ungrateful returns, in practising the most "unchristian-like barbarities against his troops on all occa-"sions, that he could no longer refrain, with justice to himself "and his army, chastising them as they deserved, &c." This detachment took twenty head of black cattle, forty sheep and hogs, a great quantity of poultry, and an immense deal of plunder, consisting of books, apparel, and household-stuff of

[1] The midshipman belonged to one of the boats of the *Prince Frederick*, but his name is not given.

various kinds. They had a Swiss for their guide, who had been a Captain of militia, also a resident for several years in the township of St. Paul, and deserted from the enemy some time before. Monsieur de Vaudreuil had much confidence in this fellow, and gave him the command of all the men in that district who were able to bear arms, with orders to harass us, as often as opportunity should offer, by landing small parties on the east end of Orleans, the island of Coudre, &c. "and, if he should "make two or more British Officers prisoners, to reserve one "only for intelligence, and scalp the others; all sailors and "private soldiers were to have no quarters granted them." Among the Priest's papers there was a letter from the Governor-General to him, with positive commands, if he could possibly discover the Swiss Captain (alluding to that deserter), to hang him instantly, without a moment's hesitation or ceremony. His Excellency, in another letter to this reverend Father, gave him a relation of the attempt we made at the Point de Lest on the 31st *ult.* wherein, he said, "they had "beat us off with great loss, and had burned two of our best "frigates, &c." The Priest was ordered, "to be very diligent "and exact in watching all ships passing [28] up or down the "river, with or without troops on board; if possible to surprise "some of our small craft at anchor, and to be punctual in "transmitting reports of all his observations, and of every "occurrence, &c." By the deserter above-mentioned we are informed, that two thousand Canadians have been permitted to withdraw from the army to reap their harvest. A heavy storm of rain in the evening, with great thunder and lightning.[1] 1759. August.

Notwithstanding the quantity of cattle brought in from time to time by our light troops, we are frequently reduced to 21st.

[1] The following order was issued on August 20: "If any woman refuses to serve as a nurse in the hospital, or after being there leaves it without being regularly dismis'd by order of the director, she shall be struck of the provision roll; and if found afterwards in any of the camps, shall be turn'd out immediately." (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series.)

1759. August. eat horse-flesh, beef, mutton, &c. being reserved for the hospitals. The Indian prisoner,[1] who was on board the Admiral's ship, threw himself into the river last night, and made his escape: the centries on deck fired after him, and boats put off in hopes to recover him; but, as the savages in general are dexterous in swimming and diving, their searches were fruitless. We fire a little on the town to-day without any return;—the weather is so extremely wet and disagreeable that very little advantage can now be reaped any-where. At noon General Wolfe discharged some howitzers into the enemy's camp. *The project of erecting a fortress on the island of Coudre, for a garrison of three thousand men, is laid aside for want of proper materials, and the season being too far advanced for such an undertaking. The enterprise of storming Quebec is also given up, as too desperate to hope for success.*

22d. It is with the greatest concern to the whole army, that we are now informed of our amiable General's being very ill of a slow fever: the soldiers lament him exceedingly, and seemed apprehensive of this event, before we were ascertained of it, by his not visiting this camp * for several days past. Our new batteries are to mount nineteen guns, (it is said some twelves and) twenty-four pounders: we talk of erecting another, to the left of the whole, for five guns; which will augment our number to thirty-six pieces [29] of cannon, besides mortars. As another fire-raft was expected last night, the transports and small craft were previously ordered to fall down a-stern of the fleet. Alarm-posts for the troops in this camp are appointed to-day in public orders.[2] Our batteries are now limited to

[1] This was the naked "savage looking brute" who was captured on the 4th. Evidently he had recovered from his fear of punishment by Montcalm.

* At Point de Levi.—*Note by author.*

[2] The author does not make any reference to the Regimental Order issued on that day: "Aug. 22. R. O. Thos. Darby and George Everson having behaved in a scandilous and unsoldierlike manner upon their post last night, the first by screaming out and firing his piece, and both by giving the most evident tokens of fear; it is the Col's orders that they shall stand an hour at ye necessary house, each with a woman's cap upon his head this evening, as a small

twenty-five rounds in twenty-four hours per gun, and the mortars to forty-five. A boat, passing from the lower town to Charles's river, was this day knocked to pieces by a gun-shot: out of five passengers we could only discern two who waded a-shore. It blows fresh down the river. Mornings and evenings raw and cold. 1759. August.

Early this morning the troops eastward of the fall began to burn some settlements in their neighbourhood; presently after the alarm-bells were rung at Beauport, and the out-parties of the enemy assembled in their camp. In a note from an Officer on the north side, he tells me, 'he is just returned 'from a scout of twelve miles, and that the Canadians are 'beginning to reap their pease and barley.' The General was lately heard to say in conversation, 'that he would chearfully 'sacrifice a leg or an arm to be in possession of Quebec.' Goreham's post was attacked this morning by one of the enemy's floating batteries: they had the presumption to come within the range of our musketry, but got such a warm reception, that they were soon obliged to retire with great precipitation; among their complement of hands on board four only were able to row her off, and they did not even attempt to fire a stern-chace in their retreat. Some sailors went out, contrary to repeated orders, to gather pease and vegetables; a party of the country-people fired upon them, whereby one was killed on the spot, and another was brought in mortally wounded. The garrison threw about a dozen shot and three shells at our batteries this afternoon, in the space of two hours, without any 23d.

punishment for the dishonour they have brought upon the corps and their brother soldiers. They are for the future to march in the front of all parties without a grain of powder in their pieces, where they may have the opportunity to wipe of the infamy they now lay under, and where any cowardice will be immediately punish'd in the most examplary manner. The com'g. officer does not suppose there is another man in the regt. who is afraid of the French or their contemptible allies; but if their should be any such, they are desir'd to give their names into the Adjt., that they may be properly posted in time of service." (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series.)

1759. August. success. A Priest, with about four score of his parishioners, have fortified themselves in a house, a few miles to the eastward of our camp, on the north side of the river, where they indiscreetly pretend to brave our troops: a detachment of light infantry, with a field-piece and a howitzer, are to be sent to reduce them.[1]

24th. [30] I crossed the river this morning to wait on the General, and receive his orders for this brigade; this is the first and only opportunity I had of being in that camp, where no pains have been spared to render it impregnable: a tolerable house stood convenient here for Mr. Wolfe's quarters, but he was so ill above stairs as not to be able to come to dinner.[2] There being no particular commands for me, and as I had some spare time on my hands, I ventured to take a walk to the westward, and view more distinctly the Leap (as the French term it) of Montmorencie, and the enemy's intrenchments: this natural curiosity appears, from the south shore, to be much higher than it is in reality; I believe it does not exceed fifty feet, if so much, though others think differently, from its level of the beach, where it falls in a perpendicular line; and the rivulet which supplies it is so inconsiderable, not surpassing thirty feet in breadth, (though it contracts gradually towards the bottom, like an artificial ditch in an intrenchment, but not altogether so regular) that it is amazing to see so stupendous a cataract from such an insignificant brook: this I can no otherwise take upon me to account for, than upon a supposition that this body of water is considerable towards its source, and its being reduced, at the south end, to the narrow limits of a stream, causes it to rush down the cliff with a strength and rapidity not to be conceived.* I had very nigh paid dear

[1] See pp. 45, 51.

[2] The house is still standing.

* In some modern maps, that I have seen, of the bason of Quebec, and the circumjacent country, this cataract is laid down at three hundred and sixty-six feet, which, I am persuaded, is a most egregious mistake; for the rising ground immediately to the eastward of it, still considerably higher, can-

for my inquisitiveness; for, while I stood upon the eminence with a paper and pencil in my hand, making some observations on this cascade, the advantageous situation of the enemy on the opposite side of it, with the superiority of this ground over the left of theirs in point of height, and the natural strength of the country all round me, I was hastily called to by one of our centinels, when, throwing my eyes about, [31] I saw a Frenchman creeping under the eastern extremity of their breast-work, next the main river, to fire at me; this obliged me to retire as fast as I could out of his reach, and, making up to the centry to thank him for his attention, he told me the fellow had snapped his piece twice, and the second time it flashed in the pan, at the instant when I turned away from the fall. Having satisfied my curiosity, and not finding myself disposed to give Monsieur another chance at this time, on so trivial an occasion, I returned to the head quarters. An Officer of the Royal Americans trooping off the quarter-guard, after being relieved, had one of his legs broken by a random musket-shot from the enemy*: I am amazed accidents of this kind

1759. August.

not exceed, if it even measures, one hundred and fifty feet from its submit [*sic*] to the level of the beach below, taking it also in a perpendicular line.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who visited the Falls in September 1749, ten years before the author, says: "The breadth of the falls is not above ten or twelve yards. Its perpendicular height I guessed to be between one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty feet, and on our return to Quebec we found our guess to be confirmed by several gentlemen, one of whom had actually measured the falls, and found it to be as we had conjectured." Notwithstanding this statement, Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor-General of Lower Canada, in his *Topographical Description of Lower Canada*, 1815, p. 424, says: "Its breadth is sixteen to twenty yards. A little declination of the bed before it reaches this point gives a great velocity to the stream which is being impelled over the brink of a perpendicular rock, falls in an extended sheet of water of a whiteness and fleecy appearance resembling snow, into a chasm amongst the rocks, two hundred and forty feet below." In Lippincott's *Gazetteer*, 1910, the height is given as 265 feet. The Admiralty charts give the height as 251 feet.

* He did not long survive this disaster.[2]—*Note by author.*

[2] Lieutenant Peter de Witt: see list of killed and wounded in Appendix.

1759. August. have not more frequently happened from the vicinity of the two camps; whence it appears to me, that the Sieur de Montcalm is determined to adhere to his prudent system of acting upon the defensive, because it is evident he might at first have routed General Wolfe's troops from the east side of the rivulet, or at least to a greater distance, if he had foreseen any bad consequences from our possession of that ground, or any real advantage that could accrue to us over his army by taking post there.—In the evening I returned to Point Levi: the enemy were very complaisant, as we passed and repassed, by not firing at our boat from their battery above the Point de Lest, according to their custom. A flag of truce came down to-day, with an account of the death of the gallant Captain Ouchterloney, who was wounded and taken prisoner the 31st *ult.* his baggage, that had been forwarded to him at his request, was faithfully returned. The Priest, who fortified himself on the north side of the river, sent a written invitation to an Officer who commanded in a house in his neighbourhood, 'to 'honour him with his company to dinner, with an assurance, 'that he, and any Officer of his detachment, who would be 'kind enough to accompany him, should return with the 'greatest safety:' he added,—'that, as the English Officer fought 'for his King and for glory, he [32] hoped he himself would 'be excused in fighting for his poor parishioners, and defending 'his country:' to which, after a polite apology for not being able to accept of the civility, the Officer subjoined, 'That, he 'flattered himself, he should soon have the happiness of enter-'taining the gallant Priest, and his adherents, in the British 'camp.'

A Gunner deserted this morning, and was taken up, about eight miles off, by an advanced party of rangers: they found him employed in making a raft, on which he proposed to cross the river. It is confidently reported that this camp is soon to be attacked by a large detachment of the enemy, under Monsieur de Levis; that it is to be a night affair, and attempted

by surprise. The town threw five shells at our batteries to-day, but there was no mischief done: we continue to keep the place in ruin. 1759. August.

Our brigade are ordered to throw up some additional works for the security of this camp; a few prisoners were brought in to-day by a party of rangers. The unfortunate Priest is defeated; a detachment of light troops laid an ambuscade in the skirts of the wood near to his fortified house, and, as soon as the field-piece was brought up, and began to play, he, with his men, sallied out, when, falling into the ambush, thirty of them, with their leader, were surrounded, killed, and scalped; the reason of their being treated with such cruelty proceeded from the wretched parishioners having disguised themselves like Indians: in this rencounter we had five men wounded.[1] Brigadier Monckton has acquainted the troops here, by order of General Wolfe, that he has received intelligence of an attack menaced against this camp, or the west Point of Orleans, and that it is to be put in execution, probably, this night.—The parish of Richet, with the stately house lately occupied by the indiscreet priest, called Château Richet, are now in flames. At nine o'clock this night Brigadier Murray returned from the upper river:[2] he destroyed a magazine at Chambaud, consisting of provisions, ammunition, spare cloathing, with other stores and baggage of the [33] French army, took several prisoners, and obliged the enemy to burn a brigantine of two hundred tons; this however was not effected without some loss, Mr. Murray having made two different attempts to land, before he could carry his point. By sundry letters that were found, and are confirmed by some fashionable prisoners, we have agreeable accounts of General 25th.

[1] This was at Château Richer, and the unfortunate priest was M. Portneuf, curé of St. Joachim.

[2] See p. 16, note. The operations of Murray up the river upset, as we have seen, all the plans of Wolfe for an attack on Quebec in the month of August. When the Brigadier returned, Wolfe was confined to his bed in the little upper room of the cottage at Montmorency, too ill to direct the campaign.

1759. August. Amherst's success at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, the enemy being obliged to abandon those important posts, upon the approach of his artillery; and Monsieur Bourlemacque is retired to a strong pass at isle au Noix, on the lake Champlain, with his forces, amounting to near three thousand men; where they are fortified with a resolution to defend it, as they give out, to the last extremity. Through the same channel we have the happy news of the reduction of Niagara, by a detachment of Mr. Amherst's army, commanded by Brigadier-General Prideaux, consisting of three regiments of regulars, some provincials, and a large body of Indians, under Sir William Johnson; but that unfortunately the Brigadier, and another Officer of distinction, were killed. We are likewise assured, that the whole number of men in arms throughout this province do not exceed twenty-five thousand, including regulars, Indians, and Canadians, from the age of sixteen to seventy: that the latter are very discontented, and would chearfully surrender their capital, if they had people of resolution among them to excite and encourage a revolt, rather than see their country thus groaning and bleeding under the calamities of war. The enemy's ships, in the upper river, had this advantage over Admiral Holmes's division, that they could easily lighten, by sending their guns, ballast, &c. a-shore, to inable them to pass any interruptions in the navigation, which the Admiral could not effect, the country being every-where fortified, and the same attention paid to the defence of it, that we have experienced below, and in the circumjacent parts of Quebec. Wherever Brigadier Murray met with any opposition or annoyance, he made severe reprisals, leaving his reasons behind him in a written paper affixed [34] to the doors of their churches; by which others of the unhappy natives profited, they permitting his troops to pass through several villages unmolested. The enemy have got a squadron of three hundred light cavalry, well accoutered and appointed, to act occasionally on foot or horse-back, as

circumstances may require.[1] A soldier of the forty-eighth regiment was found scalped, and otherwise most inhumanly butchered in a field of pease, about three hundred yards W. S. W. of our batteries: His Excellency General Wolfe is on the recovery, to the inconceivable joy of the whole army.[2] 1759. August.

[1] Montcalm's *Journal* has the following entry under date of June 22, 1759: "Formation d'une troupe à cheval aux ordres de M. de la Rochebeaucour, deux cents chevaux uniquement bons pour ordonnances, patrouilles, aller vite se battre à pied." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. vii. p. 556.)

[2] Wolfe had been ill from the beginning of August; but he continued to attend to his duties until the 19th or 20th of the month, when he was confined to his bed in the little house at Montmorency. On the 25th the author reports that the General "is on the recovery." About this time he prepared a memorandum addressed to the Brigadiers: "That the public Service may not suffer by the General's indisposition, He begs the Brigadiers will be so good to meet, and consult together for the public Utility and advantage, and consider of the best method of attacking the Enemy." At the same time he proposed three methods of attacking the army (his own plan, we learn from another document, he considered too dangerous to ask others to undertake): 1st. To ford the Montmorency eight or nine miles above the Falls, and then penetrate the rear of the French intrenchments at Beauport; 2nd. To ford the water below the Falls, and scale the heights in front of the camp at Beauport; 3rd. For all the troops to attack the Beauport shore at low water. This memorandum was delivered to Monckton early on August 29. On August 30 the Brigadiers rejected Wolfe's proposal, and prepared a plan of operations "in consequence of the above answer." The plan of the Brigadiers was to remove the artillery from Montmorency to Orleans, to put the works at Orleans in a good state of defence, and leave 600 men to defend it. Six hundred men were to be left for the defence of Point Lévy, and 1000 men were to defend the batteries. The remainder of the army was to camp with two months' provisions on the west side of the Etchemin above the town. With the assistance of the boats an attack was to be made at night on the north shore half a league above the Cap Rouge River. The Brigadiers considered that a landing might be effected anywhere for a distance of three leagues from the height of St. John to Cap Rouge River, and that "two attempts might be made either of which succeeding is sufficient." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. ii. pp. 237–244.) Wolfe "acquiesced" in this plan, and it was put into effect at once; but the bad weather delayed the operations. "A Plan was immediately set on foot, to attempt a Landing about four Leagues above the Town," wrote Admiral Holmes, "and it was ready to be put in execution when General Wolfe reconnoitered down the River, and fixed upon Foulon, a Spot adjacent to the Citadel." (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 295.)

On the 7th, Wolfe had recovered sufficiently to take an active part in the campaign, but he does not seem to have communicated his intentions to his Brigadiers, as Townshend wrote on the 10th: "By some intelligence the Genl.

1759. August. 26th. The troops in this camp were very alert last night, prepared to receive the enemy; but unluckily they disappointed us: there were a few popping shots fired by our centries who

has had he has changed his mind as to the place he intended to land." (*Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 267.) Where that place was the Brigadiers evidently did not know. On the morning of September 12, 1759, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray addressed a joint letter to Wolfe as follows:

"Sir,

As we do not think ourselves sufficiently informed of the several parts which may fall to our Share in the execution of the Des-cent you intend to-morrow, we must beg leave to request from you, as distinct Orders as the nature of the thing will admit of, particularly to the place or places we are to attack. This circumstance (perhaps very decisive) we cannot learn from the public orders, neither may it be in the power of the naval officer who leads the Troops to instruct us. As we should be very sorry, no less for the public than our own sakes, to commit any mistakes, we are persuaded you will see the necessity of this application, which can proceed from nothing but a desire to execute your Orders with the utmost punctuality.

We are, Sir, etc.,
ROBT. MONCKTON,
GEO. TOWNSHEND,
JAS. MURRAY."

At half-past eight on the evening of the 12th, Wolfe sent a communication, probably the last from his pen, to Monckton: ". . . The place is called the *Foulon* distant upon 2 miles or 2½ from Quebec. . . . The officers who are appointed to conduct the divisions of Boats have been strictly enjoined to keep as much order and to act as silently as the nature of the Service will admit of, and Capt. Shads will begin to land the men a little of this side of the naked Rock, which you must remember to have seen, within which (to the East-ward) the Enemy is posted.

"It is not a usual thing to point out in the public orders the direct spot of our attack, nor for any inferiour Officers not charged with a particular duty to ask instructions upon that point. I had the Honor to inform you today that it is my duty to attack the French Army. To the best of my knowledge and abilities I have fixed upon that spot where we can act with the most force and are most likely to succeed. If I am mistaken I am sorry for it and must be answerable to his Majesty and the public for the consequences." (*Ibid.*, vol. vi. pp. 59–60.) For over a hundred years there has been a discussion as to who was the originator of the plan by which Quebec was taken, and notwithstanding the publication of these letters, which prove that the Brigadiers were unaware of the place they were to attack on the 13th, there are critics who still believe that the genesis of the idea came from the Brigadiers, and that this letter was the determining impulse. (See *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1903, p. 147.) Wolfe's *Journal*, however, effectually disposes of this theory, and we see that as early as July 19 he would have carried out the plan had the Admiral considered it feasible.

were advanced above the batteries, and imagined they saw an armed party making towards them; except which, we had no other alarm on this side; neither was there any disturbance on the Point of Orleans, as had been also expected. A gentleman at Quebec has written to a provincial Officer *, who was a 1759. August.

* This is Mr. Stobo, an Officer of great merit, who had been an occasional Major of the provincials, and, for particular good services, was rewarded with a company in the fifteenth regiment of foot.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] Robert Stobo, who figures so often in this *Journal*, was the son of William Stobo, merchant, of Glasgow. He was born in the year 1727, and as a child was of a delicate constitution, having been "nursed two spring seasons of breast milk." He employed his play-hours "in drum-beating, mustering and exercising his comrades." His father died in 1740, and after spending "a season or two" at the University he went to Virginia to serve in a store of some Glasgow merchants. In 1747 he returned to Glasgow, and with the capital derived from the sale of property purchased a supply of merchandise and returned to Virginia to tempt fortune. He seems to have been of a very hospitable turn of mind, and most of his time was spent in the entertainment of his friends. Naturally he became very popular. In 1754, when the Virginians found it expedient to oppose the encroachments of the French on their frontiers, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Stobo a Captain in the Provincial Regiment. Stobo, according to his *Memoirs*, began his military career in a somewhat unusual fashion. Having "provided himself with a covered waggon, well filled with every necessary proper to make their mountainous woody deserts as agreeable as their situation would admit," he set forth to war. "During his stay with the regiment he kept an open table in the wilderness, which was plentifully supplied with the game the woods afforded, as he had some of the best sportsmen of this kind constantly out for that purpose; besides, he carried a whole butt of Madeira wine with him at his first setting out." (*Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo, of the Virginia Regiment:* Pittsburg, 1854, pp. 15, 16.) When the troops under Washington were compelled to surrender at Fort Necessity (in the construction of which Stobo acted as engineer), the French held two hostages, Robert Stobo and Van Braam, for the performance of the terms of capitulation. The hostages were taken to Fort Du Quesne, and here Stobo employed his time in making a plan of the fort, which he duly signed and sent with several letters to Braddock. When the unfortunate General was killed some of his papers fell into the hands of the French, and amongst them the plan of Fort Du Quesne, bearing the signature of Stobo. The part which the hostage had played was now disclosed, and Stobo was removed from place to place until he reached Quebec, where he was confined as a prisoner. In 1756 he effected his escape from Quebec, and a reward of six thousand livres was offered for his capture. The woods were scoured and the unhappy Captain was brought back and confined in a dungeon.

A report of his conduct was sent to France, and in due time the Governor was instructed to try the prisoner by court-martial. The verdict of the court

1759. August. prisoner there, to request he would obtain a protection from the General for his country-seat on the island of Orleans: as that person was always remarkable for great humanity and politeness to British captives, his suit is chearfully granted. A Serjeant of the thirty-fifth regiment, a bold desperate fellow,

was "Death." The proceedings were transmitted to the King for confirmation of the sentence, and, in the meantime, Stobo was transferred to the common gaol. Here he seems to have made many friends and gradually was given a certain amount of freedom, and mixed with some of the best people of the place. His quarters were changed to a house on the ramparts, probably that overlooking the river St. Charles, which was used during the French regime for prisoners of war. According to his *Memoirs*, there was a young lady in Quebec, the daughter of an officer, who took pity on the unfortunate Captain and ministered to his wants. She may have assisted him in various ways, and been responsible for his removal to the ramparts. Here he fell in with Lieutenant Stevenson of the Rangers, also a prisoner, who had been taken at Beauséjour, and the two formed a plan of escape. Another prisoner named Clark, who had become a convert to the religion of the French, and consequently enjoyed more liberty, was also in the plot. Stobo with great difficulty succeeded in removing a bar from his window, and on the last day of April, 1759, escaped. At the river St. Charles he met Stevenson and Clark, the latter with his wife and children. The little party embarked in a canoe, and by hiding in the woods by day and taking to the water by night they reached Kamouraska. Here they held up a four-oared boat and compelled the owner to part with it. Some time later, by the aid of a white flag, they surprised a small schooner and entrapped the crew, and in this vessel finally reached Louisbourg about the end of June. (*Memoirs*, pp. 17–65.) On July 1, Amherst received a letter from Governor Whitmore at Louisbourg, informing the General of Stobo's escape and stating that he had ordered him to proceed to Quebec, as he would be useful to Wolfe. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 213–1, p. 80.) Stobo appears to have reached Quebec about July 10, and no doubt was exceedingly useful. He seems to have entered into correspondence with people in Quebec, and the Curé Récher said that one of the lady prisoners who had been returned to Quebec had been shown a letter by Stobo from one of the inhabitants regarding the movements of the French. (*Recherches Historiques*, vol. ix. p. 346.) He was no doubt in a position to give the location of different stores, and on September 7 he was entrusted with the difficult mission of conveying despatches to Amherst. On September 10 he fell into the hands of a privateer, but effected his escape, and reached Crown Point in October. (*Siege of Quebec*, vi. 441.) The British no doubt were grateful for the information he obtained, but probably they did not approve all the methods by which it was secured. On June 5, 1760, he was appointed Captain in the 15th Regiment of Foot, and his name appears in the *Army List* of 1770. Of his subsequent career we know nothing.

deserted across the fall to the enemy;[1] some cannon and musketry were fired after him, but he escaped without any accident. Our batteries and the town exchanged many shot and shells to-day; our weather now warm and pleasant. 1759. August.

[1] It is probable that the name of the bold desperate sergeant was Car, Carr, or Kerr, and that after the fall of Quebec he made his way to Restigouche and there baffled the various expeditions which were sent to effect his capture. He appears to have been a communicative fellow and to have given the French valuable information. We find this entry in a French journal on the 27th:

"*August* 27. An orderly sergeant, an English deserter, who came to us yesterday, reported:

"1st. That the English have a large number of men sick with the flux and with fevers, that Mr. Wolfe himself was so ill that his life was despaired of.

"2nd. That they knew that the French had blown up Carillon and St. Frederick, and lost Niagara. . . .

"(I omit the 3rd, which is marked false.)

"4th. That the fleet would soon be leaving, but that he believed that the English would first make another landing; and that in order to do so they would anchor five or six of their ships broadside on to the town.

"5th. That the ships from above Quebec were about to pass down again, and would do so the following night. *Note:* There is every reason to assume that what was said on these last two points must have been poorly comprehended by our people in regard to the ships above Quebec and other ships which were to anchor broadside on, and that they must have come to an understanding regarding the following news.

"6th. That a detachment of English having gone as far as the fourth church below Beauport, had found twelve men there and among them a priest, who doubtless finding themselves too weak [to resist], threw themselves on their knees, asking for quarter, and that, notwithstanding their prayers, the English fired and killed the priest and several others, which makes us anxious about M. de Portneuf, the parish priest of St. Joachim. As a matter of fact it was he whom they took with eight inhabitants, after having drawn them from the wood into the open by feigning to retreat, and having surrounded them. They scalped him, and smashed his head. There is reason to believe that they did not shoot him, but killed him with sword-strokes, as well as the 7 inhabitants whose bodies were found in the house with M. de Pontneuf's. The English were enraged against our people who had insulted them from a distance.

"7th. That as for this sergeant, what had led him to desert, was the fear of being punished for having killed an officer in a quarrel beyond the Sault." (*Journal de Récher: Recherches Historiques*, vol. ix. p. 371.)

In 1760 Car caused great annoyance in the District of Baie des Chaleurs by inciting the Indians and Canadians to resist British authority. He also attacked the vessels in the river St. Lawrence. In 1760 Murray commissioned

1759. August. 27th. The fifteenth regiment, who have been in the upper river, repassed the town last night in flat-bottomed boats, and returned to camp; the enemy did not perceive them. An assistant Gunner of the marines had his head shot off at our batteries, by his gun's not being properly sponged before he loaded her; another was severely [35] wounded by the same disaster. A fair wind up the river, which blows fresh; moderate firing at our batteries. About nine o'clock this night the Leostaff frigate, Hunter sloop, and two transport cats passed the town; the enemy gave them a most tremendous fire, which was vigorously returned on our part, and continued above an hour; our pleasant weather is changed again to rain.

Grandmaison to make prisoner, if possible, and bring up to Quebec one Car, "a wicked sergeant of an English regiment who had deserted from the British army and taken refuge among the Acadians at Baie des Chaleurs." In a statement of Murray's expenditure we find these items:

"Feb. 5, 1760. To paid Joseph Heon, come up with Letters from Baye des Chaleurs £1 0 0

Apl. 19, 1761. To paid a Gratuity for the use of Jean Bourgeois, who accompd Grandmaison in order to seize Carr the Deserter £5 0 0

July 7, 1761. To paid Grandmaison as a Gratuity on his Arrival at Quebec £5 0 0

July 21. To paid Grandmaison his account of Expences for his Journey to Ristigouche to seize Car the Deserter . . £18 14 2"

Peter Du Calvet also appears to have taken a hand in the pursuit of the wicked sergeant, for under the date of September 23, 1761, we find an entry of £25, paid to Jean de Ronce for the hire of a chaloupe to carry Calvet to Ristigouche. (*Canadian Archives*, C.O. 42, vol. i. pt. 2. See also *The Case of Peter Du Calvet:* London, 1748, pp. 14–23.)

Car, or Kerr, seems to have been not only "wicked" and "rascally," but "illusive," a particularly grave offence. He evidently disturbed the peace of mind of the Commander-in-Chief, for General Amherst, writing to Murray on May 27, 1761, says: "I wish from my heart that Sergeant Kerr had been taken, if it is possible an Execution can give me pleasure it must be when such a Villain meets with the punishment he deserves. I am willing to think his Fellow is not to be found. Pray reward Grandmaison as you think he deserves." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D, p. 84.)

Although the sergeant may have been swift of foot, he would hardly have escaped the vigilance of his pursuers without the assistance of the friendly Indians in the vicinity.

We heard a heavy discharging of small arms, last night, in the rear of the left of the enemy's intrenchments, towards the upper ford. The Hunter sloop, in passing the town, had one man killed, and two dangerously wounded; which were the only accidents that happened to any of these four ships.[1] 1759. August. 28th.

For these two days we have had fine weather, with refreshing breezes. This afternoon all the men off duty, with the piquets of this brigade, were ordered out to strip houses, boards being wanted to floor our mens' tents for the preservation of their health. The eldest Captain commanded the whole; we saw some Canadians, at a distance, reaping, who took to their arms, and ran off, as soon as they discovered us; we returned in the evening without any annoyance from these unhappy people. Our troops, eastward of Montmorencie, are preparing to evacuate that ground; the enemy's batteries, westward of the cataract, cannonaded the boats that were passing to General Wolfe's camp, in order to bring off the sick, women, and heavy baggage; but his Excellency, by a superior fire from all his cannon and howitzers, soon silenced them. The discharging of small arms in the rear of the left 29th.

[1] Orders issued in the French camp on August 28: . . .

"The Soldiers and Canadians have given so many proofs of their zeal and devotion that there is nothing which may not be expected of them in order to complete a campaign that will cover them with glory, that will ensure peace, the return to their country, and rest for both. The condition of our provisions demands a reduction while awaiting those from Montreal. Beginning therefore tomorrow all rations including those of the generals will not exceed three fourths of a pound; a drink of brandy will be given instead to the Canadian soldiers and Indians every morning, the majors of each corps will accordingly send every morning to fetch the materials of such a Distribution; the officers attached to the Indians will see to it that no Disorders occur, [and] that the drink is served out to each Indian in the morning one after the other according to the old method. M. de Courtemanche will therefore send to fetch the necessary brandy. Soldiers and Canadians are notified that this reduction will only take place until the arrival of the flour from Montreal; towards the 15th [Sept.] at the latest, the pound of bread will then be restored. An increased ration of meat would have been given but for the scarcity of that article." (*Canadian Archives: Campagne de* 1759–1760: *Ordres.*)

1759. August. of the enemy's intrenchments, on the night of the 27th, was occasioned by a false alarm in the camp of their Indians, from an apprehension that our troops were in motion, and endeavouring to pass the upper ford. We hear a smart firing of cannon and musketry this evening, at a small distance above the town. No extraordinary occurrences at our batteries these last forty-eight hours, they and the town remaining quiet.

30th. [36] A company of rangers, on a scout towards Beaumont, eastward, surprised about twenty Canadians reaping their corn, who instantly took to their arms, and made to a coppice that covered the road, at half a mile's distance, intending to waylay them; they gave our rangers a fire before they were within reach, which discovered their design; whereupon the Captain retired a little way, formed his men into three divisions, detached one to the right, and another to the left, while the third moved on at a gentle pace: upon the center party's advancing, the enemy fired again, and immediately the other divisions got round, and rushed upon them unexpectedly: five of those wretches were killed and scalped, and four were made prisoners; the rangers had two men slightly wounded, who returned to the field where the Canadians had been reaping, and found a bag of bread, a second of powder, and a third of letters; many of them I read, which breathed most emphatically of misery and distress.[1] A scalp was brought in this evening, with two prisoners, by another party of rangers, from the S. S. W. quarter. A Captain, four Subalterns, and one hundred and seventy volunteers, of the forty-third regiment, with an Officer and thirty marines, are under orders

[1] This distress seems to have been attributed in a large measure to Bigot, the Intendant, to whom we have referred in the Introduction. "On avait ci-devant dit qu'on avait invité tous ceux qui avaient de l'or ou de l'argent blanc, à le donner pour être employer à acheter du bled. La vue de l'espèce sonnante produisit tout le secours desiré. On a ramassé en très peu de temps jusqu'à 21,000 minots de bled dans le gouvernement de Montrèal, preuve convaincante que la famine n'a jamais été dans le pays." (The Hartwell *Journal du Siège de Québec*, p. 29.)

this night, to be ready at a moment's warning to go upon a particular service. 1759. August.

The small parties commanded by Serjeants, who have been hitherto advanced in the front, for the security of the north camp, are discontinued, the piquets being ordered for that duty. General Wolfe appeared in his camp to-day, for the first time since his late illness. A French regular deserted, this morning, across the rivulet of Montmorencie; he confirms the intelligence we received before, respecting the great success of the army, under the Commander in chief, and of the corps under the late Brigadier Prideaux: he adds that two Officers, and four Mohawk Indians*, who were [37] coming express from General Amherst to this army, were taken by the enemy near Les Trois Rivieres. The town and our batteries are quiet to-day: the wind is fair for ships to pass to the upper river. The foregoing command of volunteers and marines, with a detachment from the brigades on the north side, and a large corps of rangers, embarked this evening, the whole commanded by Major Scott; they are to be convoyed down the river, as far as there are any settlements, by a frigate and a sloop of war, with orders to lay waste such parishes as shall presume to persist in their opposition. We are drawing off our cannon from General Wolfe's camp.[1] 31st.

ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The piquets of the line are to lie in the front of the "camp, in such manner as the Brigadier-General of the day "shall direct the Field Officer to post them, except a Subaltern "and twenty of Monckton's, who are to relieve that part of Sept. 1st.

* Two of these Mohawks were roasted to death by the French at Trois Rivieres, in presence of the other two, who were scalped alive, carried to Montreal, and hanged in chains; the Officers, I have been informed, were put in irons, and otherwise very rigorously treated.—*Note by author.*

[1] This was in consequence of the plan proposed by the Brigadiers. See note 2, p. 47.

1759. Sept. "the piquet advanced on the left at the usual hour; the piquets "are not to go out till twelve o'clock. Two boats will be "appointed at nine this night for each regiment, one to take "the baggage that will not be absolutely necessary on board "the transports appointed for the regiment or corps, the "other to carry the necessary heavy baggage to Point Levi. "The Quarter-masters and Camp Colour-men to attend at the "beach, where they will receive their instructions from Colonel "Carlton."[1]

The Seahorse frigate, two cats, and two sloops, passed into the upper river last night between eleven and twelve o'clock, which occasioned a furious firing between the town and our batteries; they had a most favourable breeze at E. S. E. which blew fresh. Some rangers, who did not embark yesterday, having evacuated their posts in order to join Major Scott, a party of the enemy immediately ventured to make their appearance within sight of our batteries, upon [38] which a detachment of light infantry were ordered to hunt them, and to replace the rangers in that quarter. The ships got safe up last night without any accident; others are under orders to pass with the first favourable opportunity. The troops on the north side are burning and destroying the houses and harvest in their neighbourhood. The enemy's batteries above the Point de Lest annoy our boats passing and repassing between the western point of Orleans and the beach eastward of the cascade, which causes much firing into their camp from the General's artillery. Several pieces of brass cannon, twelves and twenty-four pounders, were drawn up to our batteries, and we are throwing up another redoubt there. Some French letters have been intercepted by our rangers; in one of them we learn, that Monsieur Montcalm has hanged two Canadians,[2]

[1] More details are given in the orders as printed by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

[2] This may refer to the execution of two sentinels who were hanged on July 19, on a gibbet erected over the Grand Battery in the Lower Town. See also note, p. 85.

and whipped several others, for quitting the army without his permission; and that he has promised to discharge them all by the 25th of this month, at which time he pretends that our fleet and army will sail down the river. Monsieur Vaudreuil, in his letters to the Priests in the several parishes of the lower country, expresses his surprise at their disobedience to his orders, in not concealing their cattle within the more interior woods of their districts, to prevent their falling into our hands; his Excellency reprimands them for this neglect with great *hauteur*, and injoins them to pay more respect to his commands for the time to come, on pain of incurring his highest displeasure. In a letter to one of those spiritual guides at a place called the South River, a considerable way to the eastward of this camp, he commands him to pay the strictest attention to the care of Monsieur Bois Hibert's[1] batteaus and shallops, to inable that Officer, with his partisans, to return to his government of Acadia after our departure, which, he pretends, 'will soon take place;' he likewise orders the Priest to save and barrel up a large quantity of eels against the winter. It is privately rumoured, with some confidence, that the main body of our army is shortly to be conveyed above the town, to endeavour to force a landing on the north side of the river, between Cape Rouge and Cape Diamond.

1759. Sept.

[39] ORDERS.

Camp at Montmorencie.

"The tents of all the corps are to be struck this evening 2d.[2]
"when dark, and carried down at eight o'clock to the boats

[1] The instructions of Vaudreuil to Boishébert regarding his mission in Acadia fell into the hands of the British. Boishébert was to work in concert with the missionaries, particularly with the "réverend père Germain," who was at Kamouraska. He was instructed to protect the fishermen searching for cod and to secure fish for future use. (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 130.)

[2] On the 2nd, Bell says in his *Journal:* "Came to Pt. Levy and marched above Pt. Pere; Bragg's, Lascelles, Otway's, and Anstruther's, all the Light Infantry with the above, the Granadiers with their respective corps—General Wolfe at Pt. Levy."

1759. Sept. "on the beach, under Anstruther's regiment; there will be a "boat assigned to each corps to carry them off; these boats "must be unloaded at Point Levi before high water, that they "may return with the ebb: a proper Officer will attend."

AFTER ORDERS in the Evening.

"The troops are to march to-morrow morning, and "embark for Point Levi;[1] the signal for their moving will be "the burning of a barn before Brigadier Townshend's house: "those detachments which occupy houses are, when they "evacuate them, to leave a small party, who are to set them "on fire, and then join the main body.[2] Bragg's regiment to "march first, and will be directed by Brigadier Townshend; "Lascelles's next, then Anstruther's, and, lastly, Otway's; "these three regiments are to take the road behind Anstruther's "camp; the two howitzers are to be carried down by Lascelles's. "Colonel Howe's light infantry will form the rear-guard of "the whole, according to the particular instructions given him. "When the troops are drawn up on the beach, they are to leave "an interval between Anstruther's and Lascelles's for the light "infantry."

SECOND AFTER ORDERS.

"The regiments are to repair to their alarm-posts this "night at twelve o'clock; they are to conceal themselves

[1] After the regiments from Montmorency had pitched their tents at Pointe des Pères, the batteries from the town reached the entrenchments and they were obliged to move the camps higher up.

[2] The execution of the order might have been attended with serious consequences had the enemy been more alert. The signal for the troops to move was to be the burning of a barn in front of Townshend's house; but this delayed the Brigadier an hour, and when the troops got down to the water's edge they had to wait three hours for the tide. Brigadier Monckton realized the situation and made a feint as if an attack was intended on the Beauport shore near the river St. Charles. This drew the attention of the French from the retreat at Montmorency. (*Journal of Townshend: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 264.)

" intirely after day-light, so as to try to induce the enemy to 1759. Sept.
" attack them; they will observe this direction to the very
" moment in which [40] the signal will be made. As Otway's
" regiment have the large redoubt, and the grenadiers' redoubt
" in their alarm-posts, they are to send a piquet to the former,
" and the grenadiers to the latter, immediately after dark.
" Lascelles's regiment is to send, as soon as it is dark, a
" Subaltern and twenty men to the lower battery; this Officer
" is to conceal his people after day-light, and to join his
" regiment, when he perceives they are on the march to the
" beach: no fires to be made by the men in their alarm-posts."

General Wolfe is preparing to withdraw his troops from the ground eastward of the cataract; for this purpose he has sent over all his artillery, stores, baggage, tents, &c. Some of the regiments will incamp here, and others are to remain on the island of Orleans until farther orders: the settlements on that agreeable spot have, for the most part, shared the same fate with the rest of the country, wherever our light troops have been detached. Two French regulars deserted across the rivulet of Montmorencie. We fired vigorously on the town last night. The enemy cannonaded our boats passing between this point, the west of Orleans, and the shore occupied by General Wolfe; they beat one of them to pieces, in which were seven men, six of whom were drowned. The wind still continues favourable for ships to pass the town. The garrison are making merlins and embrasures to their great barbet battery next the bason; our batteries retard these works considerably. A sloop of war is under orders to sail to England with dispatches from the Admiral and General. General Wolfe is endeavouring to draw the flower of the French Army, from their strong intrenched camp, to an engagement on his own ground, before he abandons it.

[41] The killed, wounded, and missing of this army, in the different services where we have been employed, since our arrival before Quebec, amount to:

1759. Sept.

	K.	W.	M.	Total of every Rank, Regulars, Marines, Artillery, and Rangers.
Commissioned Officers .	10	47	...	
Serjeants . . .	9	26	...	
Drummers . . .	...	7	...	
Rank and File . .	163	575	17	
Total . .	182	655	17	854

Being now come to that period at which the General drew up a summary of the various transactions of this armament, since our arrival before Quebec, I take the liberty, *in compliance with the particular desire of several gentlemen, whose names are prefixed to this work*, to annex here a transcript of that review comprehended in his Excellency's letter to the Ministry,[1] as it is not only the best and most lively recapitulation that can be made of our sundry proceedings to this day, but also demonstrates, in a great measure, the authenticity of my labours:

'The obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the 'campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or 'could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy '(though superior to us) as from the natural strength of the 'country, which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to 'depend upon. When I learned that succours of all kinds 'had been thrown into Quebec; that five battalions of regular 'troops, completed from the best of the inhabitants of the 'country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian 'that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, 'had taken the field in a very advantageous situation; I could 'not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I

[1] This letter, a draft of which was discussed with the Admiral, and shown to the Brigadiers, was composed at Montmorency in August. It is dated from the Headquarters, Montmorency, in the river St. Lawrence, September 2, 1759:

"Sir, I wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of His Majesty's arms, but the obstacles, etc., etc."

The original is in vol. 88, A. and W. I., Public Record Office, London.

'sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, [42] know- 1759. Sept.
'ing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping
'that a victory might disperse them. We found them in-
'camped, along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles
'to the fall of Montmorencie, and intrenched in every inacces-
'sible[1] part. The 27th of June we landed upon the island of
'Orleans; but, receiving a message from the Admiral, that
'there was reason to think the enemy had artillery and a force
'upon the Point de Levi, I detached Brigadier Monckton
'with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed
'the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to
'the Point; he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and
'possessed himself of that post: the advanced parties, upon
'this occasion, had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians
'and Indians, with little loss on either side. Colonel Carleton
'marched with a detachment to the westermost Point of Orleans,
'whence our operations were likely to begin. It was absolutely
'necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them; be-
'cause from either the one or the other the enemy might[2] it
'impossible for any ship to lie in the bason of Quebec, or
'even within two miles of it. Batteries of cannon and mortars
'were erected with great dispatch on the Point of Levi,[3] to bom-
'bard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and
'batteries: the enemy, perceiving these works in some forward-
'ness, passed the river with sixteen hundred men to attack and
'destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon
'one another, and went back again; by which we lost an
'opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect
'of this artillery has been so great, though across the river, that
'the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town
'intirely destroyed. The works, for the security of our hos-
'pitals and stores upon the isle of Orleans, being finished, on

[1] "accessible": see Errata. [2] "make": see Errata.

[3] The whole of the south shore opposite Quebec, between Point Levi and the river Etchemin, was commonly referred to as Lévis or Point Levi. The British batteries against the town were at Pointe des Pères.

1759. Sept. 'the 9th of July, at night, we passed the north channel, and 'incamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorencie be- 'tween us. The next morning Captain Danks's company of 'rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were at- '[43] tacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so 'many killed and wounded as to be almost disabled for the 'rest of the campaign: the enemy also suffered in this affair, 'and were, in their turn, driven off by the nearest troops. 'The ground to the eastward of the fall seemed to be, as it 'really is, higher than that on the enemy's side, and to com- 'mand it in a manner that might be made useful to us. 'There is besides a ford below the fall, which may be passed 'for some hours in the latter part of the ebb, and beginning 'of the flood tide; and I had hopes that possibly means 'might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight the 'Marquis de Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than 'directly attacking his intrenchments. In reconnoitring the 'river Montmorencie, we found it fordable at a place about 'three miles up;[1] but the opposite bank was intrenched, and 'so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a 'passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians,

[1] The fordable place referred to is not more than two miles north of the Falls, according to the *Dialogue in Hades* (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Second Series, p. 11). This ford was unknown to the French generals until after the British occupied the east side of the Falls in July 1759. The high ground above the ford was then occupied by the Chevalier de Repentigny, who established his camp there. Repentigny constructed works of considerable importance round the camp to defend the approaches from the river Montmorency. The camp and the works are described in a contemporary manuscript plan of the Montmorency River, now in the Map Division of the Library of Congress, Washington.

The Chevalier de Repentigny greatly distinguished himself in the affair at Montmorency on July 31, 1759, and also by his efforts in preventing the British from crossing at Montmorency. In the following year he served with Lévis at Ste. Foy and arrested the progress of the British centre.

The Repentigny family was prominent in the annals of Canada. In the chapel of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec there still burns a votive lamp which was first trimmed by a young novice, Marie Madelaine de Repentigny, in 1717, and ever since has been kept steadfastly burning. She had been engaged to an officer who died on the eve of their marriage. Thereupon she

'who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had 1759. Sept.
'forty, Officers and men, killed and wounded. The 18th of
'July two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports,
'with some troops on board, passed by the town without any

entered the cloister, and at her request her brother donated three hundred livres for the maintenance of the lamp. This brother was Jean-Baptiste René Le Gardeur de Repentigny.

One of his sons, Pierre, was in 1748 an officer of the garrison at Quebec. On January 19, 1748, he became involved in a quarrel with the Sieur Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, merchant and army contractor, who lived at a house known as the *Chien D'Or*. The quarrel took place at the house of Madame La Palm, in Mountain Street, over the billeting of troops, and after a great deal of provocation on the part of Philibert, Repentigny ran his sword through the unfortunate merchant. Philibert died on the 21st, and Repentigny was duly arrested on the same day, and on March 20 was convicted of having killed the said Philibert: "In reparation whereof, condemning the said Repentigny, in view of his quality of gentleman, to have his head cut off on a scaffold to be erected for the purpose on the public square of the Lower Town of Quebec, condemning him moreover to pay 8000 livres for damages with interest to Marie Anne Guérin, widow of the said Philibert and to the costs of the suits: We have declared the remainder of his property confiscated to whomsoever it may appertain, after the sum of 105 livres shall have first been taken therefrom, in case confiscation affect His Majesty's property: And the present sentence shall be executed in effigy on a picture to be placed on a post fixed for the purpose on the public square.

"Done at Quebec on the 20th of March 1748. And the said Sieur Millon and the said Maitres Boucaut and Turpin have signed with us in the presence of Maitre Milloncarde, Major.

"Signed BOUCAUT DE GODEFUS,
" TURPIN,
" MILLON,
" N. BOISSEAU.

"On behalf of the King, I demand the execution of the above Judgment.

"Done at Quebec the 20th March, 1748.

"Signed C. BAROLET, *Procurator*.

"The above judgment was executed on the said 20th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.

"Signed N. BOISSEAU."

(From the records of the Prevoté de Quebec: *Quebec under Two Flags*, Appendix, p. xii.)

Repentigny was pardoned by the King, but was transferred from Canada. He rose to the rank of Brigadier-General, and died Governor of Mahé in 1776.

Another son of Jean-Baptiste-René was Louis, the Chevalier de Repentigny of 1759. After the surrender of Canada he returned to France, where he served with distinction. He was appointed Governor of the French dominions on the west coast of Africa in 1783, and died in Paris in 1786. (See Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Famille Juchereau-Duchesnay*, pp. 107–111.)

1759. Sept. 'loss, and got into the upper river. This inabled me to re-
'connoitre the country above, where I found the same atten-
'tion on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on our's, arising
'from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our
'communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was,
'that, if we should land between the town and the river
'Cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced,
'before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army. Not-
'withstanding these difficulties, I thought once of attempting
'it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town: but,
'perceiving that the enemy, jealous of the design, were pre-
'paring against it, and had actually brought artillery and a
'mortar, which, being so near to Quebec, they could increase
'as they please, to play upon the shipping; and as it must
'have been many hours before we could [44] attack them,
'even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by
'the town unhurt; it seemed so hazardous that I thought it
'best to desist.[1] However, to divide the enemy's force, and
'to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and
'to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment, under the
'command of Colonel Carleton, to land at the Point de
'Tremble, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off
'some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had
'been informed, that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec
'had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a
'magazine of provisions there. The Colonel was fired upon
'by a body of Indians, the moment he landed; but they were
'soon dispersed, and driven into the woods: he searched for
'magazines, but to no purpose;[2] brought off some prisoners,
'and returned with little loss. After this business I came back
'to Montmorencie, where I found that Brigadier Townshend
'had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting

[1] This refers to the General's plan of attack noted in his *Journal* on July 19. The Admiral at that time did not consider it feasible.

[2] The magazine was at Deschambault.

GUY CARLETON

Engraved by A. H. Ritchie. From "The Siege of Quebec," by Doughty and Parmelee

'a battery on the bank of the river, whence they intended to 1759. Sept.
'cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first oppor-
'tunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, though
'posted to great advantage, and every-where prepared to receive
'us. As the men of war cannot, for want of sufficient depth
'of water, come near enough to the enemy's intrenchments to
'annoy them in the least, the Admiral had prepared two trans-
'ports, drawing but little water, which, upon occasion, could
'be run a-ground to favour a descent. With the help of these
'vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close
'in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached
'redoubt near to the water's edge *, and whose situation
'appeared to be out of musket-shot of the intrenchment upon
'the hill: if the enemy supported this detached piece, it would
'necessarily bring on an engagement, what we most wished for;
'and, if not, I should have it in my [45] power to examine
'their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could
'best attack them. Preparations were accordingly made for an
'engagement. The 31st of July, in the forenoon, the boats of
'the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of Brigadier
'Monckton's brigade from the Point of Levi: the two brigades
'under the Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were ordered to
'be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought
'necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the Admiral
'had placed the Centurion in the channel,[1] so that she might
'check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the
'ford: this ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously
'directed. A great quantity of artillery stores was placed upon
'the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their
'intrenchments. From the vessel which ran a-ground, nearest
'in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to
'be kept without very great loss; and the more, as the two

* This place is called, by the French, Point de Lest.[2]—*Note by author.*

[1] See note on Wolfe's letter regarding the *Centurion*, vol. i. p. 457.

[2] See note, vol. i. p. 398.

1759. Sept. 'armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both 'with their artillery and musketry, which I at first conceived 'they might. But, as the enemy seemed in some confusion, 'and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time 'to make an attempt upon their intrenchment. Orders were 'sent to the Brigadiers General to be ready, with the corps 'under their command; Brigadier Monckton to land, and 'Brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford. At a 'proper time of the tide, the signal was made; but in rowing 'towards the shore many of the boats were grounded upon 'a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident 'put us into some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and 'obliged me to send an Officer to stop Brigadier Townshend's 'march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the 'seamen were getting the boats off, the enemy fired a number 'of shot and shells, but did no considerable damage. As soon 'as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats 'were ranged in a proper manner, some of the Officers of the 'navy went in with me, to find a better [46] place to land. 'We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experi-'ment; and, as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, 'the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too 'late for the attempt. The thirteen companies of grenadiers, 'and two hundred of the second Royal American battalion, got 'first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form them-'selves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, 'supported by Brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the 'troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But, 'whether from the noise and hurry at landing,[1] or from some 'other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as 'they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's 'intrenchments, in the utmost disorder and confusion, without 'waiting for the corps that was to sustain them, and join in the

[1] The General seems willing to make every allowance for the blunder of the Grenadiers.

'attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and Brigadier 1759. Sept.
'Townshend was still at a considerable distance, though upon
'his march to join us, in very great order. The grenadiers
'were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter
'themselves in or about the redoubt, which the French
'abandoned upon their approach. In this situation they
'continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire,
'and having many gallant Officers wounded, who, careless of
'their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw
'the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form
'themselves behind Brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now
'landed, and drawn up on the beach, in extreme good order.
'By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night,
'and a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so
'that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult
'an attack, lest, in case of a repulse, the retreat of Brigadier
'Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain. Our
'artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where
'Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked;
'and it is probable that, if those accidents I have spoken of had
'not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst [47]
'our left and center, more remote from our artillery, must have
'borne all the violence of their musketry. The French did
'not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their savages
'came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought
'off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is. The place
'where the attack was intended has these advantages over all
'others hereabout: our artillery could be brought into use, the
'greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at
'once, and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least
'for a certain time of the tide; neither one or other of these
'advantages can any-where else be found. The enemy were
'indeed posted upon a commanding eminence; the beach upon
'which the troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes,
'and cut by several gullies; the hill to be ascended very steep,

1759. Sept. 'and not every-where practicable; the enemy numerous in their 'intrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, 'our loss must certainly have been great, and their's inconsider- 'able, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded 'them. The river St. Charles remained still to be passed, 'before the town was invested. All these circumstances I 'considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the King's 'intentions induced me to make this trial, *persuaded that a 'victorious army finds no difficulties.* The enemy have been 'fortifying ever since with care, so as to make a second attempt 'still more dangerous. Immediately after this check, I sent 'Brigadier Murray above the town, with twelve hundred men, 'directing him to assist Rear-Admiral Holmes in the destruction 'of the French ships,[1] if they could be got at, in order to open a 'communication with General Amherst. The Brigadier was to 'seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the 'enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable 'terms; and to use all the means in his power to provoke them 'to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon 'the north shore,[2] without success; but in a third was more fortu- '[48] nate. He landed unexpectedly at de Chambaud,[3] and 'burned a magazine there, in which were some provisions, 'some ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, 'and baggage of their army. Finding that their ships were 'not to be got at, and little prospect of bringing the enemy to 'a battle, he reported his situation to me, and I ordered him 'to join the army. The prisoners he took informed him of 'the surrender of the fort of Niagara; and we discovered, by 'intercepted letters, that the enemy, having abandoned Carillon 'and Crown-Point, were retired to the isle au Noix; and that 'General Amherst was making preparations to pass the lake 'Champlain, to fall upon Monsieur de Bourlemacque's corps,

[1] At Three Rivers and the Rapids of the Richelieu.
[2] At Pointe-aux-Trembles.
[3] Deschambault: see note, p. 12.

'which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Cana- 1759. Sept.
'dians as make the whole amount to three thousand men. The
'Admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten
'days sooner, if I had not been prevented from writing by a
'fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I
'begged the General Officers to consult together for the public
'utility. *They are all of opinion*, that, as more ships and pro-
'visions are now got above the town, they should try, by
'conveying up a corps of four or five thousand men, which is
'nearly the whole strength of the army, after the Points of
'Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw
'the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an
'action. *I have acquiesced in their proposal*,[1] and we are preparing
'to put it in execution. The Admiral and I have examined
'the town, with a view to a general assault; but, after consult-
'ing with the chief Engineer, who is well acquainted with the
'interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost
'attention, we found that, though the batteries of the lower
'town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the
'business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since
'the few passages leading from the lower to the upper town
'are carefully intrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be
'affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage
'[49] from them, and from the mortars. The Admiral would
'readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public
'service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of
'so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success. To
'the uncommon strength of the country the enemy have added,
'for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries
'and boats; by the vigilance of these, and the Indians round
'our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing

[1] See note regarding the proposal of the Brigadiers and Wolfe's own plan, pp. 47, 48. By the time this despatch was sent off, Wolfe was making preparations to carry out his own plan, which he had considered "of too desperate a nature to order others to execute." (Wolfe to Saunders, vol. i. p. 458.)

1759. Sept. 'by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these 'savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without 'loss on our side.—By the list of disabled Officers * (many of 'whom are of rank) you may perceive that the army is much 'weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable 'part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet 'we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this 'situation *there is such a choice of difficulties*, that I own myself 'at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I 'know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the 'courage of a handful of brave troops should be exerted only 'where there is some hope of a favourable event; however, 'you may be assured, that the small part of the campaign which 'remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour 'of his Majesty, and the interest of the nation; in which I am 'sure of being well seconded by the Admiral and by the 'Generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the 'success of his Majesty's arms in any other parts of America.'

3d. This morning, at six o'clock, the enemy marched two columns into the woods, northward of the left of their camp, as if they intended to cross the river of Montmorencie at the upper ford, and fall upon General Wolfe's rear, on his quitting that ground; which [50] Brigadier Monckton perceiving, immediately ordered his brigade under arms: at eight o'clock a number of long-boats, being assembled, were sent to us by the Admiral, and instantly the forty-third and seventy-eighth regiments embarked and rowed off, covered by sloops and frigates half-channel over, in order to favour the General's motions; we remained near four hours on the water, and made several feints, as if intending to land and attack the enemy in

* Colonels Burton and Fraser, Majors Irving and Prevost, sixteen Captains, twenty-four Lieutenants, and three Ensigns wounded;—three Captains, six Lieutenants, and one Ensign killed, between the 27th of June and the 2d of September.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] A list of killed and wounded accompanied the despatch. (*Royal Magazine*, October 1759.) See Appendix.

the center of their camp at Beauport. This finesse had the desired effect, for the columns were directly ordered back to their camp, and lined their breast-works, to oppose our imaginary descent, whereby General Wolfe and his troops embarked perfectly unmolested. After they had put off, a few straggling French and Indians appeared in the abandoned camp; but the motive of their coming seemed rather to proceed from curiosity than from an hostile intention. As the boats crossed the river, they were warmly saluted from the battery westward of the fall, without any accident; the forty-third and seventy-eighth regiments were ordered back to the camp. The Admiral had two buoys moored last night, to serve as guides to the boats off Beauport; which the enemy perceiving early in the morning, cut their cables, and sent them a-drift. Four regiments, with all the light infantry, came to our ground; the other, with the grenadiers of Louisbourg, remained on the isle of Orleans; the light troops took post on the hills commanding the road to our batteries, and the battalions incamped between these eminences and the river. The General's markee, &c. were pitched in the interval between the forty-third and seventy-eighth regiments, and his Excellency dined in our camp: the Foy man of war is arrived in the fleet, with the store-ships under her convoy. The General was heard to say, that he received a letter from General Amherst, wherein he informed him, 'that Monsieur de Bourlemacque gave him 'some trouble, first at Ticonderoga, and afterwards at Crown-'Point, until he drew up his artillery, and broke ground in 'order to attack him in form, which as soon as the enemy 'perceived, they aban- [51] doned those two important places 'and retired.' Mr. Wolfe added, 'that he did not yet despair 'of seeing the Commander in Chief here before the end of the 'campaign.' The garrison threw some shot into the camp of the thirty-fifth regiment, which obliged them to change their ground. It is reported that Monsieur de Levis is detached from the camp at Beauport to command the troops at Point

1759. Sept.

1759. Sept. de Tremble, de Chambaud, Jaques Cartiers, and their dependencies: Monsieur Montcalm, it is added, from the increase of our naval strength in the upper river, has reinforced those posts, lest any farther attempts should be made in that quarter. The wind is fair to pass the town.

Upon the junction of the troops in this camp, the intire corps of light infantry, *viz.* those under Major Dalling, and the others from the north side of the river, are to receive their orders from Colonel Howe; and additional guards are posted in the front and on the flanks of the new camp.

4th.[1] We threw a few shells into the town, in the beginning of the night; since that time, all has remained quiet on both sides. An expedition is on foot to the upper river, in which the greatest part of the army, with our three Brigadiers, are to assist; the General will command in person, if his health will permit. The grenadiers of Louisbourg are under orders to join us this evening from Orleans. The boats are to pass the town this night, with the light baggage of the troops; fine weather and wind favourable. This forenoon two ranging Officers and four privates arrived express from the Commander in Chief, whom they left at Crown-Point: this great journey was performed in twenty-seven days, and the rout they took was, first to Boston, thence up Kennebec river, whence they directed their course to the Chaudiere, which discharges itself into the river St. Lawrence, about five leagues above Quebec; they met a few straggling peasants in different places, but did not molest them, lest they should alarm the country: one of these Canadians informed them, that our fleet and army were

[1] Ensign Samuel Johnson, who had been appointed to the 60th Regiment on July 28, 1758, died of his wounds on September 2, 1759. On September 4, General Wolfe filled the vacancy by naming a volunteer, Edward Barron, an Ensign in the 2nd battalion of the Royal Americans (60th Regiment). The parchment signed by Wolfe at Point Levi is now in the *Canadian Archives*. It is probably the last commission issued by the General. See facsimile in vol. iii.

On October 25, 1770, Barron was appointed a Lieutenant of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons.

fallen down the river. All [52] the intelligence which we have lately received by letters that were intercepted, deserters, and other authorities,[1] of the success of our arms at Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara, is confirmed by these expresses. A Captain of Fraser's Highlanders, who died of a fever, was interred this evening in great form, between the colours of the regiments.[2] 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

"The light infantry, twenty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-"seventh, fifty-eighth, and the grenadiers of Louisbourg, with "those of Monckton's regiment, are to march to-morrow, at "two in the afternoon; they are to receive their orders from "Brigadier Murray: the parts of those corps which are to "remain are to incamp on the ground now occupied by the "Louisbourg grenadiers. The whole to be drawn up two deep; "the Louisbourg grenadiers on the right, Bragg's on the left, "and so on by seniority to the center: the Brigadier proposes "marching from the center. Colonel Howe's own division of "light infantry will form the van-guard, and cover the head "of the column; that of Major Dalling the rear-guard. Two "files will be detached from each platoon, in order to cover their "own flanks; when the woods are out of musket-shot, they are "to keep near to the battalion; when they are within musket-"shot, they are to march within the skirts, in the woods."

Fair wind and weather to-day: the boats passed the town last night undiscovered: the troops under orders, commanded by Brigadier Murray, marched this afternoon to Goreham's post, where the flat-bottomed boats are to meet them, to convey them on board the ships in the upper river. The houses and fascine works, in the abandoned camp by the fall of 5th.

[1] "The other authorities" may refer to the correspondents of Stobo in Quebec. See note, p. 50.

[2] Captain Alexander Cameron of Dungallon. (*Fraser's Journal: Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Second Series.)

1759. Sept. Montmorencie, still continue burning. General Wolfe was much indisposed last night; he is better to-day; but the army are, nevertheless, very apprehensive, lest his ill state of health should not permit him to command this grand enterprise in [53] person. The other regiments destined to go up the river are to move off to-morrow. A party of Highlanders were sent out this evening in pursuit of some straggling sailors, who ventured to go marauding: in returning to camp, curiosity led some of them to look into the ruins of an old house, where, to their surprise, they found a French regular soldier whetting a knife, whom they immediately secured, and conducted him to the General.*

6th. We had an uncommon storm of rain last night; to-day showery weather and wind variable. We fired warmly on the town these last eighteen hours, without a single gun or shell in return. Yesterday a marine went out to gather pease in a field adjoining to our advanced posts on the hill, and was fired upon by six fellows, who appeared to be Indians; but, finding himself only slightly wounded, he made a shift to escape within our centries. At three o'clock this afternoon the fifteenth, forty-third, and seventy-eighth regiments, with the Brigadiers Monckton and Townshend, marched to Goreham's post; at the same time a schooner, of a most diminutive size, whimsically called The Terror of France,[1] weighed, and passed

* Whether this deserter, for such he pretended to be, was sent, or came volunteer, to make an attempt on the General's life, is difficult to ascertain: had his Excellency survived the reduction of Quebec, this secret would probably have been discovered; it is certain he affected an ardent desire to serve in our army, and was not only disappointed, but seemed greatly mortified at being instantly conveyed on board the fleet.—*Note by author.*

[1] "Sept. 6th the Schooner *Terror of France* went above the Town, in the middle of the Day, as she pass'd they kept up a constant Fire at her, and she receiv'd five of their Shot; one in her Jib, two in her Mainsail and 2 in her Foresail; but lost none of her Hands, nor did she sustain any further Damage." (*The Serjeant-Major's Journal: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 9.)

The *Terror of France* was a name given probably to the smallest schooner of the fleet, the *Lucretia*, S. Carrol, master. She was of only 70 tons and carried 30 troops.

the town; the enemy foolishly expended a number of shot at her, but she nevertheless got safe up, with her colours flying; and, coming to an anchor in the upper river, she triumphantly saluted Admiral Holmes with a discharge from all her swivels; there was no other accident that happened, except one man's being slightly wounded on board, and our batteries fired briskly on the town, to favour her as she passed.* In the evening we arrived at Goreham's [54] post, where we lay on our arms until boats should arrive. At night-fall we forded the river Etchemin, about fifty yards over, a stony and uneven bottom, and very slippery, with a rapid current; fortunately the waters were fallen, for we were not above mid-thigh; the troops, who passed yesterday, found it much deeper, and our situation in fording was rendered disagreeable by a battery which the enemy have at Sillery,[1] opposite to the mouth of this rivulet, whence 1759. Sept.

* The Officers and Gunners at the enemy's batteries were provoked at this small vessel's presumption in open day-light, which they captiously looked upon as a contemptuous affront upon their formidable batteries, many of our ships having passed them at different times without any considerable damage; but they paid dear for their resentment; for, at the same instant, a shot from our batteries rendered one of their guns useless, overset and discharged a number of loaded firelocks that were rested against an adjoining wall, by which two of their Officers and seven men were killed on the spot, and four were wounded. The more generous Officers in the French camp politely expressed concern (as they afterwards told us) at the schooner's being fired upon, as they imagined her passing was the result of a frolicsome wager, and therefore would have disregarded her.—*Note by author.*

[1] This was a four-gun battery and mortar, almost opposite the river Etchemin, constructed by the French on July 19, 1759, after the ships of Saunders had passed above the town.

It was erected on the edge of the cliff on property adjoining Spencerwood, the present official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec. It was known as *la batterie de Samos*, and derived its name from a stone house of considerable importance in the rear of the battery. The house was built in 1732 by Mgr. Pierre Dosquet, Bishop of Samos *in partibus*, coadjutor Bishop of Quebec. Immediately after gaining the heights of Quebec on the morning of September 13, Wolfe detached the Light Infantry under Howe to silence the battery and occupy the house. About 11 o'clock Bougainville, on his return from St. Augustin, attacked the house, in which 150 men under Lieutenant Macalpin of the Royal Americans were stationed. Captain Le Noir of the Regiment of La Sarre made vigorous attempts to dislodge the

1759. Sept. they cannonaded us, as we passed; but, luckily, their shot was either over or short of us: on the west side stood a straggling village,[1] which terminated in a point, and formed a cove, where boats were ready to receive us, and conduct the regiments to their respective ships. The forty-third regiment was particularly fortunate, being put on board the Seahorse frigate, where Captain Smith and his Officers entertained us in a most princely manner, and very obligingly made it their principal care to render our crouded situation as agreeable as possible. The General joined the army and upper fleet this night.

ORDERS.

At Anchor off Cape Rouge.

7th. "Brigadier Monckton's brigade consists of the battalion "of Amherst's, Lawrence's, and Kennedy's; Brigadier Towns- "hend's, of Bragg's, Lascelles's, and the Highlanders; the third "brigade, un- [55] der Brigadier Murray, of Otway's, An- "struther's, and the Louisbourg grenadiers. When the army

British, but without artillery the French were compelled to desist. The battery was protected on the east by a deep gully, spanned by a temporary bridge. The French, on finding the British in possession of the heights, withdrew a gun from the battery and placed it on the bridge to oppose the enemy. The Light Infantry advanced against the bridge, but in the meantime a body of Grenadiers had found a short cut to the house, and the French, after firing one volley, sought shelter in the woods. After the war the house was found in a dilapidated condition, and in 1762 a part of the property was sold by the Seminary of Quebec to Thomas Ainslie, collector of Customs. The house was rebuilt and improved, and occupied by Adam Mabane, a member of the first Council under Murray. In 1793 Samos, or Woodfield as it was named by Ainslie, was occupied by Dr. Mountain, the first English Bishop of Quebec. He resided there until 1802, and was much attached to the place. In 1805 the house was sold to the Hon. Matthew Bell, who in turn sold it to the Hon. William Sheppard. The house was totally destroyed by fire about the year 1843 and the property was finally converted into St. Patrick's cemetery. (See *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, No. 23 (1900), p. 49.)

[1] These straggling houses were at Côte de Lauzon. The parish of Lauzon extended as far as the Chaudière. The British referred to the place as Tretchemin, a corruption of Etchemin. It is now known as St. Romuald.

" is formed in two lines, the second brigade makes the second 1759. Sept.
" line; when the army is in a single line, every regiment, or
" corps, is to have a fourth part in reserve, about two hundred
" paces in its rear. When a brigade or battalion is in order
" of battle in the neighbourhood of any house, copse, or strong
" ground, either in its front, or upon its flank, care must be
" taken to throw a detachment into it. The light infantry
" have no fixed post in the order of battle; they will be
" thrown upon one or other of the wings, with a view to take
" the enemy's flank or rear, if occasion offers. The General
" is too well acquainted with the valour and good inclination
" of the troops to doubt their behaviour; they know the
" enemy they have to deal with, *irregular*, *cowardly*, *and cruel*:
" a little vigilance, however, is necessary to prevent surprises:
" the enemy will soon find that the artillery and musketry of
" this chosen body of infantry is sufficiently formidable. The
" corps must keep together, and must not disperse nor wander
" about the country. When the coast has been examined,
" and the best landing-places pitched upon, the troops will
" be ordered to disembark, perhaps this night's tide. The
" five following battalions are to hold themselves in readiness
" to go into the flat-bottomed boats, fifty in each boat, besides
" Officers, *viz.* Amherst's, Otway's, Kennedy's, Anstruther's,
" and Colonel Murray's corps of Grenadiers.

" Distribution of the Flat-bottomed Boats.

	Boats.		Boats.
" Fifteenth, Amherst's .	. 6	Fifty-eighth, Anstruther's	. 6
" Thirty-fifth, Otway's .	. 8	Louisbourg grenadiers .	. 6
" Forty-third, Kennedy's	. 4		

" If there are more men in any corps than those boats can
" hold, according to the regulation of fifty to a boat, they are
" to remain [56] in their ships till farther orders; these
" battalions will receive their orders from Brigadier Monckton,

1759. Sept. "who has Brigadier Murray under him. One hundred of "the light infantry, under Major Hussy's command, from "on board the Sutherland, to be put in each of the armed "vessels, when Brigadier Monckton's corps moves. It is in- "tended that the Hunter sloop, the armed sloops, the artillery "sloop, and the floating batteries, shall accompany the flat- "bottomed boats, when they take the troops on board. The "corps ordered for embarkation are to carry with them two "days' provisions, which they are to receive immediately."

Fine warm weather: Admiral Holmes's squadron weighed early this morning; at six o'clock we doubled the mouth of the Chaudiere, which is near half a mile over; and at eight we came to an anchor off Cape Rouge; here is a spacious cove, into which the river St. Michael disembogues, and within the mouth of it are the enemy's floating batteries; a large body of the enemy are well intrenched round the cove,[1] (which is of a circular form) as if jealous of a descent in those parts: they appear very numerous, and may amount to about one thousand six hundred men, besides their cavalry, who are cloathed in blue, and mounted on neat light horses of different colours; they seem very alert, parading and counter-marching between the woods on the heights in their rear, and their breast-works, in order to make their numbers shew to greater advantage. The lands all round us are high and commanding, which gave the enemy an opportunity of popping at our ships, this morning, as we tacked in working up: I did not hear of any damage sustained, though they were a little troublesome. Upon our coming to an anchor, they turned out their floats, and ranged them in great order; their cavalry then dismounted, formed on the right of the infantry, and their whole detachment ran down the precipice with a ridiculous shout, and manned their works. I have often reflected upon the

[1] Bougainville had strong entrenchments on the summit of the cliff on the east side of the river Cap Rouge, which commanded the river St. Lawrence. He also had a redoubt on the north side of the road leading to Sillery.

absurdity of this practice in the French, who entertain a high opinion of their own discipline and knowledge in the art of war; [57] there is nothing that can be more absurd than such noises in engaging an enemy; I think it expressive of the greatest diffidence, and must tend to defeat all regularity and good order among themselves, because their men are thereby confused, and are rendered incapable of paying attention to their Officers or their duty;—it is a false courage. How different, how nobly awful,[1] and expressive of true valour is the custom of the British troops! they do not expend their ammunition at an immense distance; and, if they advance to engage, or stand to receive the charge, they are steady, profoundly silent and attentive, reserving their fire until they have received that of their adversaries, over whom they have a tenfold advantage; there are cases where huzzaing may be necessary, but those are very rare; the practice is unmilitary in an army or body of regulars; and experience plainly shows us, that the troops, who, in perfect silence, engage an enemy, waiting for their first fire, will always preserve a superiority. This afternoon, at two o'clock, the Seahorse, Leostaff, and two floating batteries, that were lately taken, were ordered to edge into the cove, and attack the enemy's armed floats; at the same time the troops put into their boats, and rowed up and down, as if intending to land at different places, to amuse the enemy; the Brigadiers, no doubt, knew this was intended only as a *finesse*, but the corps thought they were, in reality, going a-shore; and such was their zeal, that they were much disappointed, when, after parading some time in this manner, they were ordered back to their ships; this seems calculated to fix the attention of the enemy on that particular part, while a descent is meditated elsewhere, perhaps lower down.[2] Our 1759. Sept.

[1] The author is evidently profoundly impressed with the superiority of British methods.

[2] These various movements were designed, as the author states, to draw the attention of the enemy from the real place of attack, which the Brigadiers proposed to make between the Cap Rouge River and St. John.

1759. Sept. frigates, &c. exchanged a number of shot, but at so great distance, that nothing extraordinary could happen; after this, the general Officers went up the river in the Hunter sloop, to take a farther view of the country, and to reconnoitre the coast: they returned in their barge, at night, leaving the sloop above at anchor. The enemy are very industrious in adding to their works, to render them more im- [58] pregnable; and they have an incredible number of fires at their post in our view, as well as in the cover on the eminence behind them.

8th. Wet weather, wind up the river: this morning, at day-break, a transport cat, two sloops, and a schooner, passed the town with provisions, &c. and were followed soon after by two other small vessels; they were all warmly cannonaded in their passage, and sustained some damage. Orders are issued out this evening for the troops to land, and make a diversion to-morrow morning at day-light; the corps to be in the boats at two o'clock; Colonel Young, with part of the army, are to work up, as if intending to land elsewhere; and the like feint is to be made by others at Cape Rouge bay, in order to favour Brigadier Monckton's brigade, who are to land, if possible.[1]

[1] The text of the orders as printed in *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Fourth Series, is as follows:

"At anchor at Cape Rouge, 8th Sept.—The Laurel transport, with ye Royal American Batn. on board, and the Eden and Mary with ye Light Infantry, are to proceed with the next tide under the convoy of ye Hunter sloop opposite to ye Pointe-aux-Trembles and come to an anchor their; two long boats with ye short 12-pounders on board, are to go with these vessels to increase the number of their boats, and to enable the commandg. officer to put on an appearance of intending to land at that point; the commander will receive further instructions from ye Genl."

"The five battallions are to embark in the flat-bottom'd boats, so as to be in readiness to put off with the first of the morning's flood. Capt. Shad will be so good to conduct them so as to arrive at the landing place about an hour and an-half before high water. If ye two floating batteries cannot keep up, Capt. Shad will order some of ye best rowing boats to take them in tow."

"When Col. Young perceives that Brigr. Monckton's corps is landed, he

AFTER ORDERS.

"Seeing that the weather sets in bad, a signal will be 1759. Sept.
"made at one o'clock to lie fast, in case it does not clear
"up.[1] The following sailing orders are to be observed.

ORDER of sailing in boats.

North.

Floating Battery.	Louisbourg Grenadiers.	Otway's.	Anstruther's.	Amherst's.	Floating Battery.
| Boat.	|| Boats.	|||| Boats.	||||| Boats.	|| Boats.	| Boat.

Otway's.
|||| Boats.

Kennedy's.
|||| Boats.

Louisbourg Grenadiers.
|||| Boats.

Amherst's.
|||| Boats.

---

will fall down opposite to ye place, and endeavour that his people and the Light Infantry may be put on shore at low water if it can be done."

"The Ann Elizabeth with Bragg's regt. on board, and the Ward with Lascelles, are to fall up after ye flat-bottom'd boats and anchor opposite to ye landing place, so that ye flat-bottom'd boats may endeavour to land them the same time, or if yt cannot be done, at low water."

"The debarcation of these troops and those under Col. Young is to be directed by Genl. Townshend."

"The rest of the troops will fall up and joyn the army ye next flood. The King's Commissaries are on board the Employment Transport which has provisions on board."

"The Adventure transport is to be converted into an hospital ship, and will be distinguished by hoisting colours at her fore-top-mast-head."

[1] The weather greatly interfered with the operations of the fleet and army on September 7 and 8, but it seems quite certain that the Brigadiers would have effected a landing if they had thought there was a reasonable prospect of success. Bougainville, however, kept a sharp outlook, and followed every movement of the boats. The bewildering operations of the British at this time contributed to the success of Wolfe's plan on the 12th, for the French were getting accustomed to the progress of the ships up and down the river. It was while the French were paying particular attention to the movements of the ships *up the river* that the boats dropped *down the river* and landed at Foulon before daybreak on the 13th.

1759. Sept. [59] "If they sail in one line, the floating battery at the "left laids;[1] if from the order they are in, from the left also. "At landing the grenadiers are on the left, Amherst's on the "right; then grenadiers the left, Amherst's the right; then "Otway's left, Kennedy's right; Otway's left, Anstruther's "right; batteries on the flanks. In this order Otway's and "Anstruther's land first; in the center Amherst's and grena- "diers extend to the right and left."

ORDERS.

9th.[2] "As the weather is so bad that no military operations can "take place, and as the men are so excessively crowded in the "transports, and in the men of war, so as to endanger their "health; it is ordered that the under-mentioned troops be "landed at the mill upon the south shore, and that they may "be cantoned in the village and church of St. Nicholas, in "readiness to embark at the first signal; the signal to march "and embark by day will be two guns fired fast, and two slow, "from the Sutherland; the signal by night will be three lights

[1] "leads": see Errata.

[2] On the 9th, Wolfe sent his last despatch to England. It is addressed to the Earl of Holderness, and dated on board the *Sutherland* off Cap Rouge, September 9. In this letter Wolfe says:

"The extreme heat of the weather in August and a good deal of fatigue threw me into a fever, but that the business might go on, I begged the Generals to consider amongst themselves what was fittest to be done. Their sentiments were unanimous that (as the easterly winds begin to blow and ships can pass the town in the night with provisions and artillery, &c.) we should endeavour by conveying a considerable corps into the upper river, to draw them from their inaccessible situation, and bring them to an action. I agreed to the proposal, and we are now here, with about three thousand six hundred men waiting an opportunity to attack them when and wherever they can best be got at. The weather has been extremely unfavourable for a day or two, so that we have been inactive. I have so far recovered as to do business; but my constitution is entirely ruined." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iii. pp. 10–14.)

On the morrow Wolfe abandoned the plan of making a descent in the vicinity of Cap Rouge and fixed upon the Foulon. If Wolfe had landed at Cap Rouge he would have had to fight Bougainville, and then work his way into the town; but by slipping in between, he would be close to the walls and would escape opposition on the part of Bougainville.

"at the main-top-gallant mast-head of the same ship, and two "guns. 1759. Sept.

	Men.
"From the Squirrel, Louisbourg Grenadiers, Officers in proportion	200
"From the Adventure transport, Otway's	250
"From the George transport, Anstruther's	200
"From ditto, Highlanders	100
"From the Ann and Elizabeth, Bragg's	160
"From ditto, Highlanders	100
"From the Sutherland, American Grenadiers	50
"From the Leostaff, Amherst's	200
"From the Ward, Lascelles's	160
"From ditto, Highlanders	100
	1520

"[60] Brigadier Monckton takes the command of this corps, "and Brigadier Murray for this duty; the men to carry their "blankets and kettles, with two days' provisions; they are to "leave their baggage on board their ships. The troops a-float "report to Brigadier Townshend."

The extreme wetness of the weather prevented the operations intended for this morning. At eight o'clock the forty-third regiment was removed from the frigate on board the Employment transport, that the Seahorse may fall down to preserve the communication between Admiral Holmes's fleet and Goreham's post: this was ordered in consequence of the Adjutant-General's being chaced by some canoes, as he came up in a boat this morning. The above detachments under the Brigadiers Monckton and Murray put off in their boats this afternoon, and rowed to the cove, as if intending to land; whereupon the enemy stood to their arms, and lined their works; after thus menacing them, in different places, the troops stretched over to the south side, and landed in the evening under the church of St. Nicholas, without any opposition; the French floating batteries attempted to pursue the boats, but the Leostaff slipped her cable, exchanged several

1759. Sept. shot with them, and obliged them to sheer off; late in the evening the wind shifted, and the weather cleared up.

10th. A small party of Indians have crossed the river to the neighbourhood of St. Nicholas, to endeavour to take a prisoner or two for intelligence; of which Brigadier Monckton being informed, he gave immediate notice to the troops under his command, and has taken every salutary measure to prevent his mens' being picked off or surprised. We have fair weather to-day. A parcel of canoes were discovered paddling along the north shore, as if intending to cross the river above our fleet, in order to annoy our people on the south side, and watch their motions; our two floating batteries, and some armed boats, were immediately dispatched against them, and drove them a-shore; they then took to the bushes, and fired at [61] our men; but our batteries plied them so well with grape-shot, that the rascals were forced to scramble up the precipice, where there was a breast-work of corded fire-wood; they seemed to be fifty in number, and had an Officer of regulars with them. By the time they had gained the summit, and got under cover, they were reinforced, and discharged several vollies at our boats, who still edged towards the shore, as if intending to land; and it is not improbable but they expected we should make a descent there; for in a short space of time their numbers increased, and we could observe from our ships several Officers on horse-back, who seemed to be employed in forming and animating their men. A signal being made, from the Sutherland, for our boats to come off, the enemy gave a heavy fire, and set up a hideous shout after it. General Wolfe sent for an Officer and thirty men of the forty-third regiment, to escort him on a reconnoitre, with Brigadier Townshend, the chief Engineer, Colonel Carleton, &c. For this purpose six of our grenadiers' coats were also sent by his Excellency's orders.[1] Brigadier Monckton, having

[1] Wolfe was now in a position to take an interest in the campaign, and on this day he ordered the troops to be landed at St. Nicholas to refresh them-

notice of near three hundred head of black cattle being secreted in his neighbourhood, sent out a strong detachment in search of them; but they did not succeed, the inhabitants having driven them off, (a few excepted,) farther up the country. The General, being informed of the indisposition of two Officers on board a ship, of the forty-third regiment, 'expressed the 'greatest tenderness and good-nature towards them; and 'desired they would not continue on board, to endanger their 'constitutions; for that he would lend them his barge with 'pleasure, to conduct them to Goreham's post, whence they 'should have an escort to Point Levi camp.' The gentlemen politely declined the offer, 'assuring the General that no con-'sideration could induce them to leave the army, until they 'should see the event of this expedition.' Some deserters crossed over from Montmorencie to Orleans, by whom we are informed, that Monsieur Vaudreuil, and part of the French army, are come up the river to watch our [62] motions; that the Sieur de Montcalm remains below, to defend the town; and that Monsieur de Levis, the second in command, is detached to Montreal, with a large corps of chosen men from the army. The General, with his reconnoitring party, returned late in the evening from Goreham's point, where they had been with their glasses viewing the cove to the eastward of Sillery, and the eminences above it.[2] 1759. Sept.

selves. There are, he says, "1600 of our men upon the south shore to clean and refresh them and their transports; and indeed to save the whole army, which must have perished if they had remained 48 hours longer on board." (Wolfe to Burton: *Siege of Quebec*, vol. iii. p. 16.) The officers probably fared better than the men, for notwithstanding this crowded condition, they managed to have dinner on board and enjoy themselves. It has been claimed by several authorities that Stobo accompanied Wolfe on this occasion and pointed out to him the Foulon as a desirable place to land. Stobo was not with Wolfe, as he had left Quebec on the 7th of the month to join Amherst.

[2] On this day a French gunner and a young sailor, seventeen years of age, were hanged at the battery on the ramparts for robbing the house of M. Morin, near the Bishop's palace. M. Parent, curé of Sainte Anne, attended the unfortunate victims to the scaffold. (*Journal of Curé Récher; Recherches Historiques*, vol. ix. p. 138.)

ORDERS.

1759. Sept. 11th.[1] "The troops on shore, except the light infantry and "Americans, are to be upon the beach, to-morrow morning, "at five o'clock, in readiness to embark; the light infantry "and Americans will reimbark at, or about, eight o'clock; the "detachment of artillery to be put on board the armed sloop "this day. *The army to hold themselves in readiness to land and "attack the enemy.* As the Leostaff and Squirrel frigates are "ordered to follow the flat-bottomed boats, the troops belong-"ing to those ships are to remain in them, and the boats "intended for these corps are to take in others, according to "the following distribution.

DISTRIBUTION of the flat-bottomed boats to embark troops.

"Sterling-Castle	1	To take fifty into each boat of Bragg's regiment, out of the Ann and Elizabeth transport, instead of Amherst's.
"Dublin	2	
"Alcide	3	
"Pembroke	4	To take in Kennedy's regiment out of the Employment transport.
"Van-Guard	4	To take in Colonel Howe's corps of light infantry out of the Jane and Mary transport.
"Trident	4	
"Centurion	2	To take in Anstruther's out of the George transport.
"Shrewsbury	4	
"Medway	2	To take Lascelles's regiment, in five boats, out of the Ward transport; and fifty of the Royal American Grenadiers, out of the Sutherland, in the sixth boat.
"Captain	4	

[1] Wolfe seems to have communicated a portion of his plan to Burton on this day, although the Brigadiers at that time were unacquainted with the

[63] "There remain to be taken into the boats of the 1759. Sept.
"fleet two hundred Highlanders, of which the Terror of France
"schooner takes fifty from the Ann and Elizabeth; the remain-
"ing one hundred and fifty Highlanders, in the Ward transport,
"will be taken by the following boats:—Sutherland's long-boat,
"forty; Alcide and Medway, forty each; Admiral's flat-
"bottomed boat, fifteen; Sutherland cutter, fifteen.—Ships
"that carry troops immediately after the flat-bottomed boats:—
"Leostaff frigate, three hundred of Amherst's; Squirrel, two
"hundred and forty of Louisbourg Grenadiers; Seahorse, two
"hundred and fifty Highlanders; Hunter sloop, one hundred
"and twenty Highlanders; three armed vessels, two hundred
"light infantry; Laurel transport, four hundred Royal Ameri-
"cans; Adventure transport, four hundred of Otways.—
"Ordnance vessels, with tools and artillery men: the George
"transport to be evacuated, and the Highlanders, being one
"hundred and fifty, to be removed into the Seahorse frigate;
"and one hundred of the same corps, from the Ann and
"Elizabeth, to be removed also on board the Seahorse to-
"morrow morning, after the reimbarkation of the first body of
"troops from Brigadier Monckton's corps, at St. Nicholas.

details. The letter to Burton is dated the 11th, but was probably written on the 10th. Wolfe says: "To-morrow the troops reimbark, the fleet sails up the river a little higher, as if intending to land above, upon the north shore—keeping a convenient distance, for the boats and armed vessels to fall down to the Foulon; and we count (if no accident of weather or other prevents) to make a powerful effort at that spot, about four in the morning of the 13th. At ten or eleven, or twelve at night, sooner or later, as may be necessary, of Wednesday the 12th we get into our boats. If we are forced to alter these measures, you shall know of it, if not, it stands fixed; be you careful not to drop it to any, for fear of desertion." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iii. p. 17.) It will be seen from this letter that certain vessels of the fleet were to move up the river in order to draw Bougainville away from preventing the descent of the boats to the Foulon. This plan was undoubtedly carried out, and while Bougainville was on his way to St. Augustin and Pointe-aux-Trembles, the boats dropped down the river.

1759. Sept. ORDER of troops in the line of boats.

Number of Boats.		
8	1st	light infantry leads.
6	2d	Bragg's regiment.
4	3d	Kennedy's regiment.
5	4th	Lascelles's ditto.
6	5th	Anstruther's ditto.
1	6th	Detachments of Highlanders and American Grenadiers.

[64] "Captain Chads,[1] of the navy, has received the "General's direct into[2] in respect to the order in which the "troops move, and are to land; and no Officer must attempt "to make the least alteration, or interfere with Captain Chad's "particular province, lest, as the boats move in the night, there "may be disorder and confusion among them. The troops "must go into the boats about nine to-morrow night, or "when it is pretty near high water; but the naval Officers, "commanding the different divisions of boats, will apprize "them of the fittest time; and, as there will be a necessity "for remaining some part of the night in the boats, the Officers "will provide accordingly; and the soldiers will have a jill "of rum extraordinary to mix with their water; arms and "ammunition, two days' provisions, with rum and water, are "all that the soldiers are to take into the boats; their ships, "with their blankets, tents, &c. will soon be brought up.

SIGNALS.

"First, For the flat-bottomed boats, with the troops on "board, to rendezvous a-breast of the Sutherland, between her

[1] Wolfe appears to have been on friendly terms with Captain Chads, of the *Vesuvius* fire-ship, to whom he refers as "Shads." The Captain accompanied Wolfe when he chose the place of landing and entrusted Chads with the delicate task of landing the men from the boats. A descendant of Captain Chads, Admiral Sir H. Chads, K.C.B., was living at Southsea in 1901. He informed the editor that he had no records of the Captain.

[2] "directions": see Errata.

"and the south shore, keeping near her:—one light in the 1759. Sept.
"Sutherland's main top-mast shrouds.

"Secondly, When they are to drop away from the Suther-
"land,—she will shew two lights in the main top-mast shrouds,
"one over the other. The men to be quite silent, and, when
"they are about to land, must not, upon any account, fire out
"of the boats; the Officers of the navy are not to be inter-
"rupted in their part of the duty; they will receive their orders
"from the Officer appointed to superintend the whole, to whom
"they are answerable. Officers of artillery, and detachments of
"Gunners, are put on board the armed sloops to regulate their
"fire, that, in the hurry, our troops may not be hurt by our own
"artillery; Captain York, and the Officers, will be particularly
"careful to distinguish the enemy, and to point their fire against
"them;[1] the [65] frigates are not to fire till broad day-light,
"so that no mistake can be made: the Officers commanding
"floating batteries will receive particular orders from the
"General. The troops to be supplied to-morrow with provi-
"sions to the 14th. The troops ordered for the first em-
"barkation to be under arms at the headquarters to-morrow
"morning at four o'clock."

An Officer of the forty-third regiment was sent a-shore to St. Nicholas, to endeavour to procure some fresh provisions, but could not succeed, the troops not having sufficient for themselves; the party that went in search of cattle found only seven cows and two sheep, guarded by a few Indian men and women, upon whom our advanced-guard too eagerly fired, before they were within reach, by which the rabble made their escape, shouting and yelling in their flight, intending thereby to alarm the country. Great preparations are making, throughout the fleet and army, to surprise the enemy, and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle: all the long-boats below

[1] This warning was timely. In the ascent of the cliff there was confusion, and the advance party was mistaken for the enemy.

1759. Sept. the town are to be filled with seamen, marines, and such detachments as can be spared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Lest, and endeavour to engross the attention of the Sieur de Montcalm, while the army are to force a descent on this side of the town.[1] The Officer of our regiment, who commanded the escort yesterday on the reconnoitring party, being asked, in the General's hearing, after the health of one of the gentlemen who was reported to be ill, replied,—'he was in a very low indifferent state;' which the other lamented, saying, 'he has but a puny, delicate constitution.'—This struck his Excellency, it being his own case, who interrupted, 'Don't tell me of 'constitution, that Officer has good spirits, and good spirits will 'carry a man through every thing.'[2]

[1] See note, p. 93.

[2] It is a matter of regret that the papers of General Wolfe relating to the last few days of his life have not been preserved. He destroyed the pages of his own *Journal* between August 12 and September 12, we are told by his aide-de-camp, Captain Bell; and his books and papers were given to Colonel Guy Carleton under the terms of his will. In the papers of Lord Dorchester there is a memorandum in the handwriting of Lady Maria Carleton, to the effect that she had destroyed the private papers of her husband. Possibly the papers of Wolfe were amongst them. According to a tradition, which seems well-founded, Wolfe spent some time on the eve of the battle in the company of John Jervis, whom he had known at Greenwich. Wolfe had a strong presentiment that he should fall in the coming battle, and entrusted to Jervis the miniature of Miss Katherine Lowther, to whom he was engaged. In Wolfe's will, which is here reproduced (see vol. i. p. 358), it will be seen that Miss Lowther's picture was to be set in jewels and returned to her.

"Neptune at Sea, 8th June 1759.

"I desire that Miss Lowther's Picture may be set in Jewels to the amount of five Hundred Guineas, and returned to her.

"I leave to Col: Oughton, Col: Carleton, Col: Howe, & Col: Warde a thousand Pounds each.

"I desire Admiral Saunders to accept of my light service of Plate, in remembrance of his Guest.

"My Camp Equipage, Kitchen Furniture, Table Linnen, wine & provisions, I leave to the Officer who suceeds me in the Command.

"All my Books & Papers both here & in England, I leave to Col: Carleton.

"I leave Major Barré, Capt Delaune, Capt Smyth, Capt Bell—Capt Lesslie

THE RT. HON. ISAAC BARRÉ

From a drawing by W. Evans of the original painting by A. G. Stuart in the possession of the Earl St. Vincent

A soldier of the Royal Americans deserted this day from the south shore, and one came over to us from the enemy, who informed the General, 'that he belonged to a detachment 1759. Sept. 12th.

& Cap^{t} Calwale each a hundred Guineas, to buy swords & rings in remembrance of their Friend.

"My Servant Francois, shall have one half of my Cloaths, & Linnen here, and the three Foot-men shall divide the rest amongst them.

"All the Servants shall be paid their year's Wages, and their board Wages till they arrive in England, or till they engage with other Masters, or enter into some other profession. Besides this, I leave fifty Guineas to Francois, twenty to Ambrose, and ten to each of the others.

"Every thing over and above these Legacies, I leave to my good mother, entirely at her Disposal.

"Witnesses "JAM: WOLFE."
"Will De Laune
"Tho Bell."

A codicil was added by Wolfe when in camp at Montmorency (see vol. i. p. 446):

"Codicil. "Camp of Montmorency,
29th July 1759.

"When I made my Will, I did not exactly know the situation of my affairs —the following addition therefore to the Legacies shall be made.

"I give a thousand Pounds to Major Walter Wolfe, and a thousand Pounds to Captain Edward Goldsmith.

"Witnesses "JAM: WOLFE."
"Her^{y} Smyth
"Isaac Barré."

The originals of the will and codicil are in Somerset House, London.

Jervis did not accompany the body of Wolfe to England, and the miniature, the will and codicil were handed to Captain Bell, who called on the General's mother; but Mrs. Wolfe was too ill to see him. The Captain, by Mrs. Wolfe's desire, as he states in a memorandum, left the papers with a Mrs. Scott, who lived with Mrs. Wolfe. On November 24, 1759, he wrote: "Captain Bell hopes that Mrs. Wolfe received the little picture, the will and the codicil." On December 18, 1759, Miss Katherine Lowther wrote from Raby Castle: "I knew not that my picture was to be set; but I beg Mad^{m}, y^{u} will tell Mrs. Wolfe I entreat her to take her own time about giving ye necessary directions. I can't, as a mark of His affection, refuse it; otherwise wou'd willingly spare myself ye pain of seeing a picture given under far different hopes and expectations." (Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 597. These documents are among the Wolfe papers of Squerryes Court, Westerham, Kent.) A bill for five hundred guineas for setting the picture in January 1760 is found in the papers of Wolfe, and the miniature is now in the possession of Lord Barnard of Raby Castle. Lord Barnard thinks that at the time the letter was written,

1759. Sept. 'composed of two Officers and fifty men, who had been sent 'across the river to take a prisoner; [66] that the French 'Generals suspect we are going higher up, to lay waste the 'country, and destroy such ships and craft as they have got 'above; and that Monsieur Montcalm will not be prevailed 'on to quit his situation, insisting that the flower of our army 'are still below the town; that the reduction of Niagara has 'caused great discontent in the French army, that the wretched 'Canadians are much dissatisfied, and that Monsieur de Levis 'is certainly marched, with a detachment of the army, to Mon-'treal, in order to reinforce Mr. Bourlemacque, and stop General 'Amherst's progress.' This fellow added, 'that if we were 'fairly landed on the north side of the river, an incredible 'number of the French regulars would actually desert to us.'— In consequence of this agreeable intelligence, the following orders were this day issued to the army.

ORDERS.

On board the Sutherland.

"The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of pro-"visions now in their camp, and universal discontent among "the Canadians; the second Officer in command is gone to "Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think, that "General Amherst is advancing into the colony: *a vigorous* "*blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate* "*of Canada*. Our troops below are in readiness to join us;

Miss Lowther was on a visit to her sister Margaret, Countess of Darlington, whose husband, Henry, Earl of Darlington, had succeeded to Raby in the previous year, 1758. Miss Lowther married on April 8, 1765, Harry, sixth and last Duke of Bolton.

In a despatch from London of January 15, 1913, it was announced that a copy of Gray's *Elegy* had been found in Paris, dated 1754, the title-page of which is inscribed "From K. L." Wolfe, it is said, had a copy of Gray's *Elegy* at Quebec, which had been given to him by Miss Lowther, and on the eve of the battle he recited certain lines from it, adding, "I would rather be the author of that piece than take Quebec."

"all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the point 1759. Sept.
"of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem
"least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to
"march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little
"post they may occupy; the Officers must be careful that
"the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon
"those who go on before them. The battalions must form
"on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge
"whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are
"landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place,
"while the rest march on, and endeavour to bring the [67]
"French and Canadians to a battle. *The Officers and men*
"*will remember what their country expects from them, and what*
"*a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing,*
"*against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly*
"*peasantry.* The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to
"their Officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

The Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, with the troops under their command, reimbarked this day, from the parish of St. Nicholas, and returned to their ships. This evening all the boats of the fleet below the town were filled with marines, &c. &c. covered by frigates and sloops of war, worked up, and lay half-channel over, opposite to Beauport, as if intending to land in the morning, and thereby fix the enemy's whole attention to that quarter; the ships attending them are to edge over, at break of day, as near as possible without grounding, and cannonade the French intrenchments.[1] At nine o'clock

[1] The story of the demonstration against Beauport has been declared mythical by a distinguished naval critic, who refers to the Log of the *Stirling Castle* in confirmation of his judgment. (See *Edinburgh Review*, July 1903.) Extracts here given from the Logs of the *Pembroke*, whose master was the famous Captain Cook, and of the *Stirling Castle*, support the statement of the author:

"His Majesty's ship Pembroke, Sept. 1759. at 10 p.m. the master went in the Barge and placed some Buoy upon the Shoals of Beauport. . . . [Wednesday 12] at Noon the Enemy attempted to cut away the Buoys but was beat of by the fire of the Richmond. . . . at Midnight all the row Boats

1759. Sept. this night, our army in high spirits, the first division of them put into the flat-bottomed boats, and, in a short time after, the whole squadron moved up the river with the tide of flood, and, about an hour before day-light next morning, we fell down with the ebb. Weather favourable, a star-light night.

BATTLE OF QUEBEC.

Thursday, September 13, 1759.

13th. Before day-break this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond;[1] we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-

in the fleet made a faint to Land at Beauport in order to Draw the Enemys Attention that way to faver the [Thursday 13th] Landing of the Troops above the Town on the North Shoar, wch was done with little oposition our Batteries at Priest point kept a continual fire against the Town all Night, at 8 A. M. the Adml made the sigl for all boats man'd and arm'd to go to point Levi, weighed and Droped higher up; at 10 the English Army commanded by Genl Wolfe atacked the French under the Command of Gen Montcalm in the fields of Aberham behind Quebec and Totally defeated them."

"His Majesty's ship Stirling Castle, Sept. 1759. [Wednesday 12] . . . at 10 layed several Buoy off Bow port to draw the Enemy's Attention that way, . . . Att 11 observed a French Cannon cutting away the aforesaid Buoy, att whom the Richmond Fired several Shot. [Thursday 13th] . . . sent sevl. Longboats above the Town with Cannon Mortars Shot & Shells etc., the rest of the Boats of the Fleet assembled off Point Levee Mannd. and Armd, At 12 they put off from thence and keept, rowing between Bowport and Mouth of Charles River —Att 1 A. M. heard some Vollies of sml. arms off Bowport, att ½ past 4 heard the Report of sevl. Vollies of sml Arms and Cannon above the Town which we afterwards found to be occasioned by Gen'l Wolf's landing our Army about a mile above Cap Diamond, where he succeeded and got a *footing on the riseing Ground during which time the town and our Battery Cannonaded each other very Briskly.*"

[1] Some boats were carried as far as Anse des Mères, a small cove between Cape Diamond and the Foulon. Wolfe did not appear to consider this a fortunate circumstance, as it delayed operations, and he was obliged to send men to bring the troops to the place he had chosen for the attempt to scale the Heights. According to the *Journal of the Particular Transactions*, twenty-four men from the Light Infantry were instructed to scale the Heights, at an apparently inaccessible spot about 200 yards to the right of the winding path.

A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

Drawn by Captain Hervey Smyth. London: Carrington Bowles

bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt.[1] The chain of centries, 1759. Sept.

These men were to surprise and dislodge the French post and thus clear the way for the remainder of the troops to ascend by the path.

Colonel Howe called for the volunteers of the Light Infantry, "signifying to "them, that the General intends that a few men may land before the Light "Infantry and army, and scramble up the rock when ordered by Capt "Delaune, who is to be in the first boat along with us. . . . He observing our "number consisted only of eight men, viz.:

"1st. Fitz-Gerald	5th. Makenzie
"2nd. Robertson	6th. McPherson
"3rd. Stewart	7th. Cameron
"4th. McAllester	8th. Bell

"Ordered we should take 2 men each of ou rown choice from three companys "of Lt. Infantry, which in all made 24 men." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 187.)

As the Muster Rolls have not been preserved, it is impossible to give any further particulars about these men. Some of the men may have been given commissions later on, but there are many of the same name in the *Army Lists* of the time. The advance party, according to the author, was led by Captain Donald McDonald (MacDonell). (A careful description of the British movements is given in the *Journal of Major Moncrief: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 50.)

[1] For several days previous to September 13, the French had been expecting an attack between Cap Rouge and Anse au Foulon. The mysterious movements of the ships higher up the river made it desirable that Bougainville should remain in the vicinity of St. Augustin. In order to prevent a surprise between that place and the town, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered all the posts on the north shore to be strengthened on the 5th of the month. He seems to have been particularly anxious about the Foulon, as on that day he withdrew the 100 men under Vergor from that post and replaced them by 100 men of the Regiment of Guienne under Captain St. Martin, leaving the rest of the Regiment of Guienne at St. John's Gate ready for any emergency. Bougainville thought it better to have the regiment nearer to him, but Vaudreuil interfered, and when it was proposed to place the whole regiment at the Foulon, Vaudreuil ordered the men to return to camp. On the 6th he again stationed Vergor—a man under suspicion of treachery for his surrender of Fort Beauséjour in 1755—at the Foulon with 100 men. On September 12 Montcalm once more ordered the Regiment of Guienne to the Foulon, but for the second time Vaudreuil objected: "Mercredi, 12 Septembre, ordre donné "par M de Montcalm et ensuite révoqué par M. de Vaudreuil disant nous "verrons cela demain, un battalion de Guyenne d'aller camper au foulon." (*Journal de Récher: Recherches Historiques*, vol. ix. p.139. See also the *Bougainville Correspondence: Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 93–99.)

1759. Sept. which they had posted along the summit of the [68] heights, galled us a little,[1] and picked off several men *, and some Officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them †. This grand enterprise was conducted, and executed with great good order and discretion; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements,[2] and the troops formed with much regularity: the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were a-shore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clamoured up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height.[3] As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear day-light. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery,[4] and halted a few minutes ‡. The General then

[1] The first boats landed without opposition. It was only after some of the men had gained the Heights that there was firing upon the boats.

* In the boat where I was, one man was killed; one seaman, with four soldiers, were slightly, and two mortally wounded.—*Note by author.*

† Captain Donald M'Donald, a very gallant Officer, of Fraser's Highlanders, commanded the advanced-guard of the light infantry, and was, consequently, among the foremost on shore; as soon as he and his men gained the height, he was challenged by a centry, and, with great presence of mind, from his knowledge of the French service, answered him according to their manner: it being yet dark, he came up to him, told him he was sent there, with a large command, to take post, and desired him to go with all speed to his guard, and to call off all the other men of his party who were ranged along the hill, for that he would take care to give a good account of the B—— Anglois, if they should persist; this *finesse* had the desired effect, and saved us many lives, &c.—*Note by author.*

[2] As soon as the boats of the first division were emptied they were sent across the river to bring over Carleton's men.

[3] The average height of this cliff in the vicinity of the Foulon is about 180 feet above the St. Lawrence.

[4] This, obviously, is not literally true. The distance between the town and Sillery is nearly three miles. At the time to which the author refers there

‡ *The hill they climb'd, and halted at its top, of more than mortal size:*
Tow'ring they seem'd, an host angelic, clad in burning arms!
—*Note by author.*

detached the light troops to our left to route the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham;[1] an even piece of ground which Mr. 1759. Sept.

were three thousand men upon the Heights. It is absurd to suggest that they were stretched out in a line three miles in length. Indeed the next sentence disproves the first assertion. If the right extended to the town there would be no occasion to march "towards the town." The attempt to make the situation clear on the next page is equally unfortunate.

The exact movements of the troops after they gained the Heights are described by Townshend and shown on the King's map. As soon as the troops were assembled on the summit of the cliff they were formed in a body and marched across the plateau until they came to the Ste. Foy road. At this point the town was about two miles on their right, and Sillery about a mile on the left. On reaching the Ste. Foy road they wheeled to the right and marched along the road until they came to Borgia's house, near the present Maple Avenue. (See *Journal of a French Officer: Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. p. 254.) Here they deployed to the right until they formed a line across the plateau parallel with the walls, which were nearly three-quarters of a mile distant. After this line was formed they marched about a hundred yards nearer the city; but they were never within half a mile of the walls until the French were in retreat. The line of battle was confined to the high ground of this plateau, and the left was two miles from the river St. Charles. (See plan.)

[1] It is interesting to observe that while the French always refer to the "Heights," the British speak of the "Plains" of Abraham. This is probably due to the fact that the place chosen by Wolfe was a level piece of ground much lower than the lands surrounding the walls of the city. The history of the Heights or Plains of Abraham began 124 years before the siege of Quebec. On December 4, 1635, while Champlain, the founder of Quebec, was confined to his bed in the Château St. Louis, a piece of land not far from the site of the battle of the Plains was given to Abraham Martin, a pilot of Scotch descent, who had settled in Quebec. Thirteen years later he obtained a further grant near by, in all thirty-two acres, not far from the Martello tower on the north. Claire Fontaine Street, Quebec, derived its name from a spring on the property, officially described as the *Fontaine d'Abraham*. Martin used the land for pasturage, and, as little of the ground in the vicinity was under cultivation, Martin's cattle wandered at pleasure over the adjoining fields, and thus the name of the Heights of Abraham was given to a far larger tract of land than that within the boundaries defined by the concession. At the time of the siege of Quebec all the ground on the plateau between the town walls and Sillery was commonly referred to as the Heights of Abraham.

Abraham Martin was a man of considerable importance in the early days of

1759. Sept. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery: about six o'clock [69] the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle *. The first disposition then was: "Grenadiers of Louisbourg on the right, forty-seventh regiment "on the left, twenty-eighth on the right, and the forty-third "on the left;" part of the light infantry took post in the houses at Sillery, and the remainder occupied a chain of houses which were opportunely situated for that purpose, and covered our left flank, inclining towards our rear; the General then advanced some platoons from the grenadiers and twenty-eighth regiment below the height on our right, to annoy the enemy, and prevent their getting round the declivity between us and the main river, which they had attempted. By this time the fifteenth and thirty-fifth regiments joined us, who formed a second line, and were soon after followed by the forty-eighth and fifty-eighth, two battalions of the sixtieth and seventy-eighth regiments, (Highlanders) by which a new disposition was made of the whole; *viz.* 'first line, thirty-fifth to the 'right, in a circular form on the slope of the hill; fifty-'eighth, left; grenadiers, right; seventy-eighth, left; twenty-'eighth, right; forty-seventh, left; forty-third, in the center.' General Wolfe, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, to our

the colony; but in his later years he forfeited much of the goodwill of his fellow citizens. He was the father of a large family. All his children were respected, and some of them rose to prominence. (The deed of Martin's property is in the Ursuline Convent, Quebec. See *Siege of Quebec*, vol. ii. pp. 289–309.)

* Quebec was then to the eastward of us in front, with the enemy under its walls. Our right was flanked by the declivity and the main river to the southward, and what is called the lower road leading (westward) from the town, with the river Charles and the north country, were on our left. If the reader will attend to this description, observing the cardinal points, he may thereby form as lively an idea of the field of battle as if a plan were laid before him; and, though our first disposition was afterwards altered, yet our situation, with that of the enemy, and the scene of action, could not vary.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] A plan of the battle given in the Appendix shows the relative position of the armies, and the various places referred to by the author.

front line; and the second was composed of the fifteenth, and two battalions of the sixtieth regiment, under Brigadier Townshend, with a reserve of the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Burton, drawn up in four grand divisions, with large intervals.[1] The enemy had now likewise formed [70] the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister-shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our center, inclining towards our left; but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these sculkers to retire: we were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns;[2] about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge,[3] came down to

1759. Sept.

[1] "Why we lost so few men in this Battle, and the Enemy such a vast number, may, with very Just reason, be construed as follows, viz.: That Our line of Battle would admit us to be drawn up two deep only, from the smallness of our number, as well as the quantity of ground we had to cover to secure our flanks and also our files being at least three feet asunder, and forty yards or more in the intervals between the Battalions." (*Memoirs of the Quarter-Master Sergeant: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 107.) This seems to have been the first important conflict in which the two-deep formation, the famous "thin red line," was adopted as the order of battle.

[2] See plan in Appendix.

[3] This passage is confused. Events are not related in the order of their occurrence. The British landed at the Foulon, according to Townshend and others, half an hour before daybreak. Between six and seven they had taken possession of Borgia's house and two or three houses adjoining on the Ste. Foy road (see plan), and their movements were observed from the windows of the General Hospital; whereupon Boishébert, who had been ill for some time, made preparations to proceed to the French camp. Vaudreuil was first

1759. Sept. attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there, but, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist,[1] and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats.[2] About ten

informed of the landing at about half-past six. At a quarter to seven he sent a courier on horseback to Bougainville with the intelligence. The courier reached Bougainville two hours and a quarter later. Bougainville hastened towards the scene and reached Samos a little after eleven o'clock. Captain Le Noir was directed to recapture the house and battery, but was repulsed with a loss of thirty men. Bougainville then withdrew to the Ste. Foy road, appearing in the rear of the army at about twelve o'clock, when, in his own words, he found "our army beaten and in retreat."

Townshend, who was then in command, says: "I immediately repaired to ye center, & finding that ye pursuit had put part of ye troops in great disorder I formed them as soon as possible. Scarce was that effected when Monsr. de Boncainville wth about 2000 men, ye corps from Cap rouge & that neighbourhood, appeared in our rear." (Townshend to Pitt, September 20, 1759: Public Record Office, A. & W. I., vol. 88: *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 216–219. See p. 102 and note.) Bougainville retired in good order in the direction of L'Ancienne Lorette. (*Correspondance de Bougainville: Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 127, 140; *British Magazine*, 1760.)

[1] From this sentence one would suppose that the 3rd battalion of Royal Americans was sent to protect the landing after the affair with Bougainville. General Townshend says: "Just before the Engagement began the Genl. ordered a Battalion of the Royal Americans to take Possession of the Heights and Secure our Landing." (Townshend to Pitt, *loc. cit.*)

[2] About seven o'clock Montcalm received word from Vaudreuil that the British had landed at the Foulon. The order was given for the troops to march, and at eight o'clock Montcalm reached the bridge of boats which had been formed across the St. Charles (see plan). On the bridge he met Boishébert, who told the Marquis that from the windows of the Hospital he had seen the enemy drawn up in line of battle in front of Borgia's house. (*Procès de Bigot, Cadet et autres, Mémoire pour le Sieur de Boishébert.*) The Marquis gave an order for more troops to be sent to the Heights and hastened towards the scene.

About nine o'clock his forces were drawn up across the Grand Allée, about 600 yards from the walls. Shortly before ten o'clock the French advanced to the high ground on which the Martello towers now stand, and the two armies were then separated by a distance of five or six hundred yards. (For the movements of the morning of the 13th see especially Malartic's *Journal Des Campagnes au Canada*, pp. 283–287, the *Journal Abrégé d'un Aide-de-Camp: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 295–298; the *Journal de Foligné*, *ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 203–206; and the *Dialogue in Hades*, pp. 35–45.)

o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty—, until they came within forty yards;[1] which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their Officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces[2] made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, [71] such as they could no longer oppose *; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished,[3] our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many Officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sun-shine: the Highlanders chaced them vigorously towards Charles's river,[4] 1759. Sept.

[1] The line of the French advance is marked by the present De Salaberry Street.

[2] There appear to have been two field-pieces in action; but the one under Colonel York was the more effective. Townshend in his despatch to Pitt says there was only one gun. But in a letter to Amherst he corrects this and says that "there were two field Peices & not only one up in the Action." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 222.)

* When the General formed the line of battle, he ordered the regiments to load with an additional ball. The forty-third and forty-seventh regiments, in the center, being little affected by the oblique fire of the enemy, gave them, with great calmness, as remarkable a close and heavy discharge, as I ever saw performed at a private field of exercise, insomuch that better troops than we encountered could not possibly withstand it: and, indeed, well might the French Officers say, that they never opposed such a shock as they received from the center of our line, for that they believed every ball took place, and such regularity and discipline they had not experienced before; our troops in general, and particularly the central corps, having levelled and fired,—*comme une coup de canon.—Note by author.*

[3] The time is given as six or seven minutes by several diarists.

[4] To the bridge of boats which led to the camp of Beauport.

1759. Sept. and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate,[1] until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks; at the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walsh,[2] by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground.[3] Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of,—GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound, as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louis- [72] bourg; and Brigadier Monckton was unfortunately wounded upon the left of the forty-third, and right of the forty-seventh regiment, at much the same time; whereby the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who, with Brigadier Murray, went to the head of every regiment, and returned thanks for their extraordinary good behaviour, congratulating the Officers on our success. There is one incident very remarkable, and which I can affirm from my own personal knowledge,—that the enemy were extremely apprehensive of being rigorously treated; for, conscious of their inhuman behaviour to our troops upon a former occasion, the Officers who fell into our hands most piteously (with hats

[1] It was the Canadians who made this gallant stand in the wood surrounding St. John's Gate. They were driven over the cliff, but still disputed every inch of the retreat to the battery at the foot. Over two hundred were killed in this encounter. Many of the French regulars escaped the fury of the Highlanders in consequence of this resistance.

[2] See note 1, vol. i. p. 66.

[3] See note 3, p. 99. It was after the former ground had been recovered that Bougainville appeared.

off) sued for quarter, repeatedly declaring they were not at Fort William Henry (called by them Fort St. George[1]) in the year 1757. A soldier of the Royal Americans, who deserted from us this campaign, and fought against us to-day, was found wounded on the field of battle; he was immediately tried by a general court-martial, and was shot to death, pursuant to his sentence. While the two armies were engaged this morning, there was an incessant firing between the town and our south batteries. By the time that our troops had taken a little refreshment, a quantity of intrenching tools were brought a-shore, and the regiments were employed in redoubting our ground, and landing some cannon and ammunition. The Officers who are prisoners say, that Quebec will surrender in a few days: some deserters, who came out to us in the evening, agree in that opinion, and inform us, that the Sieur de Montcalm is dying, in great agony, of a wound he received to-day in their retreat. Thus has our late renowned Commander, by his superior eminence in the art of war, and a most judicious *coup d'etat*, made a conquest of this fertile, healthy, and hitherto formidable country, with a handful of troops only, in spite of the political schemes, and most vigorous efforts, of the famous Montcalm, and many other Officers of rank and experience, at the head of an army considerably more numerous. My pen is too feeble to draw the character of this *British Achilles;* but [73] the same may, with justice, be said of him as was said of Henry IV. of France: *He was possessed of courage, humanity, clemency, generosity, affability, and politeness.* And though the former of these happy ingredients, how essential soever it may be in the composition of a soldier, is not alone sufficient to distinguish an expert Officer; yet, I may, with strict truth, advance, that Major General James Wolfe, by his great talents, and martial disposition, which he discovered early in life, was greatly superior to his experience

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[1] "Fort George": see Errata.

1759. Sept. in generalship, and was by no means inferior to a Frederic, a Henry, or a Ferdinand.

"When the matter match'd his mighty mind,
"Up rose the Hero: on his piercing eye
"Sat observation, on each glance of thought
"Decision follow'd, as the thunderbolt
"Pursues the flash."

The strength of our army, this day in the action, will best appear by the following return; to which I shall subjoin that of the enemy, as delivered to me afterwards by an intelligent Frenchman.

[74] OFFICERS present; Rank and File, &c.

Number of Corps.	Regiments.	Commissioned. Colonels.	Lieutenant-Col.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff. Adjutants.	Quarter Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	N. Com. Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks, including General Officers, &c.
15th	Amherst's	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	21	6	352	406
28th	Bragg's	1	0	1	5	9	8	0	0	1	0	23	11	362	421
35th	Otway's	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	23	11	456	519
43d	Kennedy's	0	0	1	6	6	4	1	1	0	0	17	11	280	327
47th	Lascelles's	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360
48th	Webb's	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	33	14	605	683
58th	Anstruther's	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335
60th	Monckton's	1	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322
	Lawrence's	0	1	0	4	11	8	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540
78th	Fraser's	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	28	14	603	662[1]
22d 40th 45th	Louisbourg Companies of Grenad.	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	9	4	216	241
	Total .	3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	259	102	4215	4816[2] 4828[3]

[1] Should be 672. [2] Should be 4826.

[3] This statement appears to be fairly accurate. The thirteen general and staff officers would make the total 4829; but there were several Engineers present, which would probably make the total nearer 4850

One Major-General, three Brigadiers-General, one Quarter-Master-General, one Aid Quarter-Master-General, one Adjutant-General, four Majors of Brigade, two Aids de Camp. 1759. Sept.

STATE of the FRENCH ARMY.

Right Column.		Center Column.		Left Column.	
Troupes de Colonie	550	Regiment de Berne	360	Royale Rousillon	650
Regiment de la Sarre	500	Regiment de Guienne	360	La Colonie	650
Reg. de Languedoc	550	Des Milices	1200	Des Milices	2300
Des Milices, and one six-pounder	400				
	2000		1920		3600[1]

[75] Monsieur de Bougainville's corps, from Cape Rouge, consisting of five companies of grenadiers, cavalry, Canadian

(*Continuation of note.*)

Of these there were in the firing line, according to the Engineers' plan	3111	
Of the Light Infantry, fifty were sent to hold Samos post	50	
The 48th Regiment in reserve	683	
The Second Battalion Royal Americans in reserve	322	
The Third Battalion Royal Americans sent to protect the landing place	540	
Leaving for skirmishing parties in front of the line and to protect Borgia's house	144	
		4850
Wolfe's Embarkation Return made up after leaving Louisbourg shows a total of	8535	
This was augmented by 100 men who joined at Bird Island	100	
		8635
Five hundred Provincials were sent by Amherst, but these were not included in any of the returns made at Quebec.		
On the day of the battle there were on the Heights	4850	
A return of the killed, wounded, and missing on September 2 shows	854	
To guard the posts at Orleans there were	550	
At the camp of Lévis there were	800	
And Major Scott had a number of Rangers and other troops burning the parishes, amounting to	1600	
		8654

A discrepancy of only 19 men.

[1] These numbers are certainly exaggerated. Malartic estimated the French strength at 2500 (*Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, p. 285); Lévis (*Journal*, p. 208), Foligné (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. p. 205), and Bigot (*New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1052) agree in placing it at 3500; the *Journal tenue*, by eliminating the forces which it states to have been elsewhere on the 13th, concludes that there were 4500 men on the Plains. The regular regiments of the

1759. Sept. volunteers, savages, and militia, two thousand and sixty; total of the enemy nine thousand five hundred and eighty.

Deserters, who are come over to us since the action, inform us, that it was very difficult to persuade Monsieur de Montcalm, and the other Commanders, that the flower of our army were behind the town; and, after the Marquis had marched his troops over the river Charles, and taken a view of us, he said,—'They have at last got to the weak side of this miser-'able garrison, therefore we must endeavour to crush them with 'our numbers, *and scalp them all before twelve o'clock.*'[1]—Every coppice, bush, or other cover, that stood on our ground this morning, were cut down before night, and applied to the use of our new works; the houses were all fortified, and several redoubts thrown up round our camp, which is about one thousand yards from the garrison, before ten o'clock.[2]

Line cannot have much exceeded 2000 men. Lévis, doubtless giving an official statement, says that the regiments of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, Guienne, and Béarn mustered 2090 men early in 1760. (*Journal*, p. 255.) He also gives the losses of these corps on the 13th and at the surrender of Quebec as 534. (*Ibid.*, p. 218; see Appendix.) From this total of 2624 men there must be deducted the forces under Bougainville and those sent to strengthen the defences of the upper country (stated by the Adjutant-General, the Chevalier de Montreuil, to consist of five companies of grenadiers, five pickets of fifty men each, one hundred volunteer soldiers, and another detachment of one hundred picked men: Montreuil to the Marshal de Belle Isle, September 27, 1759, in *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1013).

[1] When Vaudreuil heard that the British had landed at the Foulon he despatched a courier to Bougainville, whom he supposed to be at Cap Rouge, and sent *one hundred men* to oppose the British. Possibly when Montcalm uttered these words he was under the impression that the army upon the Heights was only a small landing party. Quartermaster-Serjeant Johnson, of the 58th Regiment, says: "As soon as Monsieur de Montcalm understood that General Wolfe had gained the heights of Abram, and was waiting his approach to give him Battle; he very pleasantly said he could not conjecture what General Wolfe would aspire to next; for he was credibly informed, that he had brought one of his drunken picquets across the River in the night, and that they had actually gained the heights of Abram; but says he, we'll take a few of our brave fellows and drive them back faster down the hill than they came up, as we did before it at the point of Montmorenci; they may indeed, stand us a fire or two, but they'll soon take to their heels as they did then." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. pp. 102–103.)

[2] There is evidence throughout this *Journal* that the author is not accurate

ORDERS.

"Parole, Wolfe; countersign, England."

"The remaining General Officers, fit to act, take the 1759. Sept. 14th.
"earliest opportunity to express the praise which is due to the
"conduct and bravery of the troops; and the victory, which
"attended it, sufficiently proves the superiority which this
"army has over any number of such troops as they engaged
"yesterday; *they wish that the person who lately commanded them*
"*had survived so glorious a day, and had this day been able to*
"*give the troops these just encomiums.* The fatigues which the
"troops will be obliged to undergo, to reap the advantage of
"this victory, will be supported with a true spirit, as this
"seems to be the period which will determine, in all proba-
"bility, our American labours; the troops are to receive a jill
"of rum per day,[1] and will receive fresh provisions the day [76]
"after to-morrow. The regiments and corps to give returns
"of their killed and wounded yesterday, and the strength of
"their corps. The pioneers of the different regiments to bury
"the dead:[2] the corps are to send all their tools, not immedi-
"ately in use, to the artillery park. All French papers, or

in the estimate of distance. The nearest point of the camp from the walls of the city was 1500 yards. The position of the camp is shown on the map prepared by the Engineers a few weeks after the event.

[1] To men accustomed to the lash for any slight irregularity, a gill of inferior rum may have appeared a generous reward the day after the victory, especially as they were promised fresh provisions *the day after to-morrow.* On the 12th each man carried two days' provisions. On the 14th these could not have been in prime condition. But the rum and the promise may have inspired them with hope.

[2] One of the sisters of the General Hospital gives a brief description of the field of battle towards evening on the 13th. "The remnants of the French army," says the good sister, "after turning many times upon their pursuers, had completely disappeared. Their tents were still standing along the plains of Beauport; but their batteries and trenches were silent and solitary; their guns, still pointed, were mute. Along the battlefield of the Plains, still reeking with gore and covered with the slain, the victors were opening the turf, to hide from view the hideous effects of war; bearing off such of the poor victims as still survived, and hastening to intrench themselves, to secure their position so fortunately gained." (*Glimpses of the Monastery*, 1639–1839, p. 275.)

1759. Sept. "letters found, are desired to be sent to the head quarters.[1] "No soldier to presume to strole beyond the out-posts. "Arms that cannot be drawn are to be fired into the swamp, "near the head quarters.[2] The Admiral has promised the con- "tinuance of all the assistance which the naval service can "spare, to ease the troops of the fatigues which the farther "operations will require of us. General Townshend has the "satisfaction to acquaint the troops, that General Monckton's "wound is not dangerous; the Commanding Officers of the "corps will order the rolls to be called every half-hour, to "prevent marauding, &c. &c."

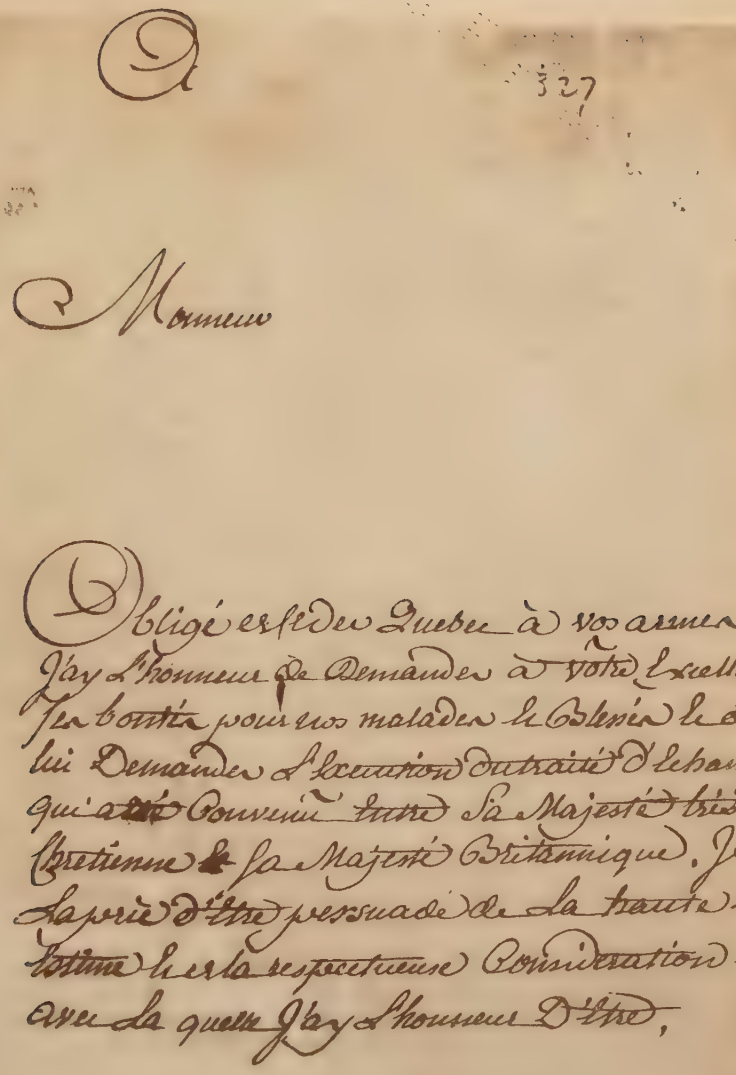
Last night Brigadier Townshend went,[3] with a detachment of two hundred men, to the French general hospital, situated on the river Charles, and about a mile from the town; this is a convent of nuns of the Augustine order, who,—from principles of charity and piety,—take care of all sick and wounded men and Officers; lands are appropriated for the support of this institution; besides which, the French King endows it with a yearly salary, and a table is kept there at his expence for convalescent Officers, Directors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, &c. &c. The Brigadier found an Officer's guard at the convent, but he immediately took possession of the place, by posting a Captain's command there;[4] the unfortunate Marquis de Montcalm was then in the house, dying of his wound,

[1] See Appendix.

[2] This swamp, which was used as a burial ground, is on the site of the present Athletic Grounds. The excavations made in levelling these lands, about the year 1892, brought to light fragments of bone, cannon-balls, bullets, military buttons, ornaments, &c., grim relics of the sanguinary conflict of September 13, 1759. (See plan.)

[3] It is not probable that Townshend went with a detachment to the General Hospital. He says in his *Journal*, "There was an Officer sent down to take possesion of their Hospital and protect the sick." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 269.) This was in fulfilment of the promise made by Wolfe to Madame de Ramezay in return for her kindness to Captain Ochterloney.

[4] The author is confusing the General Hospital with the Ursulines. Montcalm was taken to the house of Surgeon Arnoux on St. Louis Street, almost opposite the Ursulines, which is within the walls. The General Hospital is outside the walls, and was considered a part of the field of battle.



LETTER OF THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM SIGNED ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

From the original in the possession of Colonel Townshend

attended by the Bishop and his Chaplains.[1] A transport, a schooner, and a parcel of boats, with ordnance and stores, passed the town last night; the enemy fired briskly on them, but without any effect. The garrison appear to be at work upon their ramparts, as if resolved to prolong the siege. Some deserters, who came out to us this day, inform us, that Monsieur de Levis, who has rejoined and col- [77] lected their shattered forces, had intended to surprise the rear of our camp at day-break this morning, but, upon reconnoitring our situation, and finding that we had made such excellent use of our time, in 1759. Sept.

[1] Montcalm died at five o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Some hours before his death he addressed the following letter to Townshend:

"Monsieur,

"Obligé de Ceder Quebec à vos armes—J'ay L'honneur de demander à vôtre Excellence Ses bontés pour nos malades Et Blessés Et de lui Demander L'Execution du traité d'Echange qu'a été Convenû Entre Sa Majesté trés Chretienne Et Sa Majesté Britannique. Je La prie d'Etre persuadé de La haute Estime Et de la respectueuse Consideration—Avec La quelle J'ay L'honneur D'Etre,

"Monsieur,

"Votre trés humble & trés

"Obeissant Serviteur,

"MONTCALM."

Townshend evidently sent an answer to the Marquis, as we find this letter from M. de Ramezay:

"Monsieur,

"M. Bernier Commdre des guerres m'a remis La Lettre que votre Excellence Ecrit à Mr. Le Mis Laquelle Je lui ai fait passer Il m'a aussi rendu Compte des arrangements qu'Elle avoit Daigné prendre pour L'Execution du Cartel Entre Les troupees de Sa Majesté trés Chretienne Et Celles de Sa Majesté britannique.

"Je donnerai Les Ordres Les plus formels pour qu'on observe de notre coté. . . . Mr. Bernier m'a rendu Compte. En mon particulier Je Serai toujours . . . de reconnoissance des . . . Genereux que Votre Excellence voudra temoigner à Nos Blessé Et nos prisonniers, Je La prie d'Etre persuadé de L'Estime Et de la consideration respectueuse. Avec La quelle J'ay L'honneur d'Etre,

"Monsieur,

"Votre trés humble & trés

"Obeissant Serviteur,

"DE RAMEZAY."

(The originals are among the Townshend Papers at Raynham.)

1759. Sept. erecting redoubts and other works, prudently declined the undertaking.[1] The Sieur * de Montcalm[2] died late last night;

[1] The Chevalier de Lévis had arrived at Montreal on August 14 to take charge of the defences on the western and southern frontiers. After the defeat of the French and the fall of Montcalm on September 13, a courier was despatched recalling him to take command of the army, but he was still in Montreal on the 15th. On the 17th he joined Vaudreuil, whom he did not hesitate to criticize for withdrawing the army from Quebec. On the 18th he passed through Jacques Cartier and Pointe-aux-Trembles and pushed on to join Bougainville, who remained at Lorette, about nine miles from the city. He proposed to attack the British, but as they were now in possession of Quebec, he decided that the army should go into winter quarters and that the siege should be renewed in the spring. (See *Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. pp. 203–214; *Correspondance de Bougainville*, in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 132, 133; Lévis to Bourlamaque, September 18, 1759, in *Canadian Archives, Lettres à Bourlamaque.*)

* The appointments of this great man, as Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. did not exceed a thousand sols per day; and I have been credibly informed that all his other emoluments did not amount to more than the like sum; the whole equivalent to about nine hundred and thirty pounds sterling, per annum.[3]—*Note by author.*

[2] Montcalm, already slightly wounded at the beginning of the battle, was endeavouring with his face to the foe to rally his troops, when he received a fatal wound in the loins. Two grenadiers hastened to his side, and supported by them the General entered the city through St. Louis Gate. As he rode down the street on his black horse some women began to weep, exclaiming, "Oh mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! le Marquis est tué!" Montcalm, concealing his sufferings, tried to reassure them. "Ce n'est rien! Ce n'est rien! Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies." He was taken to the house of Mr. Arnoux, the surgeon; that gentleman himself was on duty at Lake Champlain, but his younger brother attended to the wound and saw at once that it was fatal.

"He begged Arnoux to be so kind and outspoken as to tell him how many hours he might yet live. Arnoux answered him that he might live till three in the morning. 'So much the better,' returned Montcalm, 'I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.'"

A Council of War had been held in the meantime, attended by Vaudreuil, Bigot, Falquier, Poulariès, Pontleroy, Dumas, Duchat, Manneville, and Duparquet, and Vaudreuil sent a message to Montcalm for advice. The dying General suggested three methods: a new engagement, retreat to Jacques Cartier, or surrender. (*Journal tenue à l'armée*, p. 69.) Retreat was decided upon, and that night the dying Montcalm was left in the city and the army retired to Lorette; and thence to St. Augustin, Pointe-aux-Trembles, and Jacques Cartier. Vaudreuil in the meantime sent a message and a draft of terms of capitulation to Montcalm at six o'clock on the evening of the 13th. Marcel, secretary of Montcalm, sent a note to Vaudreuil: "The Marquis de Montcalm greatly appreciates your kindness and directs me to tell you that he approves of all; I have read to him your letter and the draft of capitulation

when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the Surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him 1759. Sept.

which I have delivered to M. de Ramezay, together with a letter addressed by you to that officer." To this was added a postscript: "The Marquis de Montcalm is hardly better; however, his pulse is a little stronger at 10 o'clock." (*Canadian Archives: Collection Moreau de St.-Méry*, xiii. fo. 317.) When de Ramezay came to ask for advice about the defence of the town, the Marquis replied, "I have no more orders or advice to give on earth. My time is short. I have far more important business to attend to." Montcalm received the last rites of the Church, possibly at the hands of Mgr. de Pontbriand. He instructed Marcel to convey a message to his wife, his mother, and his children. His papers were to be delivered to the Chevalier de Lévis. He was often heard praying aloud, and at five o'clock in the morning the end came. In the city all was confusion, and no one could be found to make a coffin for the remains of the General. Seeing this, an old servant of the Ursulines, "Bonhomme Michel," weeping mightily, contrived to make with a few boards a kind of shapeless box.

At nine o'clock, on the night of the 14th, the funeral procession made its way through the dark streets, lined with shattered houses, to the Ursulines Chapel. M. Ramezay, the officers of the garrison, a few citizens and women and children followed the body. One of the children was a girl nine years old, who afterwards entered the convent, where she was known as Mother M. Amable Dubé de St. Ignace. When over eighty years of age she pointed out Montcalm's grave in 1833. The editor has been told by the late Mother St. Croix that when she herself was a young nun in the Convent she had heard this old Mother describe the funeral of Montcalm. The Abbé Jos. Resche, Canon of the Cathedral and Confessor of the Ursulines, assisted by Canons Collet and Cugnet, performed the ceremony. They sang the *Libera*, in which eight nuns joined. The coffin was lowered to the grave, which had been formed under the floor by the bursting of a shell a month before, and thus had been fulfilled the historical omen, "*La guerre est le tombeau des Montcalm.*"

A hundred years later, on September 14, 1859, the remains of Montcalm were honoured with the religious pomp and ceremony which ruin and disaster had prevented at the time of his death. The chapel, draped in black, was thronged with the principal citizens and officials of Canada. On a catafalque covered with a pall over which was spread the silvery *fleur-de-lis* of olden time, the skull of Montcalm was to be seen under a crystal globe. The Bishop presided over the *Libera*, and a funeral oration was delivered by Father Martin, a French Jesuit. (The particulars regarding the death of Montcalm are to be gathered from several sources: the Chevalier Johnstone's *Dialogue in Hades*, pp. 45–47, as published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; *Glimpses of the Monastery*, 1639–1839, p. 275; *Les Ursulines de Quebec*, vol. iii. pp. 7–10; Beatson, *The Plains of Abraham—Notes, Original and Selected*, pp. 12–27; Marcel to the Chevalier de Lévis, September 14, 1759: *Collection De Lévis*, vol. vi. p. 229.)

[3] In 1757 Montcalm wrote:

"My pay is only twenty-five thousand livres; I have none of the perquisites

1759. Sept. ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and, being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, 'he was glad of 'it:' his Excellency then demanded,—'whether he could sur-'vive it long, and how long?' He was told, 'about a dozen 'hours, perhaps more, peradventure less.' 'So much the better,' rejoined this eminent warrior; 'I am happy I shall not live to 'see the surrender of Quebec.' He then ordered his Secretary into the room to adjust his private affairs, which as soon as they were dispatched, he was visited by Monsieur de Ramsey, the French King's Lieutenant, and by other principal Officers, who desired to receive his Excellency's commands, with the farther measures to be pursued for the defence of Quebec, the capital of Canada. To this the Marquis made the following answer,—'I'll neither give orders, nor interfere any farther; 'I have much business that must be attended to, of greater 'moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country: 'my time is very short,—therefore pray leave me—I wish you 'all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present 'perplexities.' He then called for his Chaplain, who, with the Bishop of the colony, remained with him till he expired. Some time before this great man departed, we are assured he paid us this compliment,—'Since it was my misfortune to be 'discomfited, and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to 'me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy: If 'I could [78] survive this wound, I would engage to beat three 'times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning, 'with a third of their number of British troops.'

of the Governors or Intendants of Canada, I must support a staff; I do nothing beyond neither do I anything beneath my station.

"I am obliged to give myself importance, single handed; no person seeks to give me any here; they would fain try to deprive me of it, but they will not succeed. M. de Machault admitted that I was not adequately paid; he promised to make it up to me and to attend to it. I did not come here to carry home money; but should be sorry to make a hole here in the little patrimony of six children.

"I have, nevertheless, expended ten thousand francs beyond my allowance, and shall continue since the expense I incur is necessary. I flatter myself you will assist me to pay my debts." (Montcalm to Moras, July 11, 1757: *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 578.)

LOUIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM-GOZON, MARQUIS DE MONTCALM

From the painting in the possession of the Marquis de Montcalm

We are drawing artillery and ammunition a-shore, with all expedition; in which we are much favoured, at present, by the weather, and have found a convenient road for the purpose, leading directly from the cove to the camp;—this is the place that had been intended for our descent yesterday, but, the morning being dark, and the tide of ebb very rapid, we were imperceptibly carried a little lower down, which proved a favourable circumstance; for there was a strong intrenchment that covered the road, lined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men.[1] It is still much more fortunate that the General had not deferred the execution of his project to another day; for two French regiments,[2] with a corps of savages, were actually under orders of readiness to march at six o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themselves immediately along the heights; but happily our troops were in possession of that ground, before the enemy had any thoughts of stirring. Several men and Officers wounded to-day in camp, by shot and shells from the town.[3] The French regulars, in the late engagement, fired slugs of lead and iron from their small arms; some of them were found in the shot-pouches of the Officers that were made prisoners, who, being 1759. Sept.

[1] The author's account of these movements is confused. It is not probable that he was amongst the first to land. The descent was made at the Cove, as intended; but some of the boats were carried half a mile further down. Wolfe recalled them to the Cove or Foulon, now known as Wolfe's Cove. The intrenchment to which he refers was Vergor's Post. This was dislodged by the party which gained the Heights 200 yards to the right of the winding path and cleared the way for the main body. Some of the men may have gained the Heights above the place where they landed, but not many, as Townshend says that the whole formed on the ground above the path, as shown on the Engineers' plan. The road to which he refers led through the cornfields from the summit of the winding path to a place on the Grand Allée, near the gaol. This road was diverted in 1820, and joins the St. Louis road near Merici. (See plan.)

[2] This no doubt refers to the Regiment of Guienne, which Montcalm ordered to the Foulon on the 12th. Vaudreuil revoked the order, saying he would see about it the next day.

[3] On the 13th the French were on the Heights in front of the walls and therefore the guns could not be fired.

1759. Sept. challenged upon this subject, replied, with a significant shrug,—'It was their custom, without any ill design.' A flag of truce came from the garrison this afternoon, requesting permission to bury their dead; all that were within our reach we had interred before.[1]—Brigadier Monckton took the opportunity in this cessation to pass the town to his tent at Point Levi, of which notice was sent to the Governor and to our batteries on the south shore.

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded, to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have [79] a Surgeon? he replied, 'it is needless; it 'is all over with me.' One of them then cried out, 'they run, 'see how they run.' 'Who runs?' demanded our hero, with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep. The Officer answered, 'The enemy, Sir; Egad they give way 'every-where.' Thereupon the General rejoined, '*Go one of* '*you, my lads, to Colonel Burton—; tell him to march Webb's regi-* '*ment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat* '*of the fugitives from the bridge.*' Then, turning on his side, he added, '*Now, God be praised, I will die in peace:*' and thus expired.*

——————— *Quis* ———————

Myrmidonum, Dolopumque, aut duri miles Ulyssei,
Temperet a lachrymis?

[1] See reference to the swamp, p. 108.

* Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the Officers into whose hands he fell: and many, from a vanity of talking, claimed the honour of being his supporters, after he was wounded; but the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieutenant Brown, of the grenadiers of Louisbourg, and the twenty-second regiment, who, with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company, and a private man, were the three persons who carried his Excellency to the rear; which an artillery Officer seeing, immediately flew to his assistance; and these were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery Officer's name or it should be chearfully recorded here.*[2]*—Note by author.*

[2] A careful study of the contemporary accounts of Wolfe's death, and of the map, made a few weeks after the event, on which the place where the

CAPTAIN HERVEY SMYTH

Aide-de-Camp to General Wolfe

From a print in the Dominion Archives

This resignation, and greatness of soul, calls to my remembrance an almost similar story of Epaminondas, the Theban General; who, having received in fight a mortal wound with 1759. Sept.

General fell is marked, removes all difficulty in the way of determining with exactness the scene of his closing moments. But so far we have not been able to find a direct statement, that seems absolutely trustworthy, from anyone who saw him fall and was present at his death. Townshend, who was in the line, was not aware that the General had fallen until some time after, when an officer informed him that, in consequence of the death of the General, he was in command. Murray, who was also in the line, appears to have pushed forward and known nothing of the event, and Monckton was himself wounded about the same time as the General. Captain Hervey Smyth, the General's aide-de-camp, had received a wound; and Captain Bell does not describe the circumstances of the General's death in his *Journal*. About half-past nine on the morning of the 13th, or half an hour before the battle, Wolfe was struck in the wrist and the wound was staunched with a handkerchief lent to him by an officer. This was on the left of the line near the Ste. Foy road, where Townshend was in command. The circumstance is related in Townshend's *Journal*. Wolfe, contrary to the advice of one of his officers, had that morning donned a new uniform, and it is probable that he was particularly conspicuous and an easy mark for the Indians on the left. Wolfe passed along the front of the line, and when near the St. Louis road was again shot, this time in the groin. He still continued his instructions for the approaching crisis, and, passing to the rear, ascended the hill upon which the gaol now stands, to observe the movements of the enemy. In a few minutes he placed himself at the head of Bragg's Regiment and the Louisbourg Grenadiers, as the French advanced. When the French were within forty yards he gave the order to fire. After the smoke began to clear away, some six or seven minutes, Wolfe gave the order for the British lines to advance. Almost at the same moment he received his third wound, a bullet in the breast, and sank upon the ground. The whole line was in pursuit of the enemy, and it is not probable that many witnessed his fall. We have therefore to examine the several accounts which seem to deserve consideration. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of December 1759, in Wynne's *General History of the British Empire in America* (London, 1770), vol. ii. p. 123, note, in a fragment of a manuscript at Washington (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 31), and in several other publications between the years 1760 and 1770 we find corroborative testimony. Of the dying words of the hero of Quebec there are many versions. Those who, from the position of their regiments on the field, were nearest the scene seem to merit special attention. One account is as follows: "Finding himself going, he leaned on Capt. Currey of Bragg's and desired to know how the day went." A second states that he "asked the fortune of the day," and was told that the French lines seemed broken, and that he then said, in faint tones, "Thank God, I die contented." A third says that his last words were, "Then I am satisfied"; a fourth, "Then I die happy"; a fifth, "Now God be praised,

1759. Sept. a sword, which was left in his body, lay in that posture till he received intelligence that his troops had obtained a victory, and then permitted it to be drawn out, saying, at that instant, 'This is not the end of my life, my fellow-soldiers; it is now 'your Epaminondas was born, who dies in so much glory.'

15th. Wet weather to-day: more deserters coming out to us, they inform us, that Monsieur de Ramsey, who commands in the town, [80] and the principal Officers of the garrison, are settling the preliminaries for a capitulation; that the Indians have robbed one of their best store-houses, and are gone off to their respective districts; that the citizens and Canadians in general are much dissatisfied, and impatient to have the

I die happy"; a sixth, "Let not my brave soldiers see me drop—the day is ours, oh keep it"; a seventh, "I am satisfied, my boys"; still another, "Now God be praised, I shall die in peace." Admiral Holmes reports Wolfe's last words as being, "Since I have conquered I die satisfied." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. p. 298.) Thomas Wilkins, who claims to have been the only surgeon on the field, says that Wolfe's last words were, "Lay me down, I am suffocating." (Wright, *Life of Wolfe*, p. 587, note.)

In a letter from an officer we are told that Wolfe was supported by Ligonier and that he died without a struggle. Wolfe had two servants, François and Ambrose. Possibly the surname of François may have been Ligonier. James Henderson, in a letter dated at Quebec on October 7, 1759, claims that Wolfe died in his arms. "'Don't grieve for me, I shall be happy in a few minutes—take care of yourself, as I see you are wounded: but tell me how goes the battle there?' The news came at the moment that the French had given ground. He was then lying in my arms fast expiring. That great man whose sole ambition was his country's glory raised himself up on this news and smiled in my face, 'Now,' said he, 'I die contented.'" (*Notes and Gleanings*, vol. ii. April 15, 1889. In the letter Henderson states that he was given a commission in Bragg's Regiment, the 28th, as a recognition of his services to Wolfe. The *Army Lists*, and a special memorandum from the War Office, state that he was appointed Ensign in the 28th on September 25, and Lieutenant in 1762.) Brown's version is that he asked the General if he should dress his wounds, and that "he begged that I would let him die in peace." (Letter of Mr. George Murray in the Montreal *Star*, March 1888, quoting from the London *Times*.) Brown and Henderson are both mentioned by the author.

Of the others referred to, possibly one was a surgeon and another a servant. Surgeons were on the field, and they would be in the rear, near where Wolfe fell. The statements are conflicting, and in the absence of any more direct testimony it may be assumed that the author's account is in the main correct.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

From a copy in the Dominion Archives of a miniature in the possession of the Rev. Thos. Streatfield

town delivered up to us.[1] A Canadian was taken in arms by a party of Highlanders; they found him concealed in the bushes to the left of the road, leading from the cove: he said he had been there since the evening, previous to our landing; and was afraid to attempt his escape from that place, though famishing with cold and hunger, lest he should not get quarter, if he were taken. He was sent on board a ship immediately, to join the other prisoners. We are landing more battering cannon and stores, which the sailors and marines are drawing up to our camp. We are considerably annoyed by shot and shells from the town, nevertheless we are spiritedly rendering our works more defensible:[2] two thousand men are employed in making fascines and gabions, to inable us to carry on approaches. A parcel of sailors, going to some houses on the beach under Cape Diamond, in search of plunder, were fired upon, and made prisoners. The enemy have brought up a mortar to their south-west bastion to bombard our ships above the town, and have thrown several shells for that purpose, without any effect. The wind shifted to the N. W. this evening, and the weather cleared up; three deserters escaped to our camp at night-fall. 1759. Sept.

The enemy acknowledge to have had near fifteen hundred,

[1] On the 15th, M. de Ramezay held a Council of War at Quebec. Amongst those present were Messrs. C. de Bernetz, St. Vincent, Marcel, Fiedmont, Pellegrin, Joannès, and others. The orders of Vaudreuil addressed to M. Ramezay on the 13th were read. After having decided that the place was little capable of defence and that there were about fifteen to sixteen thousand rations to feed more than six thousand people, whereof two thousand six hundred were women and children; one thousand to one thousand two hundred men in the hospital, servants or prisoners of war, and two thousand two hundred fighting men, soldiers, militia, or sailors, it was the opinion of the Council, with the exception of Fiedmont, that they should capitulate. De Ramezay signed and gave out the following decision: "Considering the instructions I have received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the scarcity of provisions, proved by the returns to me furnished, and the searches I have had made, I conclude to endeavour to obtain from the enemy the most honourable capitulation." (*New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. pp. 1007–1009.)

[2] These were the works constructed on the Heights to silence the batteries on the walls. (See plan.)

1759. Sept. killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the 13th instant; among the latter, which amounted to almost three hundred, are included one Lieutenant-Colonel, nine Captains, five first and second Lieutenants, and two Cadets. Besides Monsieur de Montcalm, the two next in command were also killed, viz. Monsieur de Senesergue [1] and Monsieur de St. Ours,[2] Brigadiers. This great loss fell mostly on their regular troops.

15th. [81] A LIST of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the 13th of September.[3]

Regiments.	Killed.					Wounded.						Missing.	Artillery.			Staff.						
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Rank and File.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Maj. General.	Brigadiers.	Q. Mast. Gen.	Adjutant-Gen.	Majors Brigad.	Aids de Camp.	Engineers.
15th.	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	5	0	52	0										
28th.	0	1	0	1	3	3	1	1	4	1	39	0										
35th.	0	1	0	0	6	2	4	0	1	0	28	0										
43d.	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	2	0	18	2										
47th.	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	2	1	2	26	0										
48th.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0										
58th.	0	0	1	1	8	2	1	1	3	0	80	0										
60 { 2d B.	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	2	2	1	80	1										
60 { 3d B.	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0										
78th.	1	2	0	1	14	2	5	3	7	0	131	2										
Lou. Gr.	0	1	0	0	3	1	4	0	0	0	47	0										
Total	1	6	1	3	47	14	26	11	25	4	506	5	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
													One wounded.	Two killed.	Five wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Wounded.	Wounded.	Wounded.	Wounded.	Wounded.

All ranks killed, wounded, and missing, six hundred and sixty-four.

[1] Brigadier General de Sennezergue, Lieutenant-Colonel of La Sarre Regiment, was next in command under Montcalm after the departure of Lévis. He had served in the expeditions against Oswego in 1756 and against Fort William Henry in 1757, and was commended for good conduct in the battle of Carillon in 1758. On or before February 19, 1759, he was created Brigadier-General. In the early part of the siege of Quebec he commanded the centre of the French lines at Beauport. He was mortally wounded on the Plains, and carried on board the English fleet, where he died on September 14.

Cloudy weather, and blows fresh. About ten o'clock last night the enemy beat a chamade, and an Officer was sent to the General; we flattered ourselves they were about to capitulate, but it was only to request permission to send their women and children, over Charles's river, into the country; which was generously granted. We profited by this cessation, having advanced a large detachment, with a covering party, nearer, and—opposite to Port St. Louis, to clear the ground of brush,[4] take post, and throw up a spacious redoubt, it being intended to erect a battery there: these parties were augmented to-day, and the enemy are endeavouring, by a very hot fire, to rout them thence. The second in command of the marine department, with a Priest, and thirty Canadians, were this [82] day brought in prisoners by a party of Highlanders. The enemy seem to be more lavish of their ammunition than heretofore, neither sparing our camp nor the south batteries. We are drawing up more artillery, and large parties are employed in cutting fascines, &c. the most effectual preparations are making to hasten the reduction of this capital, and, in a day or two, we hope to open a formidable fire upon the upper town, and the works on this side of it; which, however, do not seem calculated to bear much battering.[5]

1759. Sept. 16th.

[2] Brigadier General St. Ours had been favourably mentioned in the official despatches for his services at Fort George and Carillon. On the Plains he was in the right wing of the French, and died on the field. He had married, in 1747, Thérèse Hertel de Cournoyer, of the noble family of Hertel, who with nine children survived him.

[3] See complete list of the killed and wounded officers on the British side in the Appendix.

[4] This ground was not cleared, and it provided a shelter for the French troops when they besieged the city in the following year. In 1775 it was still uncleared, and sheltered the troops under Arnold and Montgomery. In a plan made after the American invasion these circumstances are referred to. Shortly afterwards the wood was cut down, and a temporary citadel erected beyond the walls, under the direction of General Haldimand.

[5] General Murray, in his report on the defences, describes in detail the dilapidated condition of the walls in 1762. (Report of June 5, published in Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 38.)

ORDERS.

1759. Sept. 17th. "Complaints have been made that great disorders have been "already committed, in the neighbourhood of the camp, by the "soldiers; which has obliged the country people, who were "coming in with fresh provisions, to return. General Towns-"hend takes the earliest occasion of declaring to the troops, that, "whilst he has the honour to command them, he thinks it his "duty to indulge them in no acts of licentiousness, the only "circumstance which can sully the glory they have acquired, "and prolongs the reduction of this country; *he is determined* "*to preserve the same good discipline kept up by their late General*, "*and, like him, to grant every proper indulgence, which the good of* "*the service and good discipline dictates.* One Field-Officer, four "Captains, twelve Subalterns, and four hundred men with arms, "to parade this afternoon, at four o'clock, for work: the "Engineers will order tools for them, and will conduct them. "Neither Officer nor soldier to be allowed to go near the "French general hospital;[1] the guard there, and that in Major "Dalling's redoubt, to be attentive that this order be obeyed. "Three Captains, six Subalterns, and five hundred men, to "parade to-morrow morning, at day-break, for fascine-making. "The piquets and working parties to parade, for the future, "at four o'clock in the afternoon. The Brigadier of the day "will dispose of the piquets in the following redoubts:

[83] "Advanced redoubt — 1 Dalling's redoubt — 1
"Field-artillery redoubt 2 The hospital post — 1
"Right redoubt — — 1[2]

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[1] General Wolfe had given his word that the community would be specially protected. So strict was this order that a soldier who broke through the guard and attempted to enter the convent was condemned to death. General Murray signed his death warrant on a table in the Ursuline Convent. The nuns intervened and the offender was pardoned.

[2] For position of these posts, see plan.

"The rest will be disposed of by the Brigadier of the day, 1759. Sept.
"where he shall think proper; all out-posts and piquets to send
"a guide to the parade at four o'clock in the afternoon, to
"attend the relief."

Wet weather to-day. The Admiral moved the fleet up into the bason, and is preparing to attack the lower town: the artillery which we have now in this camp consists of twelve heavy twenty-four pounders of brass, four light ditto, sixteen of twenty-two pounders, and eight of iron; four thirteen-inch brass mortars, and one of iron; four brass ten-inch mortars, and eight of eight inches; four brass twelve-pounders, and sixteen ditto six-pounders; eleven royal howitzers of five inches and an half, and thirty of four inches and three quarters; in all, sixty pieces of cannon, and fifty-eight mortars, &c.— The enemy fire now, almost incessantly, into our advanced works, our camp, and our batteries on the south side of the river; an Officer of the twenty-eighth regiment, sitting at the door of his tent, had one of his legs so shattered by a shot from the town, that he was compelled to undergo immediate amputation. A new battery is to be erected this afternoon, contiguous to the advanced redoubt, for cannon and mortars. Between the hours of two and three an Officer came out to our camp with proposals to capitulate, upon which the Admiral was instantly sent for. At four the working party for the advanced works and battery were paraded, and we lay some time on our arms to wait the event; between five and six we were ordered to the left of the line, to cut down all the underwood and cover that stood within half a mile of our flank and rear; which employed us until almost nine. The army [84] are ordered to be very alert this night, the town having agreed to capitulate, upon condition that it is not relieved, before to-morrow morning, by the troops under Messieurs de Levis[1]

[1] M. de Lévis abandoned the idea of attacking Quebec after he found the British in possession of the city. (See note, p. 110.) M. de Ramezay, as we have seen, had been given a draft of the Articles of Capitulation by Vaudreuil,

1759. Sept. 18th. and de Bougainville,[1] who have signified their intentions to the Sieur de Ramsay of endeavouring to dispossess us of this ground with all the force of Canada. The garrison

with instructions to capitulate within forty-eight hours if relief was not forthcoming. (*Dialogue in Hades*, p. 54, as printed by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.) How the Governor expected to relieve the city by fleeing to Jacques Cartier and leaving guns, baggage, and equipment at Beauport, it is difficult to understand. Nevertheless, he sent a hundred bags of biscuit for the relief of the city, which reached the Governor on the evening of the 17th, after de Ramezay had accepted the capitulation. Vaudreuil, who took no part in the battle, and sought safety in flight, expressed the greatest surprise that de Ramezay had so promptly capitulated, although the delay fixed by Vaudreuil had expired on the 15th.

M. de Ramezay seems to have done his best to hold out as long as possible, and by sending the proposals backwards and forwards to the camp he had obtained two days' grace. The patience of Townshend, however, was exhausted, and de Ramezay was told on the 17th, that unless the Articles were signed immediately there would be no more negotiations. The soldiers and sailors were drawn up, the ships were lined up before the town, and all was in readiness for a simultaneous attack in the Lower Town, and on the Heights before St. Louis and St. John Gates. Although Vaudreuil had censured de Ramezay in order to save himself from reproach, he nevertheless was forced later to sign a paper, dated in Paris on May 6, 1761, to the effect that M. de Ramezay acted in the interests of the King in securing the best capitulation possible. (See the *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Quebec*, 1861.)

A detailed account of the proceedings of these days is given in the editor's *Siege of Quebec*, vol. iii. pp. 267–290.

[1] Louis Antoine de Bougainville, the son of a notary, was born November 11, 1729, in Paris. After completing a course of excellent studies, especially in ancient languages and exact sciences, he published, at the age of twenty-five, a treatise on the integral calculus. He also studied law, and was even called to the Bar, but only to please his family. He entered the army in 1753, being appointed an Adjutant in the battalion of Picardy. In 1755 he became secretary to the French Embassy in London, where he was admitted a member of the Royal Society. In 1756 he came to Canada and served with distinction under Montcalm, being rewarded with the rank of Colonel and the Cross of St. Louis. After the peace of 1763, Bougainville, who had learned in his voyage to Canada that seafaring agreed with his constitution, entered the naval service with the rank of Captain. He obtained from the French Government authority to colonise the Falkland Islands. But as the settlement had excited the jealousy of the Spaniards, France gave it up to them, after a three years' existence, on condition of their indemnifying Bougainville. He was then appointed to the command of the frigate *La Boudeuse* and the transport *L'Etoile*, and set sail in December 1766 on a voyage of discovery. Having first delivered the Falkland Islands to the Spanish, he proceeded on his expedition. Touching at

LOUIS ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE

From the painting in the possession of M. René de Kerallain, Quimper, France.

capitulated this morning, and the articles were duly ratified and exchanged. The fleet and army are to take possession of the upper and lower towns this afternoon. 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

"The capital of Canada having this day surrendered to "his Britannic Majesty's arms, upon terms honourable to our "victorious army, all acts of violence, pillage, or cruelty, are "strictly forbidden. The garrison to have the honours of "war; the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and are, by the "capitulation, intitled thereupon to his Majesty's protection. "The soldiers ought therefore to consider, that Quebec be- "longs now to his Britannic Majesty, and not to the French "King; that it may be a garrison to the troops, and must be "preserved with that view; that its early submission, *even before* "*a gun was fired against it*, has saved the troops from much "fatigue, and, perhaps, illness; that the submission of the "whole colony, on this occasion, may depend upon the be- "haviour of the soldiers; that our supplies this winter will be "affected by it; it is consequently the highest offence against

Buenos Airès, he passed through the Straits of Magellan, visited the Tuamotu archipelago and Tahiti. He proceeded across the Pacific Ocean, discovering the Navigators Islands, the New Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands. After a voyage of three years he landed in France in 1769. He published, in 1771, an account of his expedition, which is written with simplicity, accuracy, and some humour. It enjoyed, at the time, a great success. During the American War of Independence, Bougainville accepted a naval command, and saw much service between 1779 and 1783, distinguishing himself in the engagement near Martinique, between Rodney and De Grasse (April 12, 1783), by rallying and bringing to safety eight ships of his own division. Created *chef d'escadre*, he returned to the army with the rank of *marèchal de camp*. After the peace he was given the position of an associate of the Academy. He projected a voyage of discovery to the North Pole, but the French Government discountenanced it. He was made a Vice-Admiral in 1791. Having escaped from the massacres of Paris in the Revolution, he retired to his estates. Chosen a member of the Institute at its foundation, he became a member of the Board of Longitude. In his old age he was made a senator by Napoleon, Count of the Empire, and member of the Legion of Honour. He died at Paris, August 31, 1811.

1759. Sept. "the King's service to infringe an order, which, by the articles "of war, is death. After this warning no person can expect "mercy upon conviction before a court-martial. This order "to be read at the head of every company.[1]

[85] "The Form of taking Possession of the TOWN.

"The gates to be taken possession of by Lieutenant-"Colonel Murray, and three companies of grenadiers, after "which the hour will be appointed when the army shall march "in. Fifty of the Royal Artillery, Officers in proportion, one "field-piece, with a lighted match following them, will march "to the grand parade, followed by the Commanding Officer "and his party, sent to take possession of the town; to whom "all keys of forts will be delivered; from which party Officers' "guards will immediately be sent to take possession of all ports "and outlets from the town. Commissaries of stores and pro-"visions, with each a party, must be put in possession by the "like Officers of the garrison of all artillery and stores of every "kind, provisions, &c. &c. for his Majesty's service; abstracts "of which they are to deliver in, signed, to the English Com-"missary, that nothing be concealed or embezzelled. During "this time the Commanding Officer of artillery will hoist the "Union flag of Great Britain[2] at the most conspicuous place of "the garrison; the flag-gun will be left on the grand parade, "fronting the main-guard. The piquets to be disposed of by "the Brigadier of the day, according to yesterday's orders."

The keys of the ports[3] were given up this evening to

[1] The British were determined that there should be no repetition of the scenes that had been witnessed when the French captured Fort William Henry.

[2] The Union Flag which was raised at Quebec had been in use since the year 1707. The flag represented the union of the Jack of St. George and the Jack of St. Andrew. The Red Cross of St. Patrick which is on the present Jack was not used until the year 1801.

[3] At this time there were three gates. St. Louis Gate, which was built by Frontenac, appears first in the plan of 1693. It was rebuilt in 1721, altered in

General Townshend, and safe-guards were sent into the town, 1759. Sept.
pursuant to the treaty: the Louisbourg grenadiers marched in, preceded by a detachment of the artillery, and one gun, with the British colours hoisted on its carriage: the Union flag was displayed on the citadel. And Captain Paliser, with a large body of seamen and inferior Officers, at the same time took possession of the lower town, and hoisted colours on the summit of the declivity leading from the high to the low town, in view of the bason and the north and south countries below Quebec.[1] Deserters are coming in from Monsieur de Levis's army every hour, and the Canadians are surrendering by whole fa- [86] milies, to submit to the General's mercy. A body of the enemy took post in an intrenchment on the north side of Charles's river, and have got some cannon there; they had the presumption to fire at our men passing through the environs of the town and the limits of our camp, pretending that they were not included in the capitulation; however, a spirited message was sent to Monsieur de Ramsay, in which it was threatened 'to disannul the capitulation, prosecute the 'siege with the utmost rigour, and storm the town, if he, or 'any of his troops by his connivance, should persevere in that,

1783, again rebuilt in the scheme of 1823–32, and replaced by the present arch in 1873. St. John's Gate was built about 1690. It was removed by M. de Léry in 1720, rebuilt in 1791, and again in 1867: demolished, 1898. Palace Gate was built by Frontenac, restored in 1720 and in 1790, rebuilt in 1823, and demolished in 1864. (See Doughty, *Fortress of Quebec.*)

[1] The ceremony of lowering the flag of the Bourbons and raising the Union Flag of Great Britain took place about four o'clock in the afternoon. All artillery stores and provisions were handed over to the commanding officer, and guards were sent to take possession of the outlets of the city. The commanding officer of Artillery hoisted the flag upon the citadel, while the flag gun, with the British colours, was left at the Grand Parade. Captain Palliser, who had taken possession of the Lower Town, hoisted similar colours at the top of Mountain Hill (now known as Frontenac Park) overlooking the Lower Town.

The British flag had been hoisted on the Château St. Louis one hundred and thirty years before, when Quebec surrendered to the Kirkes in 1629. The flag on that occasion was probably the Additional Jack of James I, which in appearance was practically the same as the Union Flag of Queen Anne.

1759. Sept. 'or in any other ungenerous act or procedure; and insisting 'that all such parts of the country, north and south, as are 'and have been reputed in the district of Quebec, shall be 'comprehended in the treaty.' This vigorous menace had the desired effect, and an Officer was immediately sent to that quarter to command them to desist from all farther acts of hostility: Major Elliot, with a detachment of five hundred men, were instantly sent to take possession of the enemy's late intrenched camp, and to disarm the inhabitants of the village of Beauport. A noted rebel, by name Long,[1] by birth a Briton, and formerly a pilot in our service, is made a prisoner, and has been sent in irons on board one of our ships of war; this fellow was a great partisan among the French banditti in Nova Scotia, where he has frequently proved a desperate thorn in the sides of his countrymen.

Here follow the terms on which Quebec capitulated, with a translation for the English reader.

[87] Articles de Capitulation demandée par Monsieur de Ramsay, Lieutenant pour le Roy, commandant les hautes et basses Villes de Québec, Chef de l'Ordre Militaire de St. Louis,[2] a son Excellence

Articles of Capitulation demanded by Mr. de Ramsay, the King's Lieutenant, commanding the high and low Towns of Quebec, Chief of the Military Order of St. Lewis, to his Excellency the General of the Troops of

[1] Probably this man Long was an associate of Johnson of Annapolis.

[2] Jean Baptiste Nicolas Roch de Ramezay was born at Montreal on September 4, 1780. He was the fifteenth child of Claude de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal. At the age of twelve he was appointed an Ensign in the troops of the colony, and served for six years in the garrison at Montreal. In 1726 he obtained the rank of Lieutenant, and was sent during the same year to establish an outpost at Niagara. Two years later he took part in an expedition against the Fox Indians. In 1745 he was given the rank of Captain, and placed in command of the Hudson Bay post at Nipigon, near Fort Rupert. In the spring of 1746 he was sent to Acadia at the head of 1800 Canadians and Indians to join the fleet under D'Anville in an attempt to retake Annapolis Royal and Louisbourg. After the unsuccessful efforts of the fleet, M. de

le General de Troupes de sa Majesté Britannique.—" La " Capitulation demandée de " l'autre Part, a été accordé " par son Excellence l'Admi- " ral Saunders, et son Excel- " lence le General Towns- " hend, &c. &c. &c. de la " Maniere et Condition ex- " primée ci dessous."

his Britannic Majesty.—" *The* 1759. Sept.
" *Capitulation demanded on the*
" *Part of the Enemy, and*
" *granted by their Excellencies*
" *Admiral Saunders and Gene-*
" *ral Townshend, &c. &c.*
" *&c. is in Manner and Form*
" *as hereafter expressed.*"

Le Premier.

Monsieur de Ramsay demands les honneurs de la guerre pour sa garnison, et qu'elle soitr envoyée à l'armée en sureté par le chemin le plus court, avec armes et bagage, six pieces de canon de fonte, deux mortiers ou aubussiers, et douze coups à tirer par pieces. —" La garnison de la ville,

I.

Mr. de Ramsay demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be sent back to the army in safety, and by the shortest route, with arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them.—" *The* " *garrison of the town, composed* " *of land forces, marines, and*

Ramezay returned to Quebec in the following year. In 1744 he received the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis, and in 1749 was appointed Major of Quebec. In 1758 he became Lieutenant of the King in Quebec, and in that capacity signed the capitulation of Quebec.

After Vaudreuil had abandoned the city and fled with the army to Jacques Cartier, he blamed the Sieur de Ramezay for the loss of Quebec, although he had given him a draft of capitulation, and instructed him to give effect to it if the city was not relieved on the 15th. De Ramezay held out until the 17th, and then obtained a far more honourable capitulation than that proposed by Vaudreuil. De Ramezay returned to France on September 22, 1759, and was granted a pension of 800 livres. He asked permission to publish his memorandum on the surrender of Quebec, but for reasons of state it was withheld. He was living in Paris in 1767, and appears to have died in Cayenne during the winter of 1771. (*Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay.*) The terms of capitulation *obtained* by de Ramezay should be compared with those *suggested* by Vaudreuil, which are given in the Appendix.

1759. Sept.

" composée des troupes de " terre, de marine, et matelots, " sortiront de la ville avec armes " et bagages, tambours battant, " meches allumées, deux pieces " de canon de France, et douze " [88] coups à tirer pour " chaque piece, et sera em- " barquée le plus commode- " ment qu'il sera possible, pour " être mise en France au pre- " mier port."

" *sailors, shall march out with* " *their arms and baggage, drums* " *beating, matches lighted, with* " *two pieces of French cannon,* " *and twelve rounds for each* " *piece; and shall be embarked* " *as conveniently as possible, to be* " *sent to the first port in France.*"

II.

Que les habitans soient conservés dans la possession de leurs maisons, biens, effets, et privileges.—" Accordé,—en " mettant bas les armes."

II.

That the inhabitants shall be preserved in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—" *Granted,* — *upon* " *their laying down their arms.*"

III.

Que les habitans ne pourront être recherchés pour avoir porté les armes à la defence de la ville, attendu qu'ils ont été forcés, et que les habitans des colonies, de deux courones, y servent egalement comme miliciens.—" Accordé."

III.

That the inhabitants shall not be accountable for having carried arms in the defence of the town, forasmuch as they were compelled to it, and that the inhabitants of the colonies, of both crowns, equally serve as militia. —" *Granted.*"

IV.

Qu'il ne sera point touché aux effets des Officiers et habitans absents.—" Accordé."

IV.

That the effects of the absent Officers and citizens shall not be touched.—" *Granted.*"

V.

Que les habitans ne seront point transferés, ni tenus de quitter leurs maisons, jusqu'a ce qu'un traité difinitif entre sa Majesté trés Chrêstien ne et sa Majesté Brittannique ayent reglé leur état.—" Ac- " cordé."

V.

That the inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by their Britannic and most Christian Majesties.—" Granted." 1759. Sept.

[89] VI.

Que l'exercise de la religion Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine sera conservée; que l'on donnera des sauves gardes aux maisons ecclesiastiques, religieux et religieuses, particulierement à Monseigneur l'Evêque de Québec, qui, rempli de zèle pour la religion, et de charité pour les peuples de son diocese, desire y rester constamment, exercer, librement et avec la decence que son état et les sacrés ministéres de la religion Romaine requieront, son authorité episcopale dans la ville de Québec, lorsqu'il le jugera à propòs, jusque la possession du Canada ait été decidée par un traité entre sa Majesté très Chrêtienne et sa Majesté Brittannique.—" Libre exercise de

VI.

That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be maintained; and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the Clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise, freely and with that decency which his character and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decidea by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—" The free " exercise of the Roman religion is " granted, likewise safe-guards to

1759. Sept. " la religion Romaine, sauves " gardes à toutes personnes re- " ligieuses, ainsi qu'a Monsieur " l'Evêque, qui pourra venir " exercer, librement et avec " decence, les fonctions de son " état, lorsqu'il jugera à propòs, " jusqu'à ce que la possession " du Canada ait été decidée " entre sa Majesté Brittan- " nique et sa Majesté très " Chrêtienne."

" *all religious persons, as well as* " *to the Bishop, who shall be at* " *liberty to come and exercise,* " *freely and with decency, the* " *functions of his office, whenever* " *he shall think proper, until* " *the possession of Canada shall* " *have been decided between their* " *Britannic and most Christian* " *Majesties.*"

[90] VII.

Que l'artillerie et munitions de guerre seront remisses de bonne foy, et qu'il en sera dressé un inventaire.—" Accordé."

VII.

That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out.—" *Granted.*"

VIII.

Qu'il enser ausé[1] envers les blessés, malades, Comissaires, Aumoniers, Medicins, Chirurgiens, Apothecaires, et autres personnes employées au service des hopîteaux, conformément au traité d'echange du 6me Fevrier, 1759, convenus entre leurs Majestés très Chrêtienne et Brittannique.—" Accordé."

VIII.

That the sick and wounded, the Commissaries, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6th of February, 1759, settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.—" *Granted.*"

[1] " Qu'il eu [*sic*] sera usé " : see Errata.

IX.

Qu'avant delivrer la porte et l'entrée de la ville aux troupes Angloises, leur General vaudra bien remettre quelques soldats pour être mis en sauve garde aux églises, convents, et principales habitations.—" Ac-" cordé."

IX.

That before delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safeguards upon the churches, convents, and principal habitations. —" *Granted.*" 1759. Sept.

X.

Qu'il sera permis au Lieutenant du Roi, commandant dans la ville de Québec, d'envoyer informer M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, Gouverneur-General de la reduction de la place, comme ausi que le General pourra l'ecrire au Ministre de France pour l'informer.—" Accordé."

X.

That the King's Lieutenant, commanding in Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, of the reduction of the place, as also that the General may send advice thereof to the French Ministry. —" *Granted.*"

[91] XI.

Que la présente capitulation sera executée suivant sa forme et teneur, sans qu'elle puisse être sujette à inexecution sous pretexte de reprisailles, ou pour inexecution de quelques capitulations précédentes.—" Accordé."

XI.

That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being subject to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations.—" *Granted.*"

Arresté double entre nous au

Duplicates hereof taken and exe-

1759. Sept. camp devant Québec, ce 18me de Septembre, 1759.

cuted by, and between us, at the camp before Quebec, this 18th day of September, 1759.

Charles Saunders.
George Townshend.
De Ramsey.

Charles Saunders.
George Townshend.
De Ramsey.

Having now brought our labours to a glorious determination, I shall only observe, that, if any fleet and army ever exceeded their predecessors in valour, perseverance and unanimity, that merit may justly be claimed by this armament before Quebec, and by its Commanders respectively. This harmony and concord, particularly among our General Officers, shine conspicuously in the successful event, notwithstanding many groundless insinuations and reports to the contrary; and, if the reader is still desirous to be farther ascertained of it, let him pay proper attention to Mr. Wolfe's incomparable letter of the 2d instant, and to the orders that were published after his death by his successors; which must sufficiently obviate every illiberal suggestion, artfully circulated by unthinking or designing men, from a motive of endeavouring to appear *of consequence*.[1] The army had, indeed, uncommon obstacles to contend with; the enemy exceedingly superior in number, the country every-where strong, and its shores almost inaccessible. The ardour [92] and activity of our fleet, from their first entrance into the river St. Lawrence, and particularly against the numerous floating batteries, and formidable rafts and fire-ships of the enemy, diffused such an emulation among the troops as inabled them to discharge their duty, in contempt of the greatest fatigues and dangers; and, at length, to overcome every difficulty which at first appeared to them. The admirable service performed by the artillery, under that experienced

[1] The author has reference probably to the pamphlets which were directed against Townshend. There was, no doubt, some jealousy amongst the officers, and each general officer had his particular friends.

master of his profession, Colonel, now Major-General, William- 1759. Sept.
son, exceeds every thing that can possibly be said in their behalf: and, for the honour of that corps, it may, with the strictest justice, be alledged, that not any other country can boast of greater proficients in the art of gunnery, than those produced by that excellent academy at Woolwich.[1] I am happy in an opportunity of thus declaring my sentiments of the gentlemen educated in that Royal seminary, and at the same time to confute a variety of pompous vauntings, which one frequently hears advanced in favour of our enemies, by giving them the preference, in that science, to the rest of Europe: for, how great soever the merit of the French may be in the art of war in other respects, I must confess their eminence, in particular branch, was not conspicuous at any time in the course of this campaign *. Upon the whole, our seamen,[2]

[1] From 1741 onwards the reputation of the British gunners rose rapidly. Fortescue says: "The sudden change was doubtless in great measure attributable to the foundation of the Academy at Woolwich, with an allowance at first of two hundred pounds, which after a few months was increased to a thousand pounds, a year. (H.O.M.E.B., April 13, November 18, 1741.) In 1744 the forty gentlemen cadets were formed into a single company, and their pay raised from one shilling to sixteenpence a day; their number also was increased to forty-eight, and from thenceforth the cadet-company stood as the senior company of the corps. (*Ibid.*, July 30, 1744; Warrant Books, October 26, 1759.) The numerical growth of the Royal Regiment is in itself remarkable. In 1741 it possessed but three marching companies, but from that year onwards it was constantly increased by one, two, or four companies, until in 1757 it consisted of twenty-four companies in two battalions, and in 1761 of thirty-one companies in three battalions, counting close upon thirty-two hundred of all ranks. . . . The influence of the Academy had told early; but it is a still more significant fact that British Artillery-officers, not obtaining their commissions by purchase, did not rise to command without knowledge of their work." (*History of the British Army*, vol. ii. pp. 596–7.)

* As a proof of which it may not be amiss to observe, that we had not above thirty-six men killed and wounded at our batteries by the enemy's shot and shells, in the whole progress of the siege.[3]—*Note by author.*

[2] The author evidently thinks it well to qualify the statement.

[3] This does not appear to be very strong proof in support of the author's contention. The British batteries wrought more destruction than the French because they were directed against the buildings of the town, but we do not find trace of as many killed and wounded at the French batteries.

1759. Sept. marines, and soldiers, of every rank and station, employed upon this important enterprise, have respectively, with the greatest chearfulness and intrepidity, discharged their duty, in such a manner as to reflect the most illustrious honour on themselves, on the British arms, and on their country.

Our late much lamented General has been embalmed, and this day his remains were sent from Point Levi on board a ship, to be carried to England: the detachments in that quarter, under Colonel [93] James, attended the corpse to the water-side, and the Officers and men most sensibly expressed their grief on this melancholy occasion.—The Canadians are surrendering to solicit permission to reap their harvest; by them we are informed, that a body of forces are re-assembled at Point de Tremble, and incamped there to watch our motions. Notice is given to the army, that a ship will sail for England the day after to-morrow; all letters sent to the head quarters will be duly forwarded. Some soldiers having committed disorders upon the natives by robbing and plundering them, General Townshend has offered a reward of five guineas for a discovery of them. The detachment of five hundred men, under Major Elliot, that marched yesterday, returned this evening to the camp;—they were sent to dislodge the enemy from a strong intrenchment on the north side of Charles's river, which service was effectually performed with very little loss; the Major made several prisoners, but unfortunately, in repassing that river, three of his men were drowned. In that post, and in different parts of their late incampment, several pieces of ordnance, and some ammunition were taken.[1] The inhabitants of Beauport received our people with open arms, and gave them wine, and such other refreshments as they were possessed of. A flag of truce came in to-day from the French army; our weather cold and wet.

[1] Forty-four guns and two 13-inch mortars were brought in on this expedition, including one brass three-pounder which had belonged to Braddock. This gun and four French six-pounders were sent to England. (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 129.)

ORDERS.

"It is the General's orders that no man goes for wood, 1759. Sept. 20th.
"unless a Serjeant's or Corporal's party is sent with them;
"which non-commissioned Officer is to be answerable that
"the men do not commit any abuses upon the inhabitants,
"and see them return to the camp. All the corps now in
"the camp are to form at the head of their respective regi-
"ments at day-break; the Quarter-Masters and Camp-Colour-
"men of the line to assemble in the front of the forty-eighth
"regiment, at six o'clock, in order to [94] mark out the new
"incampment, which will be shewn them by an assistant
"Quarter-Master-General at the same hour. The Command-
"ing Officers of regiments will order out a sufficient number
"of men from their battalions, to level the redoubts in their
"front and rear;[1] they will send for tools to the head
"quarters, which they are to return to the same place, when
"the work is finished; all provisions for the future are to be
"issued near the Intendants's palace."

Being this day detached to the camp at Point Levi on regimental affairs, I passed through the garrison, and took a boat from the lower town, by which I had an opportunity of viewing more distinctly the great effect our artillery had upon it from the south side of the river; and indeed the havoc is not to be conceived. Such houses as are standing are perforated by our shot, more or less; and the low town is so great a ruin, that its streets are almost impassable; the parts least damaged are the streets leading to Port Lewis,[2] Port St. John,[3] and the Palace-Gate;[4] and yet these, though more remote from our batteries, have had some share in the almost general destruction. The impropriety of putting wounded men into the same hospital with the sick being represented to Colonel James,

[1] These were the redoubts erected after the battle on the high ground between the walls of the city and the place where the battle was fought.
[2] St. Louis Street. [3] St. John Street. [4] Palace Hill.

1759. Sept. he had a most commodious booth erected for their reception contiguous to the Point;[1] immediately after the army moved above the town. Two French frigates, with a number of transports, are said to be arrived in the river Sequenny,[2] which has occasioned some of our ships being sent down in quest of them. An express is gone over to General Amherst. All the regular troops that compose this army are to remain in garrison this winter, except the three companies of grenadiers under Colonel Murray from Louisbourg, who are to return to their respective corps; one company only of the provincial rangers is to continue here. The detachments of regulars and rangers under Major Scott and Captain Goreham,[3] who went down the river on the first instant, are returned: they took a great quantity of black cattle and sheep; an immense deal of plunder, such as houshold-stuff, books, and apparel; burned above eleven hundred houses, and destroyed several [95] hundred acres of corn, besides some fisheries; they made sixty prisoners: and had only five men wounded in all their different skirmishes; many parishes that they passed through were spared, by the inhabitants not having attempted any insult to our troops. The weather to-day is very seasonable.

By the reduction of Quebec, there are fallen into our hands twelve pieces of brass ordnance *, including two petards; and

[1] The sick were still at the hospital on the Point of Orleans. There was little room in the hospital at Quebec.

[2] Saguenay.

[3] There were 1600 men on the expedition under Major Scott.

* Of these, four howitzers and one field-piece were English, and taken from us in the late unfortunate General Braddock's field of battle.[4]—*Note by author.*

[4] The official return gives the following numbers of pieces:

1	brass six-pounder.
3	„ four-pounders.
2	„ two-pounders.
1	„ 13-inch mortar.
3	„ 8-inch howitzers.
15	iron mortars.
235	pieces of iron ordnance.
46	pieces taken at river St. Charles.
306	

One thousand and ten shells, and 2 brass petards. (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 128.)

between the garrison, the battery at Sillery, (one mortar and four guns destroyed) the hulks, floats, and batteries north of Charles's river, above three hundred pieces of different calibres, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition, small arms, intrenching tools, and other valuable stores to a great amount. 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

"The out-posts are to take up all stragglers and marauders, 21st.
"and bring them to the Provost's guard; they are also to take
"care that there is no insult shewn to any of the inhabitants,
"who are now disposed to come in, and take the oaths to the
"King of Great Britain. The General again assures the army,
"that all plundering will be punished with death. Particular
"care must be taken of the subjects, that no hurt or abuses
"are done to any of the houses. The head quarters are in the
"suburbs.[1] The regiments are to mount piquets according to
"their numbers as usual. The rangers advanced upon the road
"leading along the back of the river, and that leading to St.
"Foy, are to patrole during the night, and particularly before
"day-break. All advanced posts are to have double centries,
"single centries being apt to give false alarms. All the
"fascines to be piled up, and taken care of by the guard in the
"redoubt fascines on the left of Colonel Murray's corps."

[96] ORDERS.

"Commanding Officers of corps to give in a return of the 22d.
"vacant commissions in their respective regiments, and of the
"Officers next in seniority to succeed them: as also a list of
"their volunteers, and the time they have served. The corps
"of light infantry, under the command of Colonel Howe, to
"join their respective regiments. All the French arms to be

[1] Townshend occupied a house on the Ste. Foy road, probably one of those seized by the British on the 13th.

1759. Sept. "delivered into the train of artillery; any soldier, or other "person, who presumes to sell any, will be punished with the "utmost severity. The guard at the general hospital to be "relieved by a Subaltern and thirty men: they are not to "allow any Officer or soldier to go into the hospital without a "pass from one of the Generals. Two Captains, six Sub-"alterns, ten Serjeants, and five hundred men, to parade "to-morrow morning at six o'clock, with arms, to make "fascines; an Engineer will conduct them, and they will "parade in the front of the forty-seventh regiment."

The country-people are surrendering in great numbers, to take the oaths of allegiance: they say, that, as soon as they shall reap their harvest, they will open a market in the town or suburbs, if permitted; and supply us with such provisions as the country affords, either by sale or barter. The army is now incamped, in two lines, nearer to Quebec; and large detachments are employed in levelling our redoubts, clearing the streets and houses in the town, landing stores, and forming magazines of provisions, ammunition, &c. &c. Brigadier Murray is to remain here in command, and Colonel Burton, of the forty-eighth regiment, is to act as Lieutenant-Governor. An express is sailed for England, with an account of the success of our arms. Two Captains, four Subalterns, and two hundred men, are ordered to take post in the large French redoubt on the north side of Charles's river. I shall here subjoin a translation of a manuscript fragment,[1] which was brought to me, in

[1] The fragment of the manuscript referred to by the author appears to be an extract from "Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec, . . . from the Journal of a French Officer on board the *Chezine* Frigate, . . . compared with the accounts transmitted home . . . with occasional remarks, by Richard Gardiner, Captain of Marines," published in London, 1761. Republished by the editor in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. pp. 231–258.

Gardiner was Captain of the *Ripon*, and appears to have written the preface of the work at sea; he inscribed the volume to Mr. Hobart. The *Chezine* was the ship on which Bougainville had returned from his fruitless mission to France. In 1758 Montcalm had represented that the colony would be lost unless more troops were sent from France. Bougainville was despatched to the Court of Versailles to endeavour to persuade the Ministers to

the course of the [97] winter by one of our soldiers, as it contains the sequel of a diary, made in the French army, of the transactions immediately previous to, and in consequence of, the 13th instant.—'This determined Mr. Wolfe, at all events, 'to make one trial more, and to possess himself of the eminence 'on which Quebec stands. In consequence of this resolution, 'he reinforced the squadron above the town, raised his camp by 'Montmorencie, and removed it to Point Levi; by this altera- 'tion, we being no longer apprehensive of an attempt upon our 'left, some troops were drawn off thence, to reinforce the right 'of our camp.—On the 5th (of September) several corps of the 'enemy were discovered marching upon the heights of Point 'Levi, in the direct road to the river Chaudiere, where they 'embarked on board their ships: this movement put it out of 'doubt, that the enemy had still entertained a design of making 'another descent upon the north shore, of which immediate 'notice was sent to Mr. Bougainville; who commanded in that 'quarter, with strict orders to be upon his guard, and attentive 'to all the motions of the British on that side. General Wolfe 'came at length to a resolution to make a serious attempt at Le 'Foullon: and,—on the night of the 12th,—he landed one 'hundred and fifty Highlanders below Sillery, who, with the 'utmost difficulty, climbed up to the summit of the Cape, which 'is immensly steep; took the detachment stationed at that 'place in the rear, fell upon them unexpectedly, and routed 1759. Sept.

assist the colony. Vaudreuil, who professed to support the request of Montcalm, gave Bougainville letters of introduction; but he addressed a private letter to the Minister, in which he informed him that Bougainville did not understand the needs of the country, and moreover was a creature of Montcalm's. (Letter of Vaudreuil, November 3, 1758: *Parkman Papers*.) Bougainville arrived in Quebec on board the *Chezine* on May 10, 1759. During the siege of Quebec the *Chezine* was at Three Rivers. Admiral Holmes made an effort to destroy it.

Captain Gardiner edited the Journal with many valuable notes, by the aid of which it is possible to identify several places. The passage quoted by the author forms but a small portion of the Journal. Captain Gardiner does not state how he came into possession of the Journal. The first entry is on May 10 and the last on September 18.

1759. Sept. 'them: our soldiers, thus surprised, scarce made any resistance, 'but precipitately abandoned their post, and fled. The British, 'having now no enemy in front to oppose them, on the morn- 'ing of the 13th scaled the mountain without any difficulty, 'and soon gained the great road of St. Foy, along which they 'advanced in regular order. Our troops instantly stood to their 'arms, filed off to the right, and crossed the rivulet of St. 'Charles, leaving a detachment of fifteen hundred men only in 'our camp for its defence; we took post upon the heights of '[98] Abraham, and there waited the arrival of the enemy. 'General Wolfe, upon first coming up, had ordered a party of 'light troops to take possession of the house De Borgie,[1] from 'which we attempted to dislodge them; but, after a very spirited 'and obstinate attack, we found our efforts, without cannon, to 'little purpose. The two armies did not long remain in view 'of each other without coming to an action: our troops ex- 'pressed great ardour and eagerness to engage; but, alas! these 'spirits were of a very short duration, though it was judged 'proper to take immediate advantage of this show of intrepidity 'and good humour, and therefore our Generals, thinking we 'could do the business without the aid of Mr. Bougainville,[2]

[1] Borgia dit Levasseur. Noel Levasseur was an engineer, and several of his plans, including those of the Borgia house, are in existence. (They are in the Ursuline Convent, Quebec.) The house adjoining was occupied by his relative, Manseau.

[2] Montcalm has been severely criticized for not waiting for Bougainville. But we fail to see how his position would have been improved had he done so. If it was merely a question of more men, he could have withdrawn two thousand troops from Beauport without endangering the French camp. It has been contended by French and English critics that if Montcalm had delayed the battle until the arrival of Bougainville the English would have been caught between two fires. This, as will be seen, would have been highly improbable. Bougainville, by hastening to the scene, appeared about a mile in the rear of the British at twelve o'clock. It would have been one o'clock before a joint attack could have been made. At one o'clock Montcalm's chances of success would have been much less than they were at nine o'clock, and for the following reasons: Between seven and eight o'clock two field-pieces had been hauled up by the British sailors and placed in position on the Heights. By the time the battle began they had landed six heavy twenty-four-pounders, six twelve-pounders, and several

'who was advancing from Cape Rouge with the flower of the 1759. Sept.
'army, ordered us to march up and engage the enemy. Our
'troops gave the first fire, the British the second, and the affair
'was over; our right took to their heels, our center ran after
'them, which drew along the left wing; and thus the battle was
'lost in less time than I am recounting it. Attempts were made
'to rally the fugitives, but to no purpose; all that could be
'done was to collect a body of seven or eight hundred men to-
'gether, whom we drew up, and threw them into the coppice
'upon our right, to retard the pursuit of the conquerors, which,
'in some measure, succeeded; others, who had recovered from

howitzers on the beach below. Townshend says that even during the heat of battle some guns were hauled up. If the battle had been delayed three or four hours, Wolfe's position would have been entirely different. Moreover, there were 1400 sailors and marines on the beach at the Foulon, who could have been employed if necessary to cut off Bougainville's approach. Montcalm's aim was to force the British off the Heights before they had time to entrench themselves. He was fully aware of the dilapidated and even rotten condition of the walls on the land side. Mackellar, the English chief engineer, had said that they were designed only against small arms, and that they could make little resistance against cannon. Had the guns been mounted on the ridge, as they were a few days later, in all probability the British would have entered the city on the 13th instead of the 18th. The Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General of the French forces, writing to the Marquis de Belle Isle, said: "Had the Marquis de Montcalm postponed one instant marching against the enemy, they could not have been attacked, in consequence of the favourable position they were going to take up, having even begun some entrenchments in their rear. People will not fail to inform you, as well as the Minister of the Marine, verbally or in writing, that he ought to have waited for M. de Bougainville's reinforcements, and to dispute the ground by a running fire. All these means would not have prevented the enemy establishing themselves on *Coste d'Abraham* the moment they would have had time." (Montreuil to Marshal de Belle Isle, September 22, 1759: *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1013.)

The advantage of the position chosen by Wolfe seems to have been recognized by all the officers. Captain Calcraft, writing from Quebec on September 20, says: "When everything is considered, the surviving generals acted prudently; for if they maintained the ground they were upon, the devil could not keep them out of the city in the course of a few days; whereas if they had attempted to storm or take possession of the city that day, an accident might have deprived them of the advantages and glory they had already won." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 145.)

1759. Sept. 'their panic, formed themselves into small divisions, and made 'a stand, so that the action had an appearance of being renewed, 'though it was of little consequence; the fatal *coup* was struck, 'and the enemy triumphed. In the afternoon an express was 'dispatched to Monsieur de Levis, to acquaint him with the 'dreadful catastrophe, and to desire him to come down, and 'take the command of the army in the room of the Sieur de 'Montcalm, who was dangerously wounded. This done, the 'Marquis de Vaudreuil summoned the principal Officers to a 'council of war, and gave it as his opinion, *that they should take 'their revenge on the morrow, and endeavour to wipe off the disgrace 'of that fatal day.* How it happened that we [99] took a 'contrary measure I cannot say; for, notwithstanding these 'spirited sentiments of the Marquis, the members were unani- 'mous in their opinion, *that there was an absolute necessity for the 'army to retire to Jacques Cartier, and, in this procedure, farther time 'should not be lost:* so the army moved off immediately, leaving 'every thing behind them, and marched all night to gain the 'Point de Tremble, being the rendezvous for the whole. Mon- 'sieur de Levis, upon receipt of his melancholy packet, departed 'instantly from Montreal, and joined the army on the 16th. 'After a few hours conference with the Marquis, it was agreed 'upon to write to Governor de Ramsay at Quebec, and acquaint 'him,—*that a resolution was formed to march to his relief; to exhort 'him, by all means, to hold out to the last extremity, for that on the* '18th *our whole army would be in motion, and that a disposition 'was made to throw in a large supply of provisions, and to relieve 'the town.* The courier, on his arrival at Quebec, found Mr. de 'Ramsay in treaty with the besieging General for the surrender 'of the place; and, why he did not immediately break off, or, 'at least, suspend the negociation, we are at a loss to conceive; 'the capitulation was reciprocally ratified, and exchanged in the 'English camp on the morning of the 18th, whereby Quebec 'became a British garrison.'

ORDERS.

"*General Monckton desires that all the Officers of the army will* 1759. Sept. 23d.
"*please to wear mourning for General Wolfe, their late Commander*
"*in Chief, such as is usual in the field.* Captain Cosnan, of the
"forty-fifth regiment, is appointed to act as Town-Major;
"Lieutenant Patteshal[1] of the fortieth, and Lieutenant d'Aripe[2]
"of the fifteenth regiment, are also appointed to act as Town-
"Adjutants of Quebec, and are all to be obeyed as such. All
"working parties from camp or garrison are to assemble upon
"the grand parade, where [100] the Officers, whose services are
"required, must attend them, to conduct their men to work at
"the hour appointed. A return of the invalids of every corps
"to be given in, as soon as possible. A detachment of two
"Captains, four Subalterns, six Serjeants, and two hundred
"men, to parade to-morrow morning at six o'clock, with arms,
"and three days' provisions; an artillery Officer will conduct
"them. One Subaltern, and thirty men, with arms, and a
"Corporal, and six Camp-Colour-men, with their colours, are
"to parade at the like hour to-morrow, and with three days'
"provisions; they will receive their orders from Major M'Kellar,
"chief Engineer. Two Captains, six Subalterns, and five hun-
"dred men to make fascines to-morrow, which are to be
"brought into town, and left where the Major of brigade will
"appoint. Two Subalterns, and one hundred men, will parade
"to-morrow, without arms, for the Commissary of provisions."

Showery weather. *Divine service was performed to-day for the army, on the field of battle; and an excellent thanksgiving sermon was preached on the occasion.*[3] A deserter from the enemy says, that Monsieur de Levis threatens to retake Quebec this winter

[1] See note 2, p. 240.

[2] Isaac Aug. D'Aripé was appointed Lieutenant in the 15th Regiment, September 25, 1757.

[3] It is possible that at a service for the camp on the Heights, on the 23rd, the chaplain may have referred to the victory, but, according to the author, October 4 was observed as a day of thanksgiving.

1759. Sept. by *escalade*. The quantities of fascines we are making are for the repairs of the works within the town, and to revest the parapet wall of the ramparts next the country,[1] as also to complete some embrasures which are to be opened in the curtains.

ORDERS.

24th. "All the regiments are to send in to Mr. Porter, Pay-"master-General, the accounts of their subsistence between the "25th of June and 24th of August, in order for the warrants "annexed to them for that muster. Reports of all kinds in "the town to be made to the Field-Officer of the day, who "is to report to Brigadier Murray. The Officers of the post-"guards[2] are to search all carts that go [101] out or into town, "and are to stop all those that carry anything that may be of "service to the enemy. Five hundred men, with Officers and "Non-commissioned in proportion, for making fascines, to-"morrow, as usual."

Agreable weather to-day. A quantity of new fire-arms, cutlery, and hardware, hosiery, mercery, and haberdashery wares of every kind, with clocks, watches, and a variety of trinkets; also gold, silver, and copper laces; furs, skins, wine, salt, sugar, spare cloathing, and moggosans, &c. &c. have been found in the Intendant's magazine[3] or storehouse within

[1] The excellent work done under the direction of Patrick Mackellar during October and November placed the city in a fair state of defence, on the land side at least, against attack during the winter. It was owing to the precautions taken at this time that the Chevalier de Lévis was unable in April 1760 to effect a breach. Temporary works were constructed immediately in front of the walls and the space between was packed with snow. Inside the walls a barricade of barrels filled with snow was made, and the action of the sun by day and of the frost by night converted this barricade into a wall of ice.

[2] "port-guards": see Errata.

[3] This building was commonly known as La Friponne, or "The Cheat." Several years before the siege of Quebec, the Intendant Bigot and Bréard, Controller of the Navy in Quebec, had entered into a secret contract with a firm in Bordeaux which shipped large quantities of merchandise to New France. The goods were declared at the Customs free of duty as being required in the service of the King, and then passed into the hands of Bigot's

the garrison. The Canadians are surrendering still more numerously to deliver their arms, and swear fealty to their new Master: the more distressed of them come daily into our camp to beg charity, and to intreat we will exchange biscuit and pork for their cabbage and other vegetables; their demand for bread is inconceiveable; and their desire of peace and quietness seems to render them more reconciled to their conquered fate. 1759. Sept.

ORDERS.

"Five hundred men to be sent to-morrow to l'Isle Madame; 25th.
"this detachment to consist of one Field-Officer, two Captains,
"four Subalterns, with one hundred and fifty men from the
"line, and three hundred and fifty rangers, with Officers in
"proportion; they are to be provided with grinding-stones and
"felling-axes from the King's stores: the soldiers are to be
"allowed a jill of rum per day, and five shillings for every cord
"of wood they cut and put on board; the Officers, who are

friends from whom the Intendant bought them at extravagant prices for the King's stores. The cargo of an English ship which was captured by the French, was sold to Bigot's accomplices for 800,000 francs. At Bigot's trial for fraud, some years later, it was proved that he had bought back a part of this cargo for the King for 1,000,000 francs, and that by further manipulations a profit of 2,000,000 francs had been made on the transaction. After a time Bigot made a private arrangement with a man named Claverie to open a retail store, which was known as La Friponne, and no doubt the goods referred to by the author were a part of the stock of this store. (*Procés Bigot, Conclusions apportées le* 22 *Aoust* 1762.)

Bigot may have secreted some of the riches of the Intendant's Palace in this building, but after his arrest most of the silver thought to be the personal property of the Intendant, was confiscated by the French crown, and there was quite a competition amongst the officers of the Court to secure it. Silver dishes weighing 192 marcs 3 ounces were delivered to the Maréchal de Richelieu, while the Sieur de Laverdy received 8 dozen plates, 4 chandeliers, 14 candlesticks, a coffee pot, 18 forks, and a soup tureen. The Sieur Boucher was allotted 7 dishes and a coffee pot. Much more was discovered, but there is no record of its disposal. Probably the silver was of fine workmanship, for one of the applicants was told that the price "would be higher than the ordinary price of silver." (*Report concerning Canadian Archives*, 1904, pp. 324 *et seq.*)

1759. Sept. "appointed to oversee this work, will receive three shillings per "day each: the whole are to be ready to embark to-morrow "morning by eight o'clock, at the water-side in the lower "town; an inquiry to be made among the Nova Scotia regi- "ments of the Officers who will undertake the overseeing.[1] "A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, &c. "Colonel Young[2] President, and twelve Captains from the "line. The detachment on the other side of Charles's river "to be [102] relieved to-morrow by a Captain, two Subalterns, "and fifty men; they are to carry seven days' provisions with "them. The post at the battery to be relieved to-morrow "morning, at six o'clock, by one Captain, two Subalterns, and "one hundred men. The post at St. Foy to be relieved by "one Subaltern and thirty men. The post at Captain St. "Leger's house to be relieved by one Captain, two Subalterns, "and fifty men, all at the same hour. A party of two Captains, "four Subalterns, and two hundred men to be in readiness to "attend the Engineers. Two Captains, four Subalterns, six "Serjeants, and four hundred men to parade as usual for "fascine-making. A party of one Subaltern and forty men "to parade in town, for the Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master- "General. One Captain, two Subalterns, and one hundred "and fifty men to parade for the artillery. Two Subalterns "and one hundred men to parade for landing provisions. "All those several parties to parade at six o'clock to-morrow "morning."

[1] The regiments which came from Nova Scotia had spent a winter in the country, and the experience of the officers was of special value at this time.

[2] Colonel John Young was appointed civil and criminal Judge in Quebec by Murray. On January 16, 1760, Murray gave a commission to Mr. Jacques Allier as civil and criminal Judge for the parishes between Berthier and Kamouraska, "save in the matter of appeal in the Town of Quebec before Colonel Young, the civil and criminal judge in final appeals of the aforesaid town and conquered country." (Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 30.) The judgments of the Court are preserved in the *Canadian Archives* at Ottawa (Series M, 640).

We had gloomy threatening weather, in the fore part of this day: in the afternoon, a heavy rain, which continued until the next morning. The country-people are now returning to their habitations with their cattle and effects, and are beginning to reap their harvest; it is with the utmost satisfaction that I have daily ocular experience of the most distinguished humanity and generosity in our worthy soldiers; they not only share their provisions with the distressed Canadians, but even their small allowance of rum: to-day I saw above twenty of our men assisting those poor people in cutting and binding their sheaves of corn;[1] they being within the district of the post where I was on duty, I went towards them, and, asking the soldiers what they were to get for their labour, they replied, 'They sought not any thing; what they did was out of good-'will to the poor creatures, who had little enough for them-'selves.' One of them added,—'It would be rank murder to 'take any thing from the poor devils, [103] for they have lost 'enough already.' While I stood reflecting on the matchless goodness of our honest Britons, with the oddity of the foregoing speech, I saw a peasant take from his pocket a sealskin pouch, with a pipe, and offer his tobacco to the soldiers, which they all refused: one of them instantly produced a rusty iron box that was also filled with tobacco, and tendered it to the Canadian, saying, 'When it is out, I know where to get more; 'perhaps that is not your case, poor man!'—Charmed with such benevolence and nobleness of heart, I approached the poor American,[2] in order to explain to him what had been said; whereupon he dropped his reaping-hook, and raised his hands and eyes, with seeming fervency, to Heaven; astonished no doubt, at so much unexpected, nay undeserved, goodness. This instance furnished me with a spacious field for agreeable

1759. Sept.

[1] General Murray ordered one day's provisions per week from each officer and soldier to be stopped and given to the inhabitants who took the oath of allegiance to the British sovereign. (*Journal of the Quarter-Master-Serjeant: Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 118.)

[2] The author evidently means Canadian.

1759. Sept. reflections; well, thought I, here our soldiers have manifested the suitableness and justness of those incomparable ideas so elegantly expressed by the inimitable Mr. Wolfe, in his placart to the Canadians:—*Britons, breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion.*[1] My pleasing meditations were now interrupted by the arrival of an express, to advertise me of the approach of a relief; so, after I had commended the soldiers for their admirable display of genorosity to a conquered enemy, I retired to my post.—Violent thunder and lightning towards evening.

ORDERS.

26th. "No persons are to be permitted to walk on the ramparts, "but British Officers and soldiers; and no soldier must presume "to go to the general hospital without a pass."

Showery weather: the troops which composed the late French garrison embarked this day; they consisted of the King's Lieutenant, nine Captains, thirteen first and second Lieutenants, three Cadets, twenty-seven Serjeants, twenty-two Drummers, and five [104] hundred and forty rank and file: total, exclusive of a number of seamen, six hundred and fifteen. —Our incampment will break up, as soon as the town is cleared of its rubbish, and the houses are repaired for our reception; for this purpose carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and others are now assiduously employed.

Having procured a mandate published, throughout this diocese, by the Bishop of Quebec, on the 18th of April last, upon their receiving certain intelligence of our intentions to invade Canada, and to besiege their capital; it may not be unacceptable to insert it here, with a translation for the English reader.

[1] Some of the soldiers and seamen were apparently not impressed with these sentiments, for they were guilty of ill-treating the Canadians.

'Mandement de Monseigneur, pour des Prieres publiques.

'Henry Marie Dubreil, de Pont Briand,[1] par la misericorde 1759. Sept.
'de Dieu, et la grace du Sainte Siége, Evêque de Québec,
'Conseiller du Roi, en tous ses conseils, &c. &c. au Clergé
'seculier et regulier, et à tous les fideles de nôtre diocese, salut
'et benediction en nôtre Seigneur Jesus Christ.

'Vous avez connoissance, nos très chers frères, des preparatifs
'immenses que fait l'ennemi, de ses desseins formés d'attaquer
'la colonie par quatre endroits differens, du nombre de ses
'troupes reglée et milices, six fois au moins superieures aux
'nôtres; vous n'ignorez pas qu'ils envoyant[2] des Colliers chez
'toutes les nations pour nous les enlever, pour animer contre
'nous celles qui voudrient conserver une espece de neutralité;
'vous savez qu'ils occupent à présent au bas de nôtre fleuve
'des ports que nous regardions comme autant de barriéres;
'vous appercevez tous les motifs de crainte et de frayeur, et
'vous en êtés sans doute frappés. L'incertitude sur les affaires
'd'Europe, les dangers aux quels sont exposés, les secours que
'nous en entendons,[3] les flottes nombreuses destinées à nôtre
'pert, la disette générale de tout ce qui est necessaire pour se
'defendre et peut être pour vivre dans le sein même de la paix,
'doivent naturellement faire encore plus [105] d'impression
'sur vos esprits. Mais ce qui doit inquieter d'avantage, c'est
'le peu de zèle qu'on remarque presqu' en tout le monde, ce
'sont les discours malins et injurieux tenus sur ceux mêmes en
'qui l'on devroit mettre toute sa confiance; ce qui doit nous

[1] Henri Marie Dubreuil de Pontbriand, born at Vannes, France, in January 1708; educated at the College of Lafleche and at the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, Paris; appointed sixth Bishop of Quebec in 1741. During the siege of Quebec the Bishop's Palace was destroyed by shells from the batteries of Pointe des Pères, and in consequence the Bishop retired to Charlesbourg, in the rear of the French intrenchments. After the capitulation he took up his residence in Montreal, where he died on June 8, 1760. He was buried in the Cathedral at Montreal on June 11.

[2] "envoyent": see Errata.

[3] "attendons": see Errata.

1759, Sept. 'faire craindre, ce sont les divertissements profanes aux quels 'on s'est livré, avec plus de fureur que jamais; ce sont les excès 'intolerables dans les jeux de hazard, ces deguisemens impies 'en derision, ou, pour mieux dire, en haine de la religion; ce 'sont les crimes plus que jamais multiplié dans le cours de cet 'hyver.—Voilà ce qui nous obligé nos, très chers frères, à tout 'craindre, et a vous annoncer que Dieu lui même est irrité, 'que sa main est levée pour nous frapper, et qu'en effet nous 'le meritons.—Oui, nos très chers freres, nous vous le disons 'à la face des autels, et dans l'amertume de nôtre cœur, ce 'n'est pas le nombre des ennemis, ce ne sont pas leurs efforts 'qui effrayent et qui nous sont envisager les plus grands 'malheurs tant pour l'état que pour la religion. Voici la 'dix-huitième année revolué que le Seigneur nous à appellès, 'quoique indignes, à la conduite de ce vaste diocese: nous vous 'avons vû avec douleur souffrir souvent de la famine, et de la 'maladie, et presque toujours en guerre; mais cette année nous 'paroit à tous egards la plus triste et la plus deplorable, parce 'qu', en effet, vous êtes plus criminels.—Avoit on jamais 'entendu parler de tant de vols mánifestes, de tant d'injustices 'criautes, de tant de rapines honteuses; avoit on vû dans cette 'colonie des maisons consacrées, pour ainsi dire, publiquement 'au crime; avoit on vû autant d'abominations?—Dans presque 'tous les états, la contagion est presque générale; elle n'est 'pourtant pas encore sans remede, nos[1] très chers frères, et vôtre 'malheur n'est pas sans ressource. La foi nous apprend qu'une 'vraie et sincere conversion peut arrêter la bras vengeur de la 'justice Divine, et que souvent elle l'a en effet arrêté.—Le mal 'est grand,—il est vrai: mais le remede est entre vos mains: '*Infidele Jerusalem, revenez à Dieu, et Dieu, suivant sa promise,* '*se laissera flêcher!*[2] Effacez, nos très chers frères, effacez 'promptement le passe par les larmes d'une [106] sincere 'penitence; elles sont bien puissantes sur le cœur d'un Dieu 'qui ne punit qu' à regrét.—Renoncez pour jamais à vos

[1] "*mes* très chers," in original.

[2] "*flécher*," in original.

'desordres, et le Ciel propice à nos vœux dissipera à l'instant 1759. Sept.
'tous nos objets de crainte et de frayeur.—C'est donc la con-
'version de pécheurs que nous nous proposons dans ces prieres
'publiques. Ames justes, rendez vous y assidues: priez,
'pleurez, soupirez avec les ministres de l'autel; demandez avec
'instance que le Seigneur eclaire les pécheur,[1] sur les malheurs
'de leurs ames, et qu'il les touche et les convertisse; ce sont,
'vos frères, qui courent à leur perte; craignez de vous trouver
'envelloppès dans leur disgrace; et, vous pécheurs, nous vous
'en prions au nom de Jesus Christ, au moins ne mettez pas
'd'obstacles aux faveurs que nous demandons pour vous; venez
'plutôt, nous vous en conjurons par tout ce qui est capable de
'vous toucher: venez les solliciter vous mêmes dans un esprit
'de douleur et de componction.—A ces causes après en avoir
'conferé avec nos venerables frères les Chanoines de nôtre église
'cathedrale, le saint nom de Dieu invoqué, nous avons ordonné
'et ordonnons ce qui suit.

'Premierément, Dans les paroisses des campagnes, le
'premier dimanche de chaque mois, il sera fait une procession
'sans porter le Saint Sacrement, à l'endroit et à l'heure que
'choisira chaqu'un de Messieurs les Curés:—dans cette pro-
'cession on chantera les litanies des Saints, ensuite le pseaume,
'*Miserere mei Deus*:—et, immediatement après les oraisons
'et anciennes[2] ordinaires de salut, le Prêtre sera une amande
'honorable au noms de[3] pécheurs, qu'on peut prendre dans le
'rituel au dimanche de la Trinitè, page 429.

'Secondément, Tout Prêtre seculier et regulier ajoutera aux
'oraisons de la Messe, l'oraison du Missel, *Deus refugium*.

'Troisiémement, Dans tous les benedictions du Saint
'Sacrement, on chantera le trait, *Domine, non secundum*, avec les
'versets et l'oraison pour la remission des péchés.

[107] 'Quatriémement, Dans les differentes églises de
'Québec, savoir, la cathedrale, l'église de la Victoire en la basse

[1] "*pecheurs*," in original.
[2] "*antiennes*," in original.
[3] "*des*," in original.

1759. Sept. 'ville, le seminaire, les Jesuites, les Recollects, les Ursulines; 'on sera alternativement une Neuvaine; on dira la Sainte Messe 'vers les sept heures, on y chantera les litanies des Saints, et le 'pseaume, *Miserere mei Deus.*

'On fera une amande honorable au nom de[1] pécheurs, et 'on terminera par la benediction du Saint Sacrement, avec 'le Saint Ciboire seulement. Les jours libres on pourra dire 'alternativement les Messes votives des Saints Anges, de la 'Saint Trinité, du Saint Esprit, de Sancta Cruce, de Sancta 'Maria, *pro quâcumque necessitate, pro tempore belli, pro pace:* du 'Patron de l'église ou chapelle, aux Jesuites de Saint François 'Xavier; à la basse ville de Sainte Geneviéve; aux Ursulines 'du sacré cœur de Jesus; au seminaire de la sainte famille, ou 'pour la conversion des sauvages.

'On observera autant, qu'il sera possible, à Montréal et 'aux Trois Riviéres, ce qui est préscrit pour Québec; dans les 'camps, et dans les forts, on suivra ce qui est ordonné pour les 'paroisses de campagne.

'Sera le présent mandement lû et publié au prône de la 'Messe de paroisse, le premier dimanche après la reception 'd'icelui.

'Donné à Québec dans nôtre palais episcopal, sous nôtre 'seing, le sceau de nos armes, et la souscription de nôtre 'Secretaire, ce 18me d'Avril, 1759.

'Signé, H. M. Evêque de Québec, et plus bas,

'Par Monseigneur, &c.

'Signé, BRIAND, Chanoine Secretaire.'[2]

[1] "*des*," in original.

[2] This document is to be found in *Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulairès des Evêques de Québec*, edited by Mgr. H. Têtu and the Abbé C. O. Gagnon, vol. ii. pp. 134–137.

[108] 'My Lord the Bishop's Mandate, &c. &c. &c.

'Henry Mary Dubriel, of Point Briand, by the mercy of 1759. Sept.
'God, and the grace of the Holy See, Bishop of Quebec,
'Counsellor to the King in all his councils, &c. to the secular
'and regular Clergy, and to all the faithful of our diocese,
'salvation and blessing in our Lord Jesus Christ.

'You are not unacquainted, my very dear brethren, with
'the immense preparations of the enemy, the designs formed to
'attack the colony in four different parts, the number of their
'regular troops and militia, six times at least superior to our's;
'neither are you ignorant, that they have sent emissaries to all
'the Indian nations, to incite them to forsake us, and to
'rouse those to take up arms against us, who are willing to
'preserve a kind of neutrality. You are sensible, moreover,
'that they occupy those harbours at the lower end of our
'river, which hitherto we have regarded as so many barriers;
'you perceive every incitement to fear and terror, and you
'are undoubtedly astonished thereat. The uncertainty of the
'affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the succours we
'expect are exposed, the numerous fleets destined for our de-
'struction; the general scarcity that prevails of every thing
'necessary, as well for our defence as our subsistence, even in
'peace, ought naturally to make the greatest impression on our
'minds. But what ought still to be the cause of the greatest
'chagrine is the little zeal for pity observed every-where, the
'injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in
'whom we ought to place all our confidence; and what may
'still create farther fear in us are the profane diversions to
'which we are addicted, with greater attachment than ever; the
'insufferable excesses of the games of chance; the impious
'hypocrisy in derision, or rather in contempt, of religion; the
'various crimes against Heaven, that have been multiplied in
'the course of this [109] winter; all these, my brethren, ought

1759. Sept. ‘ to make us dread every thing, and oblige me to declare to you, ‘ that God himself is inraged, that his arm is prepared to ‘ chastise us, and, in fact, that we deserve it. Yea, my friends, ‘ we tell it, in the face of the altars, and in the bitterness of our ‘ heart, that it is not the number of the enemy, nor their ‘ utmost efforts, that affright us, and make us reflect on the ‘ impendent disasters both on the state and on religion, but our ‘ manifold sins and wickednesses. Eighteen years have now ‘ elapsed, since the Lord called us, though unworthy, to watch ‘ over this extensive diocese; we have frequently seen you suffer ‘ by famine, by diseases, and almost continual war: nevertheless, ‘ this year appears to us, in all respects, the most afflictive and ‘ deplorable, because, in reality, we are most criminal. Were ‘ there ever such open robberies, so many heinous acts of in- ‘ justice, such shameful rapines heard of? Who has not seen, ‘ in this colony, families devoted, publicly, if I may say so, to ‘ crimes of the most odious nature? Who ever beheld so many ‘ abominations?—In almost all ranks the contagion is nearly ‘ universal: however, my brethren, matters are not yet remedi- ‘ less, neither are our misfortunes irretrievable. The Christian ‘ faith teaches us, that a true and sincere conversion can stop the ‘ avenging hand of Divine justice, and that it even hath ‘ frequently stayed it. It is true, the disease is great, but the ‘ remedy is in your own power. *O faithless Jerusalem, return to* ‘ *your God: and God, according to his promise, will deign to relent!* ‘ Atone, my dear brethren, I say, atone speedily, for the past, ‘ by the tears of a sincere repentance; they will be acceptable to ‘ the merciful heart of God, who never punishes his creatures ‘ but with regret. Dear children, be diligent therein, sympathise ‘ with the ministers of the altar, in weeping, wailing, and prayer. ‘ Implore the Lord with fervency to inlighten sinners with the ‘ misery of their souls, that he will affect and convert them: we ‘ mean those of our brethren who run to their own destruction; ‘ dread, lest ye find yourselves [110] involved in their calamities; ‘ and ye, O sinners, we beseech you, in the name of Jesus Christ,

'at least be no hindrance to the blessings we ask for you; come 1759. Sept.
'rather, we conjure you by all that is capable of affecting you;
'come and sollicit them, of your own accord, with a spirit full
'of meekness and contrition. For these purposes, after con-
'ferring with our respectable brethren, the Canons of our
'cathedral church, having invoked the holy name of God, we
'have ordered, and do hereby order, the due performance of
'the services herein directed.

'Imprimis, In the country parishes, on the first Sunday
'of every month shall be a procession, without the Host or
'Sacrament, to the place, and at the hour, each of the Rectors
'shall appoint. In that procession shall be sung the litanies of
'the Saints, then the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus:* and, immediately
'after the ancient and common prayers of salutation, the Priest
'shall make an honourable atonement, in the name of sinners,
'which he may find in the ritual for Trinity Sunday.

'Secondly, Every secular and regular Priest shall add to
'the prayers of the Mass the prayer of the Missal, *Deus*
'*refugium.*

'Thirdly, In all the benedictions of the Holy Sacrament;
'shall be sung the tract, *Domine, non secundum*, with the
'versicles and prayer for the remission of sins.

'Fourthly, In the different churches of Quebec, viz. the
'cathedral, the church of la Victoire in the low town, the
'seminary, the college of Jesuits, that of the Recollects and
'Ursulines, shall be performed alternately a Nona, or Ninth;
'the Holy Mass shall be said at seven o'clock in the morning;
'the litanies of the Saints, and the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*,
'shall be sung thereat.

'An honourable atonement shall be made for sinners, and
'the whole concluded with the benediction of the Sacrament,
'in the holy Chalice only. On the working-days, the votive
'Masses of the Holy Angels, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy
'Cross, of the Virgin Mary, for all necessities, for times of war,
'and for [111] peace, shall be said reciprocally. The Mass of

1759. Sept. 'the Patron of the church or chapel shall be said; first, at 'the Jesuits of St. Francis Xavier; in the low town at St. 'Genevieve; at the Ursulines; at the seminary instituted for 'the conversion of savages.

'What is prescribed for Quebec shall be observed, as much 'as possible, at Montreal and the Three Rivers; the camps 'and forts shall also observe what is appointed for the country 'parishes.

'This mandate shall be read after the Gospel of the Mass 'of the parish, on the first Sunday, immediately after the 'receipt thereof.

'Given at our episcopal palace at Quebec, under our sign 'manual, the seal of our arms, and the subscription of 'our Secretary, this 18th day of April, 1759.

'Signed, H. M. Bishop of Quebec, and lower,

'By his Lordship's command,

'BRIAND, Canon Secretary.'

ORDERS.

27th. "The Commanding Officers of corps to meet Brigadier "Murray, at four o'clock this afternoon, to draw for quarters.[1]

[1] The most habitable building in Quebec of any size was the Intendant's Palace, at the foot of Palace Hill, within a hundred yards of the present Canadian Pacific Railway Station. The 78th Highlanders were allotted this building at the drawing and most of the men took up their quarters there. A few of them were sent to the Ursulines, and the nuns, perhaps shocked at their nakedness, knitted them woollen stockings to cover their bare legs. The 60th were stationed in St. Roch's in the Lower Town, and the other regiments were scattered over the Upper Town, where most of the houses were without roofs. John Montresor, one of the engineers, said, "I'm quartered in a house that has no roof, . . . I scuffle with the crowd and must say this for myself that I can as the saying is, make my quarters as good as any, in the idle hours." (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. iv. p. 331.)

"All French deserters, after being examined by General 1759. Sept.
"Monckton, are to be sent to the main-guard, and from
"thence on board the Admiral. One of the Officers of the
"guard near the dock-yard to go the visiting rounds, at
"such an hour as the Field-Officer of the day in town shall
"appoint; the redoubt, Brigadier Townshend's late quarters,
"to be occupied by detachments from the piquets; they are
"to get boards to cover one angle of the redoubts, in case
"of heavy rain. Whatever Officers have lost their fusils are
"desired to give in their names, and they will receive French
"ones, as far as the few that are in store will go."

[112] Brittle weather. The wooding party at l'Isle Madame are reinforced to-day by three hundred men, with Officers in proportion. An inhabitant of the town, who belongs to the enemy's light horse, returned to his family this morning, and refused to wait upon, or deliver himself up to, the General; he proposes to return in a few days to his post, and insists, that, 'as an inhabitant of Quebec, he can, under the capitulation, pass in or out at pleasure, without being accountable to, or molested by, any person whatsoever.' Which being reported to the Commander in Chief, his Excellency convinced the fellow of his mistake, by causing him to be arrested and imprisoned.[1] A boat came down the river to-day under Spanish colours; part of the crew waited on the Admiral, to sollicit permission to bring down their ships, and return to their own country. They received, for answer, that they should be transmitted to Spain, if they would, but not in their own ships; for they should be seized, being employed in the service of an enemy to the King of Great Britain. Some frigates are gone up the river, with a party of rangers on board.

[1] Possibly Captain Manneville, who a few days later was given an order by Monckton, permitting him to pass to and fro on his private business.

1759. Sept. 28th. ORDERS to Colonel Murray's Corps (Grenadiers of Louisbourg) the second and third Battalions of Royal Americans, and to Colonel Fraser's Highlanders.

"You are to send in immediately a return of your killed "and wounded, since the 27th of June; one of your invalids, "and a third of such men as are so bad of the scurvy as to "render them unfit for any duty. In that of your invalids, "you must specify your mens' names, age, size, country, "service, and the reason for discharging them. In the return "of the killed and wounded, you need only give the number "of the Non-commissioned Officers, rank and file; but the "Officers' names must be mentioned, and, if wounded more "than once, that must also be specified; a particular column "must distinguish those men ill of the scurvy from other "invalids.[1] The regiments [113] and corps in camp are to "come into town to-morrow; they will send in their bag- "gage and field equipage to the quarters allotted them in "the morning; the regiments will march in, at twelve o'clock, "bringing in their field artillery with them; they are to send "their cannon to the grand parade, and march directly to "their own quarters. Such regiments as have hospitals in "their suburbs are to leave small guards to take care of "them, and one Officer is to be left in charge of the whole, "who is to take a house for a guard,[2] there assemble those "small guards, and order what centries may be necessary for "each hospital. All those Officers who occupy quarters in "town, not belonging to their own regiments' districts, must "change to their own quarters. The Brigadier of the day

[1] We find no mention of scurvy in any of the returns of the killed and wounded.

[2] The principal hospital was still on the Island of Orléans. The General Hospital was overcrowded, and the Hôtel Dieu was in a dilapidated condition. Some of the worst cases were brought to the General Hospital a few weeks later, and a portion of the Ursulines was fitted up as a hospital early in November.

"will order a working party, at the hour he thinks proper 1759. Sept.
"in the morning, to level all the redoubts, except that of
"Major Dalling's, which is to remain till farther orders,
"with the detachments of piquets in it as usual."

This has been an incessant day of wind and rain. Some of the female inhabitants of Point Levi having preferred a complaint against the soldiers incamped in that quarter, of their being robbed, and otherwise much abused by them, the several detachments were ordered out, that the women might pitch upon the particular aggressors; and, being conducted to the right of the marines for that purpose, the complainants instantly cried out, These were not the soldiers who plundered and maltreated us, for they were—'*les gens sans culotes:*' meaning the Highlanders, which being reported to Colonel Fraser, he immediately ordered the delinquents to be discovered, tried, and punished. It is with pleasure I record it, for the honour of that corps, that this is the only instance they have given of any irregularity, in the whole course of their service in Canada; their men being always remarkably sober, steady, and orderly.[1]

[114] ORDERS.

"The Commanding Officers of regiments are desired to 29th.
"write immediately for their cloathing; the cloathing of the
"fifteenth, twenty-eighth, forty-third, thirty-fifth, and fifty-
"eighth, are now at Louisbourg. Two Captains, fifteen Sub-
"alterns, twenty-six Serjeants, twenty-seven Corporals, thirteen
"Drummers, and five hundred and twenty-eight privates of
"the troops now in garrison, to parade, at four o'clock this
"evening, according to the detail given in. The Captain of
"the reserve to go the visiting rounds, at the hour the Field-
"Officers think proper to appoint. Every regiment to mount

[1] We have been unable to trace the names of the Highlanders here referred to.

1759. Sept. "a guard of a Serjeant and twelve men, as a regimental "guard, who are to send patroles, within the district of the "regiment's quarters, every hour, and to take up all sailors "and soldiers they may find, out of their quarters after tattoo; "the gates are to be shut this night."

Weather rough and cold with frequent showers: the troops marched into winter quarters this day, except the forty-eighth regiment, who keep the field by choice, until the Intendant's palace, which is assigned to that corps, is completely fitted up for their reception. For some time our men are likely to be very indifferently lodged, by the inconceivably ruinous condition of the houses in almost every corner of the garrison; but those dwellings particularly that are situated along the summit of the cliff between the high and low town, extending from the Bishop's palace to Cape Diamond (which fell to the lot of the royal artillery, thirty-fifth, and forty-third corps) having been mostly exposed to our batteries, are considerably the greatest sufferers, and must, indeed, undergo incredible repairs, to render them in any degree habitable. The inhabitants of town and country are apprehensive of starving this winter; in the years 1757 and 1758, their harvests failed them; and, though their [115] crops promised well this year, yet the calamities of war (say they) have frustrated all their prospects and expectations.

30th. Monsieur Bougainville, who is now the second in command in the army on this side of the colony, came to this garrison to-day under a flag of truce, and had some hours' conference with Generals Monckton and Townshend; he was afterwards sent out to the general hospital; his errand, or the motives of his coming, have not transpired.[1] The citizens inform us, that, if it had not been for the arrival of the succours which they received from France last spring, and narrowly escaped the English squadron then in the river, the garrison would have

[1] Bougainville consulted Townshend regarding an exchange of prisoners, and the care of the sick. See *Mémoire des Disputes* in Appendix.

surrendered to us, after exchanging a few shot and shells with our batteries, for form's sake, in order to prevent the ruin of their town, warehouses, magazines, and particularly their religious houses. Weather moderate to-day: the two frigates that sailed up the river are fallen down: they landed a body of sailors and rangers, about four miles off, in order to procure a quantity of fire-wood that was piled upon the heights; a flying party of the enemy, supposed to be about fifty, shewed themselves, but did not think proper to advance or molest our people: the wood was thrown down the precipice, and corded on the beach by the seamen, while the rangers remained above to cover them; after which the former reimbarked, and the latter returned by land to the garrison. We are repairing our defences, as well as our houses, with all expedition; some additional picket-works, and redoubts of timber, are talked of being erected round the suburb of St. Rocque, which, at present, lies open to the river Charles, and the lower road leading to the general hospital. The late Town-Major of Quebec favoured me with the following table of regulations, which were the result of a council of war held, last May, upon the arrival of a squadron from France, with artillery, stores, and provisions. 1759. Sept.

[116] 'Dispositions générales pour s'opposer à la descente 'des Anglois, depuis la riviere St. Charles jusqu'au saut de 'Montmorencie; de même que pour se retirer derriere dite 'riviere de St. Charles dans le cas que l'on fût forcé, dans la 'descente, pour defendre cette riviere; et ordre de bataille pour 'combattre et camper, pendant toute la campagne.[1]

'ORDRE de BATAILLE.

'La brigade de Québec, composée de trois milles cinq cents 'hommes, aux ordres de Monsieur de St. Ours, campera a la

[1] This memorandum was prepared by the Chevalier de Lévis. See also plans drawn up by the Marquis de Montcalm in Appendix.

1759. Sept. 'droite. La brigade de Trois Rivieres, composée de neuf cents 'et vingt hommes, aux ordres de M. de Borme, campera aussi 'a la droite, et à la gauche de la brigade de Québec. Les 'troupes de terre, composées de deux milles combattans, aux 'ordres de M. Senesergues, Brigadier, camperont au centre. La 'milice de la ville de Montreal, composée de un mille cinq cents 'et cinquante hommes, aux ordres de M. Pradhaulm, camperont 'à la gauche des troupes de terre; et la brigade de l'Isle de 'Montreal, composée de deux milles trois cents hommes, aux 'ordres de M. Herbin, formera la gauche de la ligue. La 'reserve * sera composée de la cavalerie, des troupes legeres, et 'des sauvages, aux ordres de Monsieur de B. Hibert.— 'L'artillerie, aux ordres de M. le Mercier, et les vivres, cam- 'peront (ausi bien que la reserve) aux endroits les plus com- 'modes, et qui seront indiqués.—La milice de la ville de 'Québec, composée de six cents et cinquante hommes, 'resteront pour servir de garnison a Québec, aux ordres de 'M. de Ramsay, Lieutenant du Roi.

[117] 'Les deux frigates du Roi resteront armées †[1], et 'du desarmément des autres batimens, on armera les batimens 'destinés à combatre en pirate dans la rade; et, à mesure que 'ces batimens deviendront inutiles, les equipages entreront dans 'la place pour servir aux batteries qui leur auront été indiquées 'd'avance. Monsieur Vaugeulin, Commandant de la rade, 'aura direction de tous les batimes, pour les employer dans les 'endroits qu'il croira les plus utiles, suivant l'exigence des cas; 'il donnera ses ordres à tous ceux qui sont de la marine; il ne 'peut assez avoir attention, que les equipages avec les Officiers 'se bendent[2] exactement aux endroits ou ils sont été destinés.—

* La cavalerie trois cents et cinquante; la colonie, voluntaires, &c. un mille quatre cents; les sauvages quatre cents et cinquante: le total deux milles deux cents.—*Note by author.*

† I apprehend there is a defect here, which, from my knowledge of the situation and circumstances, shall be elucidated in the translation.—*Note by author.*

[1] See notes on the translation furnished by the author, p. 168.

[2] "rendent": see Errata.

Comme M. de Ramsay ne pourra pas donner ses ordres en même tems dans toute la ville, il seroit necessaire qu'il y eût un Commandant particulier pour la basse ville, qui seroit cependant aux ordres de M. de Ramsay et qui agiroit de concert avec lui, de même que les Officiers de gens et d'artillerie. 1759. Sept.

'DISPOSITION pour s'opposer à la DESCENTE.

'La ville de Québec, livrée à ses propres forces, et à celle 'de la marine, l'armée passera la riviere de St. Charles; la droite, 'composée des brigades de gouvernment de Québec et Trois 'Rivieres, campera dans la plaine, depuis la redoute de la canar- 'diere jusqu'au celle de l'embouchure de la riviere de Beauport; 'ces deux brigades éleveront de la terre pour former un pare- 'ment dans le front de leur camp, pour se mettre à couvert de 'la canonade. Tres[1] troupes de terre, qui forment le centre de 'l'armée, camperont sur les hauteurs des Beauport, et tout le 'long du grand chemin du ruisseau de Beauport. La gauche, 'composée des brigades de gouvernment de Montreal et de 'milice de la ville, camperont à la gauche de l'église de Beauport, 'et se prolongeront sur la crête du grand escarpe- [118] ment. 'La reserve, composée de la cavalerie, des troupes legeres, et 'des sauvages, se posterà jusqu'au saut de Montmorencie, et 's'étendra par sa droite en suivant la crête de l'escarpement, 'pour joindre la gauche de la ligue. L'armée dans cette position 'se retrenchera dans tout son front, pour se mettre à couvert du 'canon; et l'on travaillera à fortifier les endroits qui paroitront 'les plus faciles pour pouvoir se porter promptement au secours 'du corps, ou les ennemis seront leurs plus grands efforts.— 'Comme il y a lieu de penser que l'ennemi devisera ses attaques, 'nous devons aussi nous mettre en garde, à fin de pouvoir nous 'reunir pour tomber avec des forces superieures sur un de ses 'corps qui sera le plus avancé, et qui nous paroitra le plus à 'portée d'être combattu avec avantage; on ne peut rien préscrire

[1] "Les": see Errata.

1769. Sept. ‘ de ce qu'il faudra faire dans ce moment, tout dependera des cir-
‘ constances et de la façon dont nous seront attaqués. C'est à
‘ la capacité des Chefs à mettre tout en usage pour repousser
‘ l'ennemi, et ne pas l'exposer à une defaite entiere, en manquant
‘ de s'assûrer une retraite ; il faudra laisser une garde à la tête
‘ du pont pour garnir les redoutes, depuis l'embouchure de la
‘ riviere de Beauport jusqu'à cette de la canardiere, de la quantité
‘ d'hommes que l'on jugera être necessaire pour qu' elles ne
‘ puisse être emportées l'epée a la main ; il faudra aussi prendre
‘ des precautions pour pouvoir se retirer, dans le cas que l'armée
‘ soit obligée de se replier. A l'egard du canon qui sera aux
‘ redoutes, il faudra se pourvoir des cloux pour l'enclouer, en
‘ cas qu'il ne sera pas possible de les retirer. Dans la situation
‘ ou nous sommes c'est la seule position que nous puissions
‘ prendre, *elle sera audacieuse et militaire :* il n'y a pas lieu de
‘ croire que les ennemis pensent à tenter à passer devant la ville,
‘ et à faire leurs debarquements à l'anse de mers, autant que les
‘ frigates subsisteront ; nous n'avons du moins rien à craindre
‘ pour cette partie. Si l'ennemi nous attaque avec des forces
‘ superieures, il est à craindre que, malgrè nos efforts, il ne nous
‘ force en debarquant, à cause du grand [119] terrein que nous
‘ avons à courir, qui est de deux grandes lieues ; et il y a lieu
‘ de penser qu'il formera son attaque principale depuis la riviere
‘ de Beauport jusqu' au saut de Montmorencie ; et nous avons
‘ peu de moyens pour nous y opposer, par l'apprehension que
‘ nous avons, que si nous y portions nos plus grandes forces les
‘ ennemis ne changent leur attaque, et ne viennent faire leur
‘ debarquement entre la canardiere et la riviere de Beauport, ce
‘ qui couperoit nôtre retraite au poste de la riviere St. Charles ;
‘ si les ennemis, comme il y a apparence, font debarquement à
‘ l'entrée de la riviere de Beauport, et que la reserve se retire en
‘ catoyant les bois par le grand chemin qui conduit du saut de
‘ Montmorencie à Charlebourg, elle s'arrêtera derriere le ruisseau
‘ de Beauport à l'entrée du bois et fordera cette même riviere
‘ appuyant la gauche au bois qui est au dessus du moulin de

'M. de Chenet, et prolongera la droite jusqu'aux redoutes qui 1759. Sept.
'seront sur le bord du fleuve; dans cette position l'armée
'pourra observer les mouvemens des ennemis, et ne pourra que
'retarder leurs operations: le poste n'est bon que sur le front
'qui est l'escarpement de la riviere; et, ausi tot que les ennemis
'se posteront sur nôtre gauche, et qu'ils deposteront la reserve
'il ne sera plus soutenable, et l'armée sera obligée de se retirer
'derriere la riviere St. Charles, il faudra evacuer les redoutes
'du coté du fleuve, l'armée pourra se retirer sur deux colonnes,
'et repasser la riviere St. Charles, sur les deux ponts; la reserve
'se repliera sur Charlebourg, et, si elle est vivement suivie, elle
'continuera sa retraite sur le chemin du Lorette, en observant
'de s'arrêter au premier endroit ou elle ne sera pas si vivement
'suivie, et qu'elle pourra resister aux forces des ennemis superi-
'eures. Ce que pourroit nous être le plus avantageux seroit que
'l'ennemi ne fît son debarquement que depuis la riviere St.
'Charles jusqu'au celle de Beauport, parce qu'alors nous reser-
'vons toutes nos forces pour les attaquer; & si, malgrè nos
'efforts, nous ayons le malheur d'être repoussés, l'armée se
'replieroit sur les deux ponts, et repasser la [120] riviere St.
'Charles. La reserve se replieroit sur Charlebourg par le chemin
'qui passe sur le Côteau et qui y conduit; l'armée ayant été
'forcée de se replier derriere la riviere St. Charles, campera sa
'droite au pont, et prolongera sa gauche le plus que se pourra
'faire; et il faudra par des postes occuper le terrein jusqu'à la
'ferme de M. Cadet,[1] et l'on se retrenchera le mieux que sera

[1] Joseph Michel Cadet was born at Quebec on December 24, 1710. He was the son of François Joseph Cadet, *dit* Caddée, a butcher, and Marie Joseph Devenne. Of his early life little is known. He married, on September 10, 1742, Angélique Fortier, and had three children. Under the benevolent protection of the Marquis de Vaudreuil he amassed a large fortune as *munitionnaire du Roy*. At the outbreak of the war in 1756, he obtained a contract for he supply of provisions to all the military posts between Gaspé and Niagara. He appears to have been most energetic in providing for the wants of the troops, and there is no doubt that in this respect he rendered good service to the colony. He became involved in the schemes of the Intendant Bigot, who virtually created a condition of famine to further his nefarious ends, and after

1759. Sept. ‘ possible jusqu'à la ville. Il est de la plus grande importance ‘ pour le salut de cette colonie de defendre cette position qui est ‘ *la derniere* pour empecher les ennemis de faire le siége de ‘ Québec; car étant certain que, si nous avons le malheur de ‘ perdre cette place, la colonie est aux abois; et, si nous la

the fall of Quebec, when the accounts of the colony were examined, Cadet, with Bigot, Vaudreuil, and others, was arrested. Cadet was imprisoned in the Bastille on July 25, 1761, and on December 10, 1763, he was fined 300 livres, ordered to restore six millions, and banished from Paris for nine years.

He did not, however, pay all these penalties. His presence was required in Canada to explain the financial transactions of the Intendant. Cadet, having restored to the State six millions in connection with his administration during the years 1757–58, was relieved by the King under an Act of Grace, dated March 5, 1764, from the banishment imposed by the judgment. Cadet, however, claimed that the Government was indebted to him in the sum of 5,400,000 livres for losses during the years 1759–60. This sum had been paid to him in letters of exchange which suffered great depreciation. After his return to Paris, Cadet resided in Rue Hazard, parish of St. Roch, and on January 27, 1767, he purchased from the high and puissant seigneur Armand Mathurin, Marquis de Vassé, the baronnie de la Touche D'Avrigny for 160,000 livres, and thus the one time *munitionaire du Roy* became "notre bien aimé, Joseph Cadet, seigneur de la baronnie de la Touche D'Avrigny en Poitou, des fief et seigneurie Marigny-sous-Marmande, du château, terres et seigneuries de Mondon, Ponsay, Bouquilli et les Pruneaux." He besides became the owner of the castle of La Barbelinière, his habitual residence, near Châtellerault, the lands of Goustranville, &c. Cadet then claimed the title of baron from his property of La Touche D'Avrigny, but this was denied to him by the land officials of Poitiers. He also failed in his endeavours to enter the aristocratic circles.

At this time, Cadet, pressed by his creditors, to whom he was indebted for eleven millions, urged his claim of the nine millions the Government still owed him, according to his accounts. But his pretensions were dismissed. Financial disaster followed, and in 1774 he endeavoured to raise money on his immovable property valued at 450,000 livres. He was unable to satisfy his numerous creditors, and died insolvent in 1781, the seventy-first year of his age, at his house on the Quai des Théatins. Seventeen years later, after a long succession of legal proceedings, La Touche D'Avrigny, Mondon, La Barbelinière, and their dependencies, were sold by auction at the Châtelet, Paris. His heirs made several attempts to obtain compensation from the Government, but without success. (The *Pièces Justificatives* of an article entitled *La Baronnie de la Touche-D'Avrigny*, by Monsieur Alfred Barbier, in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, Poitiers, 1887, furnish the material for most of this note. A copy of the *Mémoires* was kindly sent to the editor several years ago by Monsieur R. de Kerallain, of Quimper. Extracts were published in the *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v.

'perdons avant la fin du mois d'Aoust, il est à craindre qu' 1759. Sept.
'ayant à faire avec un ennemi ausi puissant, qu'il ne nous suive
'dans l'interieur du païs, et, cotoyant toujours le fleuve, qu'il
'ne cherche à faire sa jonction avec les armées, qui de bouchent
'par le lac Champlain, et le lac Ontario.—Nous devons donc
'mettre tout en usage pour empecher la prise de Québec, ou
'du moins, pour la retarder le plus que nous sera possible.'[1]

I shall here annex a translation for the English reader.

'General dispositions for opposing the invasion of the 'British forces, from the river St. Charles to the cataract of 'Montmorency; and likewise for retiring behind the said river, 'in case they should be forced, in the descent, to defend the 'same: the order of battle, and the manner of fighting, to be 'observed, in the whole course of the campaign.

ORDER of BATTLE.

'The brigade of Quebec, composed of three thousand five 'hundred men, commanded by Mr. St. Ours, shall incamp on 'the right. The brigade of the Three Rivers, composed of nine 'hundred and twenty men, commanded by M. de Borme, shall 'also incamp on [121] the right, and to the left of the Quebec 'brigade; the land forces *, consisting of two thousand regulars, 'under the command of Brigadier Senesergues, shall incamp 'in the center. The Montreal militia, amounting to eleven 'hundred and fifty men, commanded by M. Pradhaulm, shall 'incamp on the left of the land-forces; and the brigade of the 'island of Montreal, consisting of two thousand three hundred 'men, commanded by M. Herbin, shall form the left of the

[1] As there are many variations, omissions, and mistakes in the author's version of this memoir, a copy of that part of the original which was published in the *Collection de Lévis* is given in the Appendix.

* To distinguish between the battalions of French regulars, and the independent companies of marines, or colony troops.—*Note by author.*

1759. Sept. 'line. The reserve shall be composed of the cavalry (three 'hundred and fifty) light troops (select men from the colony 'troops, with some volunteers from Acadia, one thousand four 'hundred) and savages, four hundred and fifty, (in all two 'thousand two hundred) commanded by M. B. Hibert. The 'artillery, stores, and provisions, under the direction of M. 'Mercier, shall incamp, as well as the reserve, in the places 'most suitable, and which shall be appointed for them. The 'Quebec militia, composed of six hundred and fifty men, shall 'be left as a garrison, commanded by the King's Lieutenant M. 'de Ramsay. The two royal frigates shall be unrigged,[1] and 'grounded in the entrance of St. Charles's river, in such manner 'as to render them serviceable for the defence thereof, and the 'adjoining shores. The vessels, appointed to fight piratically in 'the bay, shall be equipped by the disarming of other vessels; 'and, as those vessels shall happen to become useless, their crews 'must repair to the town, to assist at the batteries which shall 'be appointed for them before-hand. M. Vaugeulin,[2] Commo- 'dore of the bay, shall have the direction of all floats, galliots, 'and other craft, in order to employ them as he shall think 'most advantageous, consistently with the exigence of affairs; 'he shall give his orders to all the marine department, and must 'be very attentive, that the crews and their Officers shall be '[122] precisely at the places destined for them. As M. de 'Ramsay cannot give his orders, at one and the same time,

[1] The French text reads: "Les deux frigates du Roi resteront armées." To this the author adds a note: "I apprehend there is a defect here, which, from my knowledge of the situation and circumstances, shall be elucidated in the translation." The explanation given by the author is, that these two vessels were unrigged and grounded at the entrance of the St. Charles.

The document which is quoted by the author was prepared in the month of May, immediately after the arrival at Quebec of the ships which escaped Durell's fleet. The two royal frigates which are referred to remained armed, as stated in the French text, and were sent up the river to the Rapids of the Richelieu. Two old vessels were dismantled and sunk at the entrance of the St. Charles, and the guns were transferred to the floating batteries.

[2] Vauquelin.

'throughout the whole town, there will be a necessity for ap- 1759. Sept.
'pointing a particular Commandant for the lower town, who
'shall nevertheless be subject to the command of the said Lieu-
'tenant, and shall act in concert with him, in like manner as
'the Officers of the ordnance and the artillery.

The Disposition for opposing the Descent.

'The garrison left to it's own force, and that of the marine;
'the army shall pass the river St. Charles; the right, composed
'of the brigades of Quebec and Three Rivers governments,
'shall incamp in the plain, from the duck-decoy redoubt to that
'at the mouth of the river Beauport. Those two brigades shall
'intrench the front of their camp, in order to cover them from
'the enemy's cannon. The land troops, forming the center of
'the army, shall incamp on the eminences of Beauport, and
'along the high road on the rivulet of that village. The left,
'composed of the brigades of the city and government of Mon-
'treal,[1] shall incamp to the left of Beauport church, and extend
'themselves along the summit of the grand scarp.*[2] The re-
'serve, composed of the cavalry, light troops, and savages, shall
'be posted even to the cascade of Montmorencie, and spread its
'right along the said scarp, in order to join the left of the line.
'The army in this position shall intrench its intire front, to
'shelter them from the enemy's cannon; also the places that
'shall appear most proper to serve as communications with the
'main body, and where the enemy may make the greatest efforts,
'must be fortified. [123] As there is reason to think the enemy
'will divide their attacks, we ought also to put ourselves on our

[1] There were three divisions of the country at this time—the Government of Quebec, the Government of Three Rivers, and the Government of Montreal.

* A ridge of high land, which overlooks the shore, in the front, and along the coast, of that village or parish; this, I believe, is what is meant by *Crête du grand escarpement.—Note by author.*

[2] This refers to the cliff between the Falls of Montmorency and Beauport Church.

1759. Sept. 'guard, so as to be able to unite and fall with superior force on 'such of their corps as shall be most advanced, and which shall 'appear most liable to be beaten with advantage; it cannot be 'prescribed what shall be done at that instant; the whole will 'depend on circumstances, and the manner we shall be attacked 'in; it must be left to the discretion of the Commanders to 'exert their utmost abilities in repelling the enemy, without 'exposing themselves to an intire overthrow, for want of a 'secure retreat. A sufficient guard must be left at the head of 'the bridge, to furnish the redoubts, from the rivulet of Beau-'port to the duck-decoy, with such a number of men as shall 'be judged necessary to prevent being taken suddenly, sword 'in hand. Precautions should also be taken, for retiring with 'safety, in case the army should be obliged to give way; and, 'as to the cannon in the redoubts, it will be necessary to be 'provided with spikes to nail them up, lest it should not be 'possible to bring them off with us. In our situation, this is 'the only position we can take, *daring and military*. There is no 'room to suppose that the enemy will attempt to pass before 'the town, and land at the jettée, whilst the frigates remain 'there: there is nothing to apprehend in that quarter. If the 'enemy attack us with superior force, it is to be feared, not-'withstanding our best efforts, they will rout us at landing, 'because of the great extent of ground we have to defend, 'above two leagues in length; and, seeing it may be conjectured 'they will form their principal attack between Beauport river 'and Montmorencie, it is to be suspected lest, by drawing our 'forces thither, they will change their attack, and land between 'Beauport and the decoy, where finding only a feeble resistance, 'they may then effectually cut off our retreat, from the post 'on the river St. Charles; but, if the enemy, as there is 'room to think, should make their descent at the entrance '[124] of the river Beauport, and the reserve should be forced 'to retire, along the skirt of the woods, by the high road lead-'ing from Montmorencie to Charlebourg, then the said reserve

'shall post itself behind the rivulet of Beauport, at the entrance 1759. Sept.
'of the wood, and, by fording it there, turn its left towards the
'forest above Mr. Chenet's mill,[1] and extend its right to the
'redoubts on the bank of the river; in this position the army
'will be able to observe the enemy's motions, and have it in
'their power to retard their operations; but the post is good
'for nothing, except in the front upon the bank, or scarp, of
'the main river: because, as soon as the enemy shall possess our
'left, and have routed their serve,[2] it will be no longer tenable,
'and our forces will be obliged to withdraw behind the river
'St. Charles; in that case, the redoubts on the side of the river
'must be evacuated, and the army retire in two columns by the
'pontoon bridge over the little river; the reserve shall return by
'Charlebourg,[3] and, if it is briskly pressed, it shall continue its
'retreat by the high road leading to Lorette, observing to halt
'at the first defile, to check the ardour of the pursuers. The
'most advantageous event for us will be the enemy's not landing,
'except from the river St. Charles to that of Beauport, because,
'in such a case, we shall employ all our forces to attack them;
'but, if, notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we have the mis-
'fortune to be repulsed, the army shall incline to the bridge,
'and repass the river St. Charles. The reserve shall also retire
'to Charlebourg, by the upper road leading thereto. If the
'army should be compelled to retreat behind the river St.
'Charles, it shall incamp its right to the bridge, and extend its
'left as far as possible; the country must be occupied by
'different posts up to Mr. Cadet's farm, and the whole will
'intrench themselves as securely as possible to the town. It
'will be of the last importance for the safety of the colony to
'defend this position, which is our *Ultimatum*, for preventing
'Quebec's falling [125] into the enemy's hands; for it is certain,
'if we should have the misfortune to be overpowered, or routed

[1] See plan of battle for the position of the mill.
[2] "the reserve": see Errata.
[3] Charlesbourg: see plan.

1759. Sept. 'there, the colony is irrecoverable; and, if we should lose the 'town before the expiration of the month of August, it is to be 'apprehended, that, having so powerful an enemy to contend 'with, they will follow us into the heart of the country, and, 'by commanding the navigation of the river, endeavour to 'effect a junction with the armies that are to descend by the 'lakes Champlain and Ontario.—In fine, it is incumbent on us 'to exert our most strenuous efforts to defend and preserve 'Quebec, or, at least, to retard the reduction of it, as long as 'possible; because it is evident that the fate of the colony will 'depend intirely upon that of its capital.'

Having deduced our transactions, on this side of the colony, in the order in which they happened, and seeing that the business of the campaign has been so successfully accomplished by the acquisition of the capital for our winter quarters, I shall now take a farther review of our proceedings, in as succinct a manner as possible, from the time specified in the commencement of this volume. The various impediments which the nature of the country, and the strength of the enemy, threw in our way, together with the painful and tedious indisposition of our late *memorable General*, retarded our operations considerably; insomuch that we do not find many interesting events in the whole month of August.[1] The disagreeable necessity the troops were under of distressing the inhabitants every-where; our batteries continuing to keep the town in ruin; the reinforcing our fleet in the upper river; our light troops, and others, skirmishing, in various places, with the French irregulars; the General's withdrawing his forces, without loss, from the fall of Montmorencie, after, in vain, endeavouring to seduce the enemy from their intrenchments to fight him in that camp, and preparing, at Point Levi, to put the finishing stroke to the important contest between us and the French army; are all [126] the material occurrences we

[1] Several matters of interest are referred to in the notes during the month of August.

GEORGE, MARQUESS TOWNSHEND

From an engraving in the Dominion Archives, after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

meet with until the beginning of this month. The momentous, intrepid, and judicious movements so admirably concerted, which afterwards took place; the unanimity that subsisted between our naval and military Commanders, together with the zeal and activity of the marine department on all occasions; and every essential incident that happened between that period and the surrender of Quebec; will be more clearly illustrated by the copy I have the pleasure to annex of General Townshend's letter[1] to his Majesty's Secretary of State. 1759. Sept.

Camp before Quebec, Sept. 20, 1759.[2]

'I have the honour to acquaint you with the success of his 'Majesty's arms, on the 13th instant, in an action with the 'French, on the heights to the westward of this town. It being 'determined to carry the operations above the town, the posts 'at Point Levi and l'Isle d'Orleans being secured, the General 'marched, with the remainder of the force, from Point Levi, 'the 5th and 6th; and embarked them in transports, which had 'passed the town for that purpose. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, 'a movement of the ships was made by Admiral Holmes, in 'order to amuse the enemy, now posted along the north shore; 'but, the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather 'very bad, the General thought proper to canton half his troops 'on the south shore, where they were refreshed, and reimbarked 'upon the 12th, at one in the morning. The light infantry, 'commanded by Colonel Howe, the regiments of Bragg, 'Kennedy, Lascelles, and Anstruther, with a detachment of 'Highlanders and the American Grenadiers, the whole being 'under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, 'were put into the flat-bottomed boats; and, after some

[1] A facsimile of the first page of Townshend's letter is given as an illustration in vol. iii.

[2] The author has made a few verbal changes in the letter, but it is substantially correct. The original is in the Public Record Office, London: A. & W. I., vol. 88.

1759. Sept. 'movement of the ships, made by Admiral Holmes, to draw 'the attention of the enemy above, the boats fell down with 'the tide,[1] and landed on the north shore, within [127] a 'league of Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break: the 'rapidity of the tide of ebb carried them a little below the 'intended place of attack, which obliged the light infantry to 'scramble up a woody precipice, in order to secure the 'landing of the troops by dislodging a Captain's post,[2] which 'defended the small intrenched path the troops were to ascend. 'After a little firing the light infantry gained the top of the 'precipice, and dispersed the Captain's post; by which means 'the troops, with a very little loss from a few Canadians and 'Indians in the wood, got up, and were immediately formed. 'The boats, as they emptied, were sent back for the second 'imbarkation, which I immediately made. Brigadier Murray, 'who had been detached with Anstruther's battalion to attack 'the four-gun battery upon the left,[3] was recalled by the 'General, who now saw the French army crossing the river 'St. Charles.[4] General Wolfe thereupon began to form his 'line, having his right covered by the Louisbourg Grenadiers; 'on the right of these again he afterwards brought Otway's; 'to the left of the Grenadiers were Bragg's, Kennedy's, 'Lascelles's, Highlanders, and Anstruther's; the right of this 'body was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left 'by Brigadier Murray;[5] his rear and left were protected by 'Colonel Howe's light infantry, who was returned from the 'four-gun battery, before-mentioned, which was soon abandoned 'to him.—General Montcalm, having collected the whole of

[1] It will be observed that, as previously stated, Admiral Holmes made a movement of the ships to deceive the enemy, after the troops were in the flat-bottomed boats.

[2] This was Vergor's Post.

[3] Samos Battery.

[4] The river St. Charles could not be seen until after the Ste. Foy road was reached.

[5] This was the line of battle formed at eight o'clock.

'his force from the Beauport[1] side, and advancing, shewed 1759. Sept.
'his intention to flank our left, where I was immediately
'ordered with General Amherst's battalion, which I formed
'*en potence* *. My numbers were soon after increased by the
'arrival of the two battalions of [128] Royal Americans;
'and Webb's was drawn up by the General, as a reserve, in
'eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The enemy lined the
'bushes in their front with fifteen hundred Indians and
'Canadians, and, I dare say, had placed most of their best
'marksmen there, who kept up a very galling, though
'irregular, fire upon our whole line, who bore it with the
'greatest patience and good order, reserving their fire for
'the main body, now advancing. This fire of the enemy was,
'however, checked by our posts in our front, which protected
'the forming our own line. The right of the enemy was
'composed of half the troops of the colony, the battalions of
'La Sarre, Languedoc, and the remainder of their Canadians
'and Indians. Their center was a column, and formed by the
'battalions of Bearn and Guienne. Their left was composed
'of the remainder of the troops of the colony, and the battalion
'of Royal Rousillon. This was, as near as I can guess, their
'line of battle. They brought up two pieces of small artillery
'against us, and we had been able to bring up but one gun,
'which, being admirably well served, galled their column
'exceedingly. My attention to the left will not permit me to
'be very exact, with regard to every circumstance which passed
'in the center, much less to the right; but it is most certain,
'that the enemy formed in good order, and that their attack
'was very brisk and animated on that side. Our troops reserved

[1] That is, the whole of the force he intended to bring up. There were still several thousand men at Beauport.

* It may be necessary to explain this military term to some of my readers. The right wing of the regiment keeps its proper front; the left goes to the left about, makes a half wheel, and then faces to the right about; by which it forms an angle with two fronts: and the whole may be moved obliquely or otherwise.—*Note by author.*

1759. Sept. 'their fire till within forty yards, which was so well continued, 'that the enemy every-where gave way. It was then our 'General fell at the head[1] of Bragg's and the Louisbourg 'grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets: about the same 'time Brigadier-General Monckton received his wound at the 'head of Lascelles's. In the front of the opposite battalions, 'fell also M. Montcalm, and his second in command is since 'dead of his wounds on board our fleet.[2] Part of the enemy 'made a second faint attack; part took to some thick coppice-'wood, and seemed to make a stand. It was at this moment 'that each corps seemed in a manner to exert itself, with a 'view to its own peculiar character. The grenadiers, [129] 'Bragg's, Kennedy's, and Lascelles's pressed on with bayonets. 'Brigadier Murray, advancing briskly with the troops under 'his command, completed the route on this side, when the 'Highlanders, supported by Anstruther's, took to their broad 'swords, and drove part into the town, and part to the works 'at their bridge on the river St. Charles. The action, on our 'left and rear, was not so severe. The houses, into which the 'light infantry were thrown,[3] were well defended, being sup-'ported by Colonel Howe, who, taking post with two com-'panies behind a small coppice,[4] and frequently sallying upon 'the flanks of the enemy, during their attack, drove them 'often into heaps; against the front of which body I advanced 'platoons of Amherst's regiment, which totally prevented the 'right wing from executing their first intention. Before this, 'one of the Royal American battalions[5] had been detached to 'preserve our communication with our boats; and, the other 'being sent to occupy the ground which Brigadier Murray's 'movement had left open, I remained with Amherst's to sup-'port this disposition, and to keep back the enemy's right, and

[1] For the place where General Wolfe fell, see plan.
[2] M. Senezergues.
[3] The houses of Borgia, Manseau, and possibly others.
[4] For position of coppice, see plan.
[5] The 3rd battalion of Royal Americans.

'a body of their savages, which waited still more towards our 1759. Sept.
'rear, opposite to the posts of our light infantry, waiting for
'an opportunity to fall upon our rear. This was the situation
'of things, as[1] I was told, in the action that I commanded: I
'immediately repaired to the center, and, finding the pursuit
'had put part of the troops in disorder, I formed them as soon
'as possible. Scarce was this effected, when M. de Bougain-
'ville, with his corps from Cape Rouge, of two thousand men,
'appeared in our rear. I advanced two pieces of artillery and
'two battalions towards him; upon which he retired. You
'will not, I flatter myself, blame me, for not quitting such
'advantageous ground,[2] and risquing the fate of so decisive a
'day, by seeking a fresh enemy, posted perhaps in the very
'kind of ground he could wish for, viz. woods and swamps.
'We took a great number of French Officers upon the field of
'battle, and one piece of cannon: their loss is computed to be
'[130] about fifteen hundred men, which fell chiefly upon their
'regulars. I have been employed, from the day of action
'to that of the capitulation, in redoubting our camp beyond
'insult; in making a road up the precipice for our cannon;[3]
'in getting up the artillery, preparing the batteries, and cutting
'off their communication with their country. The 17th, at
'noon, before we had any battery erected, or could have any
'for two or three days, a flag of truce came out with proposals
'of capitulation, which I sent back again to the town, allowing
'them four hours to capitulate, or no farther treaty. The

[1] "when": see Errata.

[2] The strength of the position chosen by Wolfe was apparent to all the general officers. The profile of the ground given on the plan of the battle illustrates the advantage of the situation better than any written description.

[3] In the month of August the winding path at the Foulon by which the British troops were to gain the Heights on September 13 had been broken up by the French and concealed by bushes and logs. On September 14 a large number of sailors were employed to convert this path into a road for the artillery. The sailors connected the road with a path which led through the cornfields to the British camp. See plan of battle.

1759. Sept. 'Admiral had at this time brought up his large ships, as intending to attack the town. The French Officer returned at night, 'with the terms of capitulation; which, with the Admiral, 'were considered, agreed to, and signed, at eight in the 'morning, the 18th instant.[1]—The terms we granted will, I 'flatter myself, be approved of by his Majesty, considering 'the enemy assembling in our rear, and, what is far more 'formidable, the very wet and cold season, which threatened 'our troops with sickness, and the fleet with some accident; it 'had made our road so bad, that we could not bring up a gun 'for some time; add to this the advantage of entering the town 'with the walls in a defensible state, and the being able to put 'a garrison there, strong enough to prevent all surprise. These, 'I hope, will be deemed sufficient considerations for granting 'them the terms I have the honour to transmit to you: the 'inhabitants of the country come into us fast, bringing in their 'arms, and taking the oaths of fidelity, until a general peace 'determine their situation.—By deserters we learn that the 'enemy are re-assembling what troops they can behind Cape 'Rouge; that Monsieur de Levis is come down from the 'Montreal side to command them; some say he has brought 'two battalions with him; if so, this blow has already assisted 'General Amherst. By other deserters we learn, that M. de 'Bougainville, with eight hundred men and provisions, was on 'his march to fling himself [131] into the town the 18th, the 'very morning it capitulated; on which day we had not completed the investiture of the place, as they had broken down 'their bridge of boats, and had detachments in very strong 'works on the other side of the river St. Charles. I should 'not do justice to the Admirals, and the naval service, if I 'neglected this occasion of acknowledging how much we are 'indebted, for our success, to the constant assistance and support 'received from them, *and the perfect harmony and correspondence* '*which has prevailed throughout all our operations*, in the

[1] See Draft of Capitulation drawn up by Vaudreuil, in Appendix.

'uncommon difficulties which the nature of this country, in 1759. Sept.
'particular, presents to military operations of a great extent,
'and which no army can itself solely supply; the immense
'labour in artillery, stores, and provisions; the long watchings
'and attendance in boats; the drawing up our artillery by the
'seamen, even in the heat of action; it is my duty, short as my
'command has been, to acknowledge, for that time, how great
'a share the navy has had in this successful campaign.'

It has been already observed, that part of our troops took possession of the upper, and a detachment from the navy, in like manner, of the lower town, on the 18th instant; from that time to the 30th, we have been landing provisions, ammunition, and stores of all kinds from the fleet; taking the submission of the inhabitants within the government of Quebec, and disarming them; levelling our redoubts; forming a large magazine of fascines, &c. procuring fire-wood for present use; clearing the garrison, and repairing houses for the reception of the troops; we also evacuated the posts at Point Levi and the Isle of Orleans; removed our camp nearer to the town,[1] and afterwards marched into quarters for the winter; we embarked the French troops for Europe, with such of our sick and wounded men as were recoverable; the latter to be transmitted to the southward, for the speedier re-establishment of their health; and such as were rendered unfit for service were discharged, and put on board a ship, in order to be conveyed to England, and provided for at their ease, for the remainder of their lives. Add to this the [132] securing the avenues from the country to the town, strengthening our defences, as much as possible, for the present, and making such farther provision for the comfort and safety of the army who are to remain here, as the season and our present circum-

[1] The camp formed on the evening of September 13 was practically on the ground where the British troops had been drawn up in line of battle. After the capitulation on the 18th, the camp was almost under the walls between St. Louis and St. John's Gate.

1759. Sept. stances will admit of. Thus have our forces nobly surmounted a great variety of the most inconceivable difficulties, and, with a truly British spirit, perfected as irksome and laborious a campaign as ever was heretofore conducted. It is now time to take a view of the transactions of the armies upon the lakes, where we shall find they have been exerting, with equal valour, their utmost efforts in the prosecution of the war in that quarter.

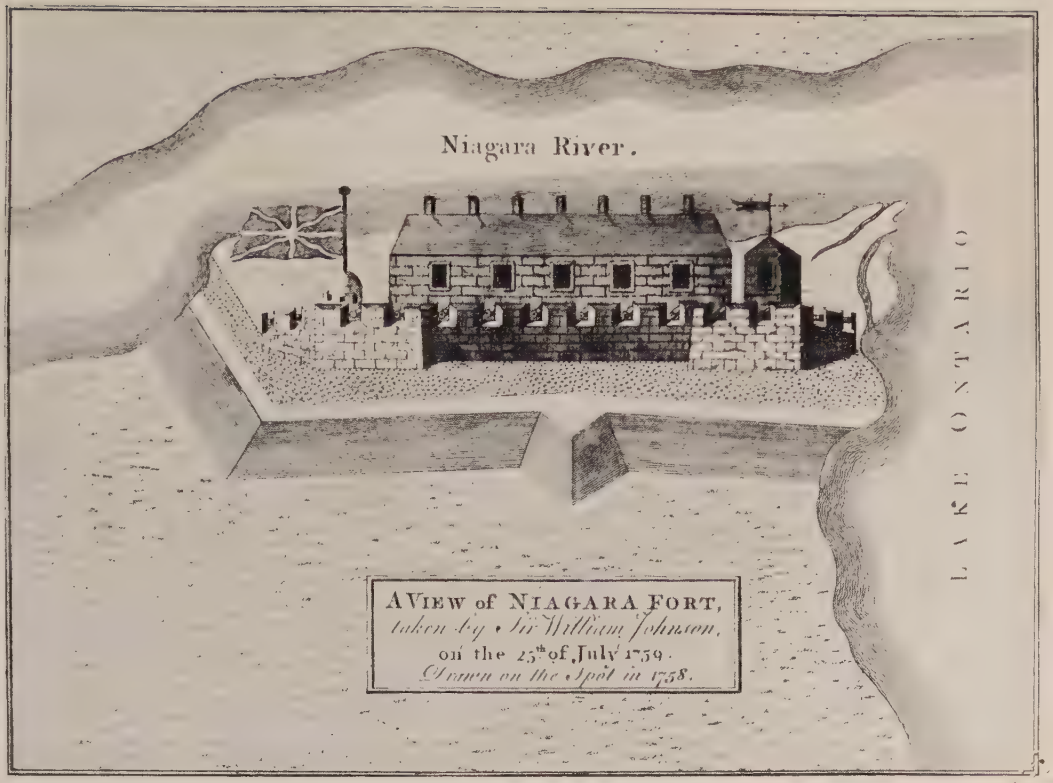
Camp before Ticonderoga, August 1, 1759.[1]

August. 1st. A party who had been on a scout returned this day at noon, and reported, that the enemy have abandoned Crown Point; upon this intelligence the second battalion of Royal Highlanders were detached to Oswego, to reinforce, if necessary, the army before Niagara.[2] We have set the saw-mill to work, and have got a new radeau nearly completed; the army are employed in removing provisions, artillery, and stores, for the convenience of embarking them, as soon as batteaus and whale-boats can be launched in the lake Champlain, in which we are using all expedition.

3d. The excessive heavy rain we had yesterday retarded our works, and prevented our launching the batteaus and whale-boats; we expect our new radeau will be intirely finished and ready to launch to-morrow. A scouting party from Crown Point brought in a deserter from the seventeenth regiment in a French uniform: as this fellow had been pardoned for desertion before, the General ordered him to be hanged immediately, *in*

[1] A part of this account seems to be based upon the *Journal* of General Amherst. The events between the 7th and 14th and between the 17th and 30th of August are omitted, and there are only four entries for the month of September. The *Journal* of General Amherst, which appears to be the best account of the campaign, is therefore printed in the Appendix.

[2] The Highlanders were under the command of Major Gordon Graham, who was appointed Captain on August 7, 1747; was transferred to the 42nd Regiment, June 2, 1752; became Major of the same regiment, July 17, 1758, and Lieutenant-Colonel, July 9, 1762.


Niagara River.
LAKE ONTARIO
A View of NIAGARA FORT,
taken by Sir William Johnson,
on the 25th of July 1759.
Drawn on the Spot in 1758.

From a print in the Dominion Archives

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terrorem.[1] A detachment of rangers were sent this day by land to Crown Point, in order to intercept any sculking parties of the enemy who may occupy the woods, with an intent to surprise our people here, after the departure of the army. 1759. Sept. August.

[133] The army embarked very early this morning,[2] but could not put off immediately, for want of batteaus for one of the regular regiments, which, however, were soon obtained; and we proceeded in four columns as before, and arrived at Crown Point, about four in the afternoon; the troops were instantly landed, and disposed of in such manner as to prevent any surprise: part of the army remained all night on their arms, and the rest were incamped. Now that we have got into the habit of chacing the enemy from post to post, our only apprehensions are, lest the season will not permit us to take up our winter quarters at Montreal, (to which we repute this place half-way from Albany) and thereby assist more effectually the forces before Quebec. The reduction of Crown Point is, indeed, a great acquisition to his Majesty's arms, as it secures the whole country hence to New-York, and about lake Champlain; at the head of which it is situated, on a small point of land that is surrounded on all sides by branches of this lake; the country hereabout appears to be extremely fruitful, and regales the eyes with the most agreeable prospects imaginable; immense quantities of sugar-trees grow here;[3] and a root, that, I have heard, is in high repute with the natives 4th.

[1] The entry under this date in Amherst's *Journal* reads: "A party I had sent to Crown Point brought in a Deserter from late Forbes's in a french Coat, one that I had pardoned for desertion when I was at Fort George. I thought it so necessary to make an immediate example that I had him hanged directly."

[2] The author seems confused here. According to Amherst, the Rangers, Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and two brigades of regulars, embarked about half-past two in the morning. The Royal Highland Regiment waited for boats.

[3] The maple tree: *Acer saccharinum*.

1759 Sept. August. of China, called Ginseng,[1] is also in great abundance; which is a fine aromatic, and is much esteemed by the Indians of these parts for its medicinal virtues; between this fortress and those of Ticonderoga,[2] considerable quantities of artillery stores of all kinds, with intrenching tools, several pieces of cannon, mortars, howitzers, (all of iron) and some small arms, have fallen into our hands: their largest guns are eighteen-pounders, and from that down to four-pounders, besides swivels.

5th. A new fort is to be erected here, with all possible dispatch; orders are given, that the ground be immediately marked out; and Colonel Eyre,[3] the chief Engineer, has made choice of a most eligible spot for this purpose. Late last night, an Officer arrived express from Niagara, with the agreeable news of the surrender of that important place; the terms on which it capitulated, with a transcript of [134] Sir William Johnson's letter to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, I shall present to the reader, being the most authentic accounts of this glorious event:

'I have the honour to acquaint you, by Lieutenant 'Moncrief,[4] that Niagara surrendered to his Majesty's arms, on 'the 25th instant. A detachment of twelve hundred men, 'with a number of Indians, under the command of Messieurs

[1] The ginseng plant, *Panax quinquefolium*, was discovered in Canada by the Jesuit Lafitau. The root was purchased for 30 or 40 sols per pound and shipped to China. In 1750 the price had risen to 12 francs per pound, and a brisk trade was developed until 33 francs were offered. The search for ginseng was carried on by young and old, and trade and agriculture were neglected. The root required to be collected at certain seasons of the year and to be carefully and slowly dried to preserve its qualities, but in order to realize on the product it was gathered out of season and dried in ovens. In 1752 ginseng to the value of $500,000 was shipped from Quebec, but the inferiority of the article soon ruined the trade and it ceased to be profitable.

[2] Ticonderoga, a rocky promontory at the outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain, where the French built Fort Carillon in the winter of 1755–6.

[3] William Eyre, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 95th Regiment, July 17, 1758.

[4] Thomas Moncrief, appointed Lieutenant of the 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, December 28, 1756; Captain of the 59th Regiment, March 2, 1768.

'Aubry and de Lignery,[1] collected from Detroit,[2] Venango,[3] 'and Presqu' Isle,[4] made an attempt to reinforce the garrison, 'the 24th in the morning; but, as I had intelligence of them, 'I made a disposition to intercept them. The evening before, 'I ordered the light infantry and piquets to take post on the 'road upon our left, leading from Niagara-falls to the fort; 'in the morning, I reinforced these with two companies of 'grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment. The action 'began about half an hour after nine; but they were so well 'received by the troops in front, and the Indians on their flank, 'that, in an hour's time, the whole was completely ruined, and 'all their Officers made prisoners, among whom are M. Aubry, 'de Lignery, Marin,[5] Repentini,[6] to the number of seventeen. 1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.

[1] François Marie Le Marchand, Sieur Des Ligneries, son of Constant Le Marchand, Sieur Des Ligneries, and Anne Robutel, was born at Montreal, August 24, 1703. At the age of fourteen he entered the service as Cadet in the *troupes de la Marine* and accompanied his father as Aide-de-Camp in an expedition against the Indians (Foxes) in 1728. In 1744 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and served with the Sieur de Ramezay in Acadia in 1746. During the next year he acted as Adjutant under Coulon, and took part in the action at Grand Prée on February 11, 1747. In 1751 he was appointed Captain. The Sieur Des Ligneries took part in the battle of Monongahela on July 9, 1755, and after the death of de Beaujeu was second in command. On September 21, 1756, he was appointed Commandant of Fort Duquesne. On the approach of the British forces under General Forbes in November 1758, he abandoned the fort and retired to Fort Machault, where he took command. During the following year he was surprised by Johnson and taken prisoner with de Montigny and Repentigny, and soon after died from the effects of his wounds.

[2] Detroit was founded in 1701 by Antoine de la Motte Cadillac. A fort was built there in 1749. It became one of the strongest and most important posts during the Seven Years' War. It surrendered to the British in 1760. Under Major Gladwin it successfully resisted the attacks of Pontiac.

[3] Venango is in the north-western part of Pennsylvania.

[4] A log fort was built by the French at Presqu'isle in 1753. It was burned after the fall of Niagara in 1759.

[5] Joseph Marin, son of Paul Marin, was born at Montreal on February 4, 1719. He was appointed Cadet in the Colonial troops in 1730, Lieutenant in 1756, and Captain in 1759. In 1731 he accompanied his father in an expedition to the western posts, and in 1737 was with Verchère at Michilimakinac. In 1740 he was sent on a voyage of discovery in the region of the Upper Mississippi, with the further object of concluding a treaty of peace with the

[6] Repentigny.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. 'I cannot ascertain the number of the killed, they are so 'dispersed among the woods; but their loss is great. As this 'happened under the eyes of the garrison, I thought proper to 'send my last summons to the Commanding Officer,[1] for his 'surrendering, which he listened to. I inclose you the capitula- 'tion: M. Moncrief will inform you of the state of our 'ammunition and provisions; I hope care will be taken to 'forward an immediate supply of both to Oswego. As the 'troops that were defeated yesterday were drawn from those 'posts which lie in General Stanwix's[2] route, I am in hopes it

Indians. Five years later he took part in an expedition against Annapolis Royal. In 1746 he served in Nova Scotia under the Sieur de Ramezay, and during the next year took part in the attack at Grand Prée, and was in command of several scouting parties. He left an interesting journal of his expeditions. He replaced his father at a post on the Mississippi in 1752, and in September 1756 he was at Fort Carillon. In 1759 he was sent by Vaudreuil to defeat the English at Belle Rivière, but was made prisoner. After he was set at liberty, he returned to Quebec and took part in the battle of the Plains, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. After the surrender of Montreal he was sent to France, but in the meantime his house had been plundered and all his family papers destroyed. In 1762 he was sent to Newfoundland, and again fell into the hands of the English, but was apparently liberated shortly after, for he was living in France in 1765.

[1] This was Captain Pouchot. Born at Grenoble in 1712, he entered the French army as a volunteer engineer in 1733, and in 1734 was attached to the Regiment of Béarn. He served with credit in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. About 1746 he was raised to the rank of Captain, and received the Cross of St. Louis. He came to Canada with his regiment in 1755. In the autumn of that year he was detached to superintend the rebuilding of Fort Niagara. He acted as engineer at the siege of Oswego in 1756, and in the autumn was sent back to Niagara, where he remained most of the following year completing the fortifications. In 1758 he took part in the battle of Carillon, spent some time in strengthening La Presentation (near Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence), and again returned to Niagara, where in 1759 he was besieged and taken prisoner by Johnson. Having been exchanged, he commanded Fort Lévis, at La Presentation mission, in 1760, and offered a gallant resistance to Amherst's army descending the St. Lawrence. Returned to France, he was threatened with imprisonment in the Bastille, but made good his defence. He was later sent to Corsica, and was killed while on active service there on May 8, 1769. Pouchot's *Mémoires* (see List of Sources) gives valuable information from the French side on the war.

[2] John Stanwix, born in England about 1690, entered the army in 1706; became Adjutant of the Grenadiers in 1741 and Major of the Marines. At

'will be of the utmost consequence to the success of his 1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.
'expedition. The public stores of the garrison, that can be
'saved from the Indians, I shall order the Assistant Quarter-
'Master-General and the Clerk of the stores to take an account
'of, as soon as possible. As all my attention at present [135] is
'taken up with the Indians, that the capitulation I have agreed
'to may be observed, your Excellency will excuse my not being
'more particular. Permit me to assure you, in the whole
'progress of the siege, which was severe and painful, the
'Officers and men behaved with the utmost chearfulness and
'bravery. I have only to regret the loss of General Prideaux
'and Colonel Johnson.[1] I endeavoured to pursue the late
'General's vigorous measures, the good effects of which he
'deserved to enjoy.' Nothing could be more fortunate and critical than M. Aubry's[2] attempting to relieve the place, and the entire defeat of his detachment; for I am assured, that Sir William Johnson[3] was much streightened for provisions

the outbreak of the war in 1756 he was appointed Colonel in the 60th or Royal Americans, and was sent to America and employed in the defence of the western border of Pennsylvania. He was promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1759, and to that of Lieutenant-General in 1761. He was drowned between Dublin and Holyhead, October 29, 1766. In the summer of 1759 he was employed on an expedition to the Ohio: see p. 199.

[1] John Prideaux, second son of Sir John Prideaux, was born in Devonshire in 1718. He was appointed Ensign of the 3rd Foot in 1739, Adjutant in 1743, and Lieutenant-Colonel February 24, 1748. In 1758 he was named Colonel of the 55th Regiment of Foot, and in March 1759 was given command of an expedition for the reduction of Fort Niagara. Prideaux was killed on July 19, 1759, by a fragment of a shell, and was buried with Colonel Johnson, of the New York Regiment, in the chapel of the fort, on the 28th. (See *Journal of Sir William Johnson*, in Appendix.)

[2] Aubry was at one time a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Lyonnois. In the year 1742 he was receiving half pay as a Lieutenant, and on October 1, 1750, he was given the rank of Captain of a company in Louisiana. He joined the Sieur Des Ligneries at Fort Duquesne in 1758 and was sent to Illinois to obtain succours for Des Ligneries after the destruction of the fort. He joined Des Ligneries during the following spring, and was made prisoner a few months later by Johnson. On July 10, 1761, he was made a Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis.

[3] William Johnson, son of Christopher Johnson, was born at Warrentown,

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. and ammunition, occasioned by some unforeseen delay in the expected convoys that were forwarded to his army; but, as the success of that action brought on the immediate surrender of the garrison, his troops thereby happily procured a most seasonable supply of both these articles. It was on the 23d of July that Sir William received intelligence, by some of his scouts, of the approach of the enemy to relieve the fort, and instantly made a disposition to defeat their intentions. The guard of the trenches was commanded by Major Beckwith;[1] and, lest the garrison should sally out, and either attempt to surprise or overpower that guard, and thereby hem in our troops between two fires, Sir William very judiciously posted the forty-fourth regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar,[2] in such manner as to be able to sustain the Major, upon the first alarm. The road on the left of the line, which leads from the cataract to the fort, was occupied by the light infantry and piquets of the army, on the evening of the 23d; and, early next morning, these were reinforced by the grenadiers and part of the forty-sixth regiment, the whole

County Down, Ireland, in 1715. He went to America in 1738 to take charge of the estate of his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, in the Mohawk country. Johnson settled on a tract of land in the Mohawk valley, and soon acquired a wonderful influence over the Indians. In 1744 he built a stone mansion in the town of Amsterdam, and established a flour mill. He was appointed one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District of Albany in 1744, was given the rank of Colonel by Governor Clinton in 1746, and ten years later was made superintendent of the Six Nations and other Northern Indians. He was given the local rank of Major-General as Commander-in-Chief of the provincial corps against Crown Point, and after his defeat of Baron Dieskau at Lake George he received a grant of £5000 and was created a baronet. He was second in command at the attack on Fort Niagara, and succeeded Prideaux as Commander-in-Chief. He led the Indians against Montreal under Amherst in 1760, and died at Johnson, New York, in July 1774.

[1] John Beckwith, appointed Major of the 20th Regiment of Foot, April 1758, Lieutenant-Colonel of the same regiment in 1759, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 44th Regiment in 1762.

[2] William Farquhar, appointed Major of the 15th Regiment of Foot, March 12, 1754; Lieutenant-Colonel of the 44th Regiment, September 19, 1758; died February 1760.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

Engraved by J. C. Buttre. From Stone's "Life of Johnson"

commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Massey;[1] to whose good conduct in the distribution of the troops, and the steadiness with which he received the enemy in front, while our Indians attacked them on the flanks, the honour of the day is, in a great measure, attributed. Our savages endeavoured, before the [136] engagement began, to hold a *Talk* with those in alliance with the French, hoping, as their affairs were growing desperate, to be able to seduce[2] them to take part with us, or, at least, to observe a neutrality; but the enemy's Indians declined the interview, whereupon the usual signal of yelling and shouting was given, for the action to begin, by the barbarians on both sides. Among the prisoners were seven Captains; the first and second in command were both wounded, as was the Officer who had the direction of the Indians. Sir William Johnson merits the highest applause from his King and country, and his inclination to put a stop to the farther effusion of human blood was truly laudable; to this end he detached Major Harvey[3] to the Governor, with a detail of what had happened, and a list of the captives in his possession; recommending it to him to surrender, lest, by

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.

[1] Eyre Massey, appointed Major of the 27th Regiment of Foot, December 10, 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel of the 46th Regiment, June 16, 1758; and Colonel of the 27th (Inniskilling) Foot, 1770.

[2] "induce": see Errata.

[3] William Hervey was the fourth son of John, Lord Hervey, and Mary, daughter of Brigadier-General Nicholas Lepel. His grandfather was John Hervey, Earl of Bristol. He was born on May 13, 1732. He was educated at Westminster School and at Cambridge. He received a commission as Lieutenant in the 44th Regiment of Foot on July 4, 1755; was promoted to be Captain, December 27, 1756; received the local rank of Major in America; on August 6, 1766, was transferred as Captain to the 1st Foot Guards, ranking as Lieutenant-Colonel in the army; became Colonel, August 29, 1777; Major-General, November 20, 1782; Lieutenant-General, October 12, 1793; and General, January 1, 1798. He served with his regiment in America, and after the conquest of Canada remained in Montreal with the garrison until 1763. Among his papers were found several valuable journals relating to the years spent in America. He was Member of Parliament for Bury St. Edmunds from 1763 till 1768. He seems to have spent most of his later life in tours in the British Isles and on the Continent. He died January 15, 1815.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. forcing him to extremities, he should not have it in his power to restrain his Indians, who would, doubtless, by an obstinate fruitless resistance, become too much inraged to be with-held. The Governor thought proper to listen to these proposals; but, in order to be ascertained of the reality of the discomfit, he sent an Officer out to take a view of the prisoners, who were immediately produced to him. In consequence of this ocular demonstration, the garrison capitulated; the troops consisted of above six hundred men, besides several females and a great many Officers. The place was well provided with a considerable quantity of provisions, ammunition, and stores of every kind; above forty pieces of cannon, from two to fourteen pounders, nineteen of which were twelve-pounders; several mortars, and an immense number of hand-granadoes. Here are the terms on which this respectable acquisition was ceded to his Majesty's victorious arms, on the 25th of July, 1759.

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION granted to the Garrison of NIAGARA.[1]

'1st. The garrison shall march out with their arms and 'baggage, drum beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a 'small piece [137] of cannon, to embark on board such vessels 'as the Commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall 'furnish to convey them to New-York, by the shortest road, 'and in the shortest manner.—GRANTED.

'II. The garrison shall lay down their arms, when they 'embark; but shall keep their baggage.—GRANTED.

'III. The Officers shall keep both their arms and their 'baggage.—GRANTED.

'IV. The French Ladies, with their children and other

[1] The Articles of Capitulation were drawn up in French. The author's translation is not complete, and therefore a copy of the original is given in the Appendix.

'women, as well as the Chaplain, shall be sent to Montreal; 1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.
'and the Commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall
'furnish them with vessels and subsistence necessary for their
'voyage to the first French port; and this is to be executed,
'as soon as possible. Those women who chose to follow
'their husbands are at liberty to do it.—GRANTED, except
'with regard to those women who are his Britannic Majesty's
'subjects.

'V. The sick and wounded, who are obliged to remain in
'the fort, shall have liberty to depart with every thing that
'belongs to them, and shall be conducted in safety, as soon as
'able to support the fatigues of a voyage, to a place destined
'for the rest of the garrison; in the mean time, they are to
'be allowed a guard for their security.—GRANTED.

'VI. The Commanding Officer, all the other Officers and
'private men, who are in the service of his most Christian
'Majesty, shall quit the fort, without being subject to any act
'of reprisals whatsoever.—GRANTED.

'VII. An inventory shall be made of all the military stores
'in the magazine, which, with the artillery, shall be delivered
'up, *bona fide*, as well as all other effects which are the pro-
'perty of his most Christian Majesty, and which are found
'in the magazine, at the time of the capitulation.—GRANTED,
'and the vessels and boats are included in this article.

[138] 'VIII. The soldiers shall not be plundered nor
'separated from their Officers.—GRANTED.

'IX. The garrison shall be conducted under a proper escort
'to the place destined for their reception; the General shall
'expressly recommend to this escort to hinder the Indians
'from approaching and insulting any persons belonging to the
'garrison, and shall prevent their being pillaged by them, when
'they quit their arms for embarkation; and the same care is to
'be taken on every part of the route, where savages may be
'met with.—GRANTED.

'X. An exact list shall be made of the names and sur-

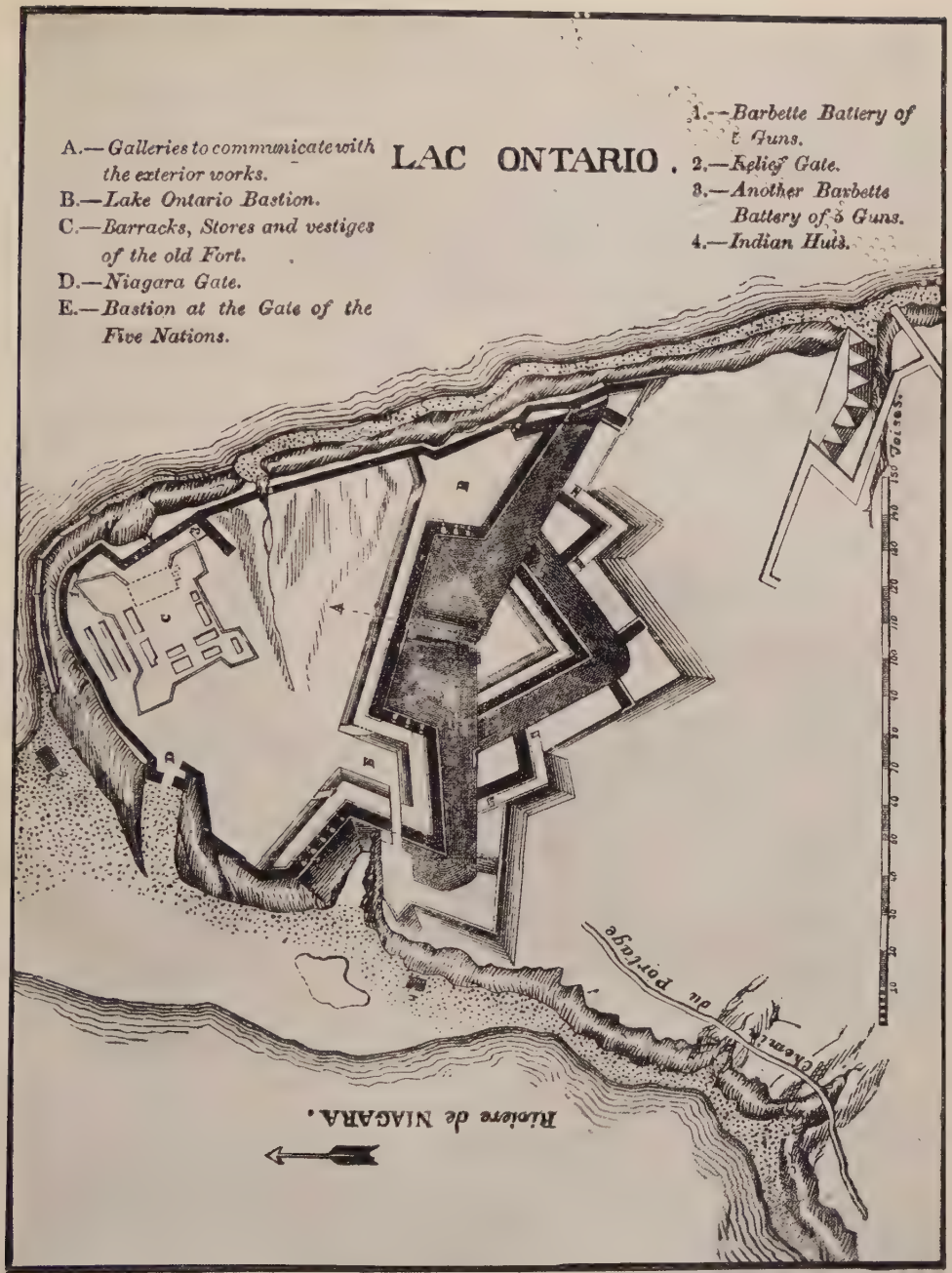
1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. 'names of the different troops, as well regulars as militia; and 'of all others who are employed in his most Christian Majesty's 'service; and all those who are so employed shall be treated 'in the same manner as the rest of the garrison.—GRANTED, 'in the first article.

'XI. All the savages, of whatsoever nation they may be, who 'are found in the garrison, shall be protected from insult, and 'be allowed to go where they please.—GRANTED; but it will 'be advisable for them to depart as privately as possible.

'XII. These articles being accepted, the General of his 'Britannic Majesty's forces shall be put in possession of a gate 'of the fort; but this cannot be done until to-morrow.—'GRANTED; to-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.'

The importance of this conquest is immense, and reflects the highest honour on the Commander in Chief, who, sensible of its vast consequence, wisely planned this expedition; and the executing Officers, with their troops, justly claim a large share of merit, for so gallantly and effectually seconding his Excellency's views and intentions. Niagara is situated in the heart of the Iroquois country, surrounded by all the great lakes; particularly by Ontario on the north, Erie on the south, by Huron and others on the north and north-west sides, and by the Apalachian mountains, running serpentine through the Carolina's, part of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, terminating abruptly in the heart of this country on [139] the south-east; it has the whole continent open to it on the west, and our colonies on the south and south-east: this post and that of Crown Point[1] were the passes by which the French and

[1] Fort Frederic (Crown Point) was built by the French on the west side of Lake Champlain in 1731. It was rebuilt in 1734 and strengthened in 1742. It was blown up by Bourlamaque in 1759 to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English. During the same year Amherst built a new fort within two hundred yards of the old Fort Frederic, which he named Crown Point. This fort was captured in 1775 by Ethan Allen of the revolutionary army, and recaptured during the following year by Carleton. Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Crown Point became American territory. The French had a fort opposite Fort Frederic which was named Pointe à la Chevelure.


A.—Galleries to communicate with the exterior works.
B.—Lake Ontario Bastion.
C.—Barracks, Stores and vestiges of the old Fort.
D.—Niagara Gate.
E.—Bastion at the Gate of the Five Nations.
LAC ONTARIO.
1.—Barbette Battery of 6 Guns.
2.—Relief Gate.
3.—Another Barbette Battery of 5 Guns.
4.—Indian Huts.
Rivière de NIAGARA.
Chemin du portage

PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA,

BUILT AND DEFENDED BY M. POUCHOT

PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA

From the Memoirs of Captain Pouchot

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Canadians had access to, and invaded, our settlements, exercised the most wanton barbarities on our people, and, in a great measure, engrossed the whole fur trade to themselves, thereby gaining the confidence and friendship of numbers of Indian tribes and their confederates, our allies, who inhabit the borders of these lakes, for several hundreds of miles. The fort of Niagara was erected by the French, so late as the year 1751;[1] and it was by them looked upon as the key to all these inland seas which communicate with each other, and afford a navigation that extends almost over the whole continent of North-America; the country immediately about this place is mountainous and barren; but, at some distance on the borders of Ontario and lake Erie, the soil is rich and good, producing vegetables, Indian corn, and other grain in great perfection and abundance. To conclude, our colonies settled on the sea-coast, being surrounded by almost impassable mountains, were hitherto precluded, by the French being possessed of Niagara, from the lakes, our communication with the numerous natives residing on their banks, and from the profitable fur trade carried on in those parts. Thus far I have been inabled, by my converse with some intelligent Americans, to present the reader with a succinct account of this valuable acquisition, and have only to regret that I have it not in my power to gratify him with an authentic description of that stupendous phænomenon of nature, in the vicinity thereof, *The Fall of Niagara.**

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August.

At Brigadier Gage's departure, to take the command of the army under Sir William Johnson, he received orders, as soon as Niagara should be reduced, to proceed, with the principal of

[1] The first proposal to build a fort at Niagara seems to have been made in the month of June 1726. The fort was completed in 1727. Some additions were made in 1740. A new fort was constructed in 1755, and finished by the engineer Pouchot in 1757. A plan of the fort is given as an illustration to this work.

* Called by the savages Ochniagara, or Oghniogorah, and, by our abbreviation, Niagara.—*Note by author.*

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. those forces, by lake Ontario up the river Cataraqui,[1] and possess himself of a very [140] important post which the enemy have got on the west side of it, called La Gallette;[2] and the General, perceiving the vast advantage that would result from our securing that place, whereby we should become intire masters of the lake before-mentioned, and our settlers on the Mohawk river would benefit considerably, as they would be no longer apprehensive of the barbarous incursions of the enemy, was pleased this day to inforce these orders, in a letter sent by Major Christie,[3] appointed Quarter-Master-General in that enterprise.

14th. Captain Loring being left at Ticonderoga to build a brigantine, the main of our army have been employed here, since the 5th, in erecting the new fort, fortifying our camp, and preparing, with all expedition, to pass lake Champlain.

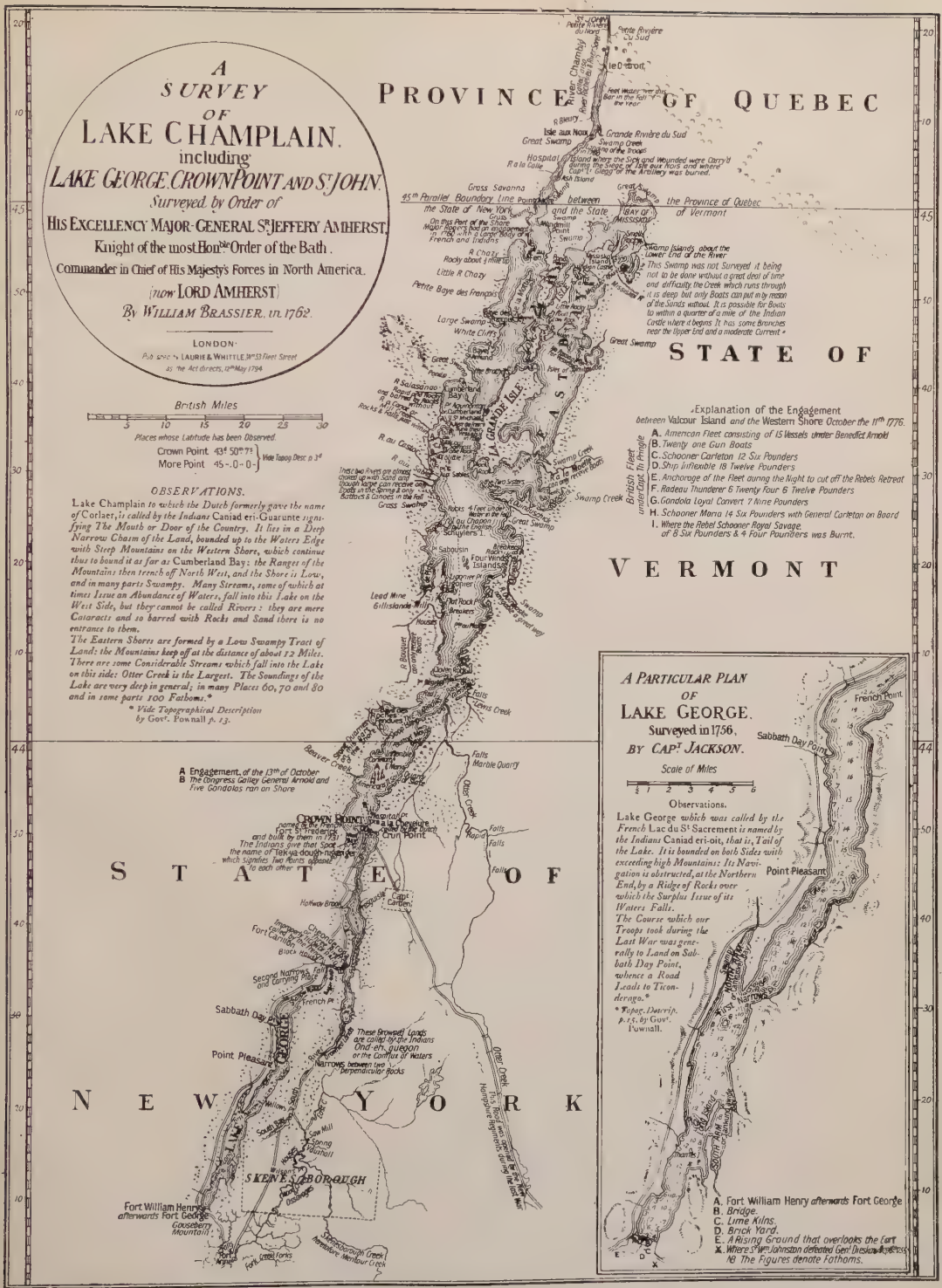
16th. By deserters, who came in to-day, we received intelligence of the enemy being retired to the lower end of the lake, and incamped on l'Isle au Noix; that they consist of eight battalions of regulars, some detachments, or piquets, from other corps, colony troops and Canadians, amounting to three thousand five hundred men, with an hundred pieces of cannon; that they have four armed vessels under the direction of several sea Officers from the royal navy of France, with reserves from the regiments of Languedoc, Bearn, and La Sarre on board; one of these vessels carries ten guns, six and four-pounders; the second, two brass twelves, and six iron six-pounders; the third, eight guns, six and four-pounders; and the fourth, of the same number and weight; besides swivels almost innumerable throughout this little squadron.[4]

[1] Cataraqui, or Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario), built in 1685. The author, no doubt, means down the river St. Lawrence.

[2] La Galette on the St. Lawrence, opposite Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg. A redoubt was constructed here in 1728.

[3] Gabriel Christie, Captain of the 44th Regiment of Foot, November 1754; Major, same regiment, April 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel, January 1762. Christie obtained a large grant of land in Canada.

[4] Bourlamaque's report runs thus: "The English General, having had


A SURVEY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN. including LAKE GEORGE, CROWN POINT AND St JOHN. Surveyed by Order of HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL Sr JEFFERY AMHERST, Knight of the most Honble Order of the Bath, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America. (now LORD AMHERST) By WILLIAM BRASSIER, in 1762.
LONDON: Pub. 20th by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, as the Act directs, 12th May 1794.
British Miles
Places whose Latitude has been Observed.
Crown Point 43d 50m 7s
More Point 45 - 0 - 0
Vide Tapogy Descr. p 3d
OBSERVATIONS.
Lake Champlain to which the Dutch formerly gave the name of Corlaer, is called by the Indians Caniad eri-Guarunte signifying The Mouth or Door of the Country. It lies in a Deep Narrow Chasm of the Land, bounded up to the Waters Edge with Steep Mountains on the Western Shore, which continue thus to bound it as far as Cumberland Bay: the Ranges of the Mountains then trench off North West, and the Shore is Low, and in many parts Swampy. Many Streams, some of which at times Issue an Abundance of Waters, fall into this Lake on the West Side, but they cannot be called Rivers: they are mere Cataracts and so barred with Rocks and Sand there is no entrance to them.
The Eastern Shores are formed by a Low Swampy Tract of Land: the Mountains keep off at the distance of about 12 Miles. There are some Considerable Streams which fall into the Lake on this side: Otter Creek is the Largest. The Soundings of the Lake are very deep in general; in many Places 60, 70 and 80 and in some parts 100 Fathoms.*
* Vide Topographical Description by Govr. Pownall p. 13.
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
STATE OF VERMONT
STATE OF NEW YORK
45th Parallel Boundary Line between the State of New York and the State of Massachusetts
the Province of Quebec
Explanation of the Engagement between Valcour Island and the Western Shore October the 11th 1776.
A. American Fleet consisting of 15 Vessels under Benedict Arnold
B. Twenty one Gun Boats
C. Schooner Carleton 12 Six Pounders
D. Ship Inflexible 18 Twelve Pounders
E. Anchorage of the Fleet during the Night to cut off the Rebels Retreat
F. Radeau Thunderer 6 Twenty Four & Twelve Pounders
G. Gondola Loyal Convert 7 Nine Pounders
H. Schooner Maria 14 Six Pounders with General Carleton on Board
I. Where the Rebel Schooner Royal Savage, of 8 Six Pounders & 4 Four Pounders was Burnt.
British Fleet under Capt. Pringle
A Engagement, of the 13th of October
B The Congress Galley General Arnold and Five Gondolas ran on Shore
CROWN POINT
Fort St Frederic
Fort William Henry afterwards Fort George
SKENESBOROUGH
Fort Ann
Fort Edward
Fort Miller
Fort Greenwich
Fort Ticonderoga
Fort Carillon
Sabbath Day Point
Point Pleasant
Valcour Island
Isle aux Noix
Isle aux Chevreuils
Isle La Motte
Grande Rivière du Sud
Petite Rivière du Sud
Isle Dindrot
Swamp Creek
Hospital Island
Gross Savanna
Great Swamp
Swamp Islands about the Lower End of the River
This Swamp was not Surveyed it being not to be done without a great deal of time and difficulty the Creek which runs through it is deep but only Boats can put in by reason of the Sands without. It is possible for Boats to within a quarter of a mile of the Indian Castle where it begins It has some Branches near the Upper End and a moderate Current.
Great Swamp
Little R Chazy
Rocky about 1 mile up
Petite Baye des Français
Large Swamp
White Cliffs
Great Swamp
Point au Roche
Cumberland Bay
Rocks & Sand Shoals
R au Cassin
Saboussin
Four Winds Islands
Lead Mine Gilliflands
Split Rock
Breakers
Otter Creek
Falls
Lewis Creek
Marble Quarry
Beaver Creek
Falls
Rapid
Falls
Falls
Hotwater Brook
Chimney of the Barracks
Block houses
Second Narrows
French Pt
Willsborough
Saw Mill
Spring
Burnhill
Fort Edward Creek
Fort Edward Falls
Fort Edward Narrows
Fort Edward Mountain
Gooseberry Mountain
Skenesborough Creek
Narrows between two perpendicular Rocks
These Drowned Lands are called by the Indians Ondeiaquegon or the Conflux of Waters
Otter Creek
Hampshire Grants due by the last Map
A PARTICULAR PLAN OF LAKE GEORGE. Surveyed in 1756. BY CAPT JACKSON.
Scale of Miles
Observations.
Lake George which was called by the French Lac du St Sacrement is named by the Indians Caniad eri-oit, that is, Tail of the Lake. It is bounded on both Sides with exceeding high Mountains: Its Navigation is obstructed, at the Northern End, by a Ridge of Rocks over which the Surplus Issue of its Waters Falls.
The Course which our Troops took during the Last War was generally to Land on Sabbath Day Point, whence a Road Leads to Ticonderoga.*
* Topog. Descrip. p. 15. by Govr. Pownall.
French Point
Sabbath Day Point
Point Pleasant
Narrows
Narrows
South Bay
Chimney
A. Fort William Henry afterwards Fort George
B. Bridge.
C. Lime Kilns.
D. Brick Yard.
E. A Rising Ground that overlooks the Fort
X. Where Sr Wm Johnston defeated Genl Dieskau
NB The Figures denote Fathoms.

A SURVEY OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN BY WILLIAM BRASSIER, 1762

Captain Loring arrived this day, in consequence of a summons; and, being informed of the naval force of the enemy, he is of opinion the brigantine he is constructing will still be 1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. 17th.

knowledge of the vessels which had been left to cruise, did not think to follow me any farther [than St. Frederic]. He employed his army in erecting at St. Frederic a fort much larger and stronger than that I had destroyed, until he should have a navy built superior to that we had on the lake, and in sending scouts to reconnoitre my position and the entrenchments I was having constructed at Isle aux Noix.

"The knowledge I possessed of the building of that navy did not prevent me keeping the four vessels cruising a long time, persuaded that the moment I would have withdrawn them, the English General, who had express instructions to attack Canada with vigour by Lake Champlain, would not fail to execute them. I wished for time to render Isle aux Noix proof against an attack, and in this I have succeeded. I did hope, besides, that the Schébecks, which were sailing pretty well, might escape under cover of the night, notwithstanding the superiority of the English vessels." (*New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1055.)

Bourlamaque says he had these forces at Isle aux Noix on August 6, 1759:

Three battalions of *troupes de terre*	1165
A battalion of *troupes de la marine* in eight companies	417
Two companies of volunteers, composed in part of the picket from the five battalions at Quebec	98
Gunners	34
Soldiers of the pickets attached to the service of the artillery	64
Militia gunners	10
Workmen attached to the engineering department	70
Militiamen attached to the companies of volunteers	25
Militiamen in eight brigades in connection with the companies of the battalion of the Marine—among them a great number of children and old men	1157
Total	3040

On the three *chébecs* and the armed schooner:

Crews	82
Soldiers detached from the five pickets	60
Militiamen	36
Total	178

In this statement there were not included 173 officers, 131 servants, and the clerks and employees in the stores. About 200 men were sick in the hospital, and the number was increasing daily. The strength of the militia corps was changing constantly. It was the General's intention to send back about 200 of them—old men and children. "Nevertheless," he says, "these children work quite well." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. v. pp. 16, 17.)

1759. (Sept. 30th.) August. insufficient, and therefore determined upon building a radeau to carry six twenty-four-pounders, in such manner as to render them serviceable on the water, besides barely transporting them over the lake.

Sept. 1st. We received farther intelligence, that the enemy are endeavouring to have a superior naval force, and, for this purpose, have ac- [141] tually launched a new vessel pierced for sixteen guns, whereupon the Commodore was again sent for; the General, being resolved not to leave any thing to mere chance, has agreed upon building a second vessel, if it may be done without retarding the radeau.

3rd. Captain Loring returned this day to Crown Point, and concluded with his Excellency upon building a sloop to carry sixteen guns; this causes a great delay in our operations, to the unspeakable mortification of the General and the army; but still it is unavoidable. The repairs of the forts at Ticonderoga are in great forwardness; and the new fortress we are constructing here has all the advantages of situation and strength of ground that can be desired.

19th. An express arrived this day from Brigadier Gage, with a letter to the General, of the 11th instant; wherein he acquaints him, that, from the various difficulties that present themselves, he finds it will be utterly impracticable to establish a post at La Gallette before the winter; this is no small disappointment to his Excellency, as he has, for some time, been very intent upon that important object, and is now under the necessity of resigning all thoughts of it for this campaign, the season being so far advanced, or at least will be, before his farther commands can reach the Brigadier.

29th. We are using the utmost diligence in augmenting our naval force, and this day the new radeau was launched; she is eighty-four feet in length by twenty.

October. 10th. The Brigantine arrived this day from Ticonderoga, and mounts six six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty swivels; she has seventy seamen on board, besides a detachment

from the troops of sixty men, with Officers in proportion, to serve as marines. 1759. (Sept. 30th.)

The new sloop of sixteen guns came down to-day, commanded by Lieutenant Grant[1] of Montgomery's Highlanders; her weight of metal consists of four six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty-two swivels, with sixty seamen and fifty soldiers. The army immediately got into their batteaus; the sloop and brigantine sailed [142] about four in the afternoon, and the troops followed in four divisions; at night, a light was hoisted for their guidance on board the brigantine, and another, on board the radeau. October. 11th.

Some guns were heard early this morning, and a message was sent to the General, acquainting him, that our vessels with those of the enemy were come to an action; but this proved a mistake, and proceeded from some batteaus of the forty-second regiment, under Major Reid,[2] having followed the light of the brigantine, which, in the night, he took for the radeau, and thereby fell in with the enemy's sloops, who fired several guns at them; but they all fortunately made their escape, except one batteau with a Lieutenant and twenty men, which were made prisoners. Some time after, we perceived the enemy's sloops crowding sail; towards the evening we had very rough, blowing weather; the batteaus were ordered into a commodious bay on the western shore for shelter; the troops were landed for exercise, after such long sitting, and to boil their kettles, covered by Gage's light infantry, who were advanced for that purpose; and the rangers were put a-shore on a contiguous island. 12th.

It blows a storm, with the wind right a-head, which retards our proceedings; two whale-boats are however detached to Captain Loring. 13th.

[1] There were four lieutenants by the name of Grant in Montgomery's Highlanders.

[2] John Reid, appointed Captain of the 42nd Regiment, June 3, 1752; Major of the same regiment, August 1, 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel, February 3, 1762.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) October. 14th. The General received dispatches from the Commodore and Captain James Abercrombie,[1] one of his Excellency's Aids de Camp, and an expert officer, whom he had ordered on board, acquainting him, that 'at day-light, on the morning of the '12th, when they computed they were about forty-five miles 'down the lake, they saw the schooner; and, in giving her 'chace, they unluckily ran the brigantine and sloop a-ground, 'but got them off again; and, spying three sloops of the enemy 'which they had passed in the night, between them and the 'army, they instantly stood for them, to endeavour to bring 'them to action; that they drove them into a bay on the western 'shore, and came to an anchor off the entrance, in such a manner 'as to prevent their escape; that, on the day fol- [143] lowing, 'they sent two whale-boats farther into the bay, in search of 'them, who discovered, that the crews had abandoned them, 'after sinking two of the vessels in five fathom water, and the 'third they ran a-ground; that the Commodore had ordered 'Lieutenant Grant, with his sloop, to try to save the stranded 'vessel, with her guns, stores, and rigging; while he proposed 'to go to his station, hoping to get between their schooner and 'l'Isle au Noix.'[2] The men who brought these letters say, that Captain Loring is not above thirty miles off, and that it is impracticable for a boat to get back, while this high wind continues.

17th. The same perverse wind, with an angry agitated sea, which renders the lake impassable for boats, and has obliged us to

[1] James Abercrombie, appointed Captain of the 42nd Regiment or 1st battalion of Royal Highlanders in 1756; served as aide-de-camp to Major-General Amherst in 1759; appointed Major of the 78th Regiment in 1760, and in the month of September sent to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to obtain his signature to the capitulation of Montreal. Abercrombie retired on half-pay in 1763, when the 78th Regiment was disbanded; but entered on active service in 1770 as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 22nd Regiment; served in America under General Gage, and was killed at Bunker Hill in 1775.

[2] This account of the naval engagement is substantially the same as that given by Bourlamaque. (Bourlamaque to Lévis, October 17, 1759: *Collection de Lévis*, vol. v. p. 61.)

remain here since the 12th; it froze hard last night. The two whale-boats, that were sent express to Captain Loring on the 13th, returned this evening, being forced back, after the crews had, in vain, exerted all the efforts in their power to get down the lake; they say the waves ran so high, that they were under the greatest apprehensions of being lost. 1759. (Sept. 30th.) October.

The weather being more moderate, and the wind having veered to the southward, we proceeded on our voyage, as low down as the bay, where the French sloops are; one of them has been so far repaired, that she sailed immediately, with the brigantine and our own sloop; two hundred men are detached in whale-boats to assist Captain Loring in his researches for the enemy's schooner. 18th.

Rough weather, and a perverse northerly wind to-day: the General, foreseeing, by an appearance of winter setting in, that the season will be too far advanced, by the time he can reach l'Isle au Noix, to rout the enemy thence, and make any farther progress in the campaign, with safety to the army, has resolved to lose no farther time on the lake, but to return to Crown Point, and complete the works, as fast as possible, before the troops are distributed into quarters for the winter. Accordingly, his Excellency having intimated his intentions, and given the necessary [144] orders; we returned to the bay, where we were so many days unluckily wind-bound. 19th.

The army proceeded up the lake, and got within four leagues of Crown Point, whither the light infantry and grenadiers are detached in whale-boats; as the radeau and boats that are heavily laden cannot make such dispatch, they are to continue this night with the rest of the troops, under the particular care of the rangers. 20th.

The General, with the remainder of the forces, happily arrived at Crown Point, where I shall just leave them, to contemplate the transactions of another quarter. When his Excellency concerted the reduction of Niagara, he also formed a plan to co-operate therewith, by detaching Brigadier-General 21st.

1759. (Sept. 30th.) October. Stanwix to the westward, as well to secure our conquests on that side, and overawe the numerous tribes of barbarians inhabiting that vast country between the delightful river Ohio and lake Erie, as to cut out work for the enemy, in that district, by attacking their chain of forts, viz. Venango, to the northward of Pittsburgh, and about half-way to Presqu' Isle; another fortress his Excellency had in view, together with Pont Chartrain,[1] a fort established under the direction of a French Officer of that name, at a streight of a river which communicates with the lakes Erie and Huron, commonly called Detroit,* thereby to command the intire navigation of the former of these waters, and either prevent the enemy from sending reinforcements thence to Niagara, or, in case of an attempt of that kind, to deprive them of those important posts on that lake. For these several purposes it was, that Brigadier Stanwix was detached with a battalion of Royal Americans, commanded by Colonel Bouquet;[2] another of Virginians, three battalions of Pennsylvanians, commanded respectively by Colonels Byrd,[3] Armstrong,[4] Mercer,[5] and James

[1] Detroit.

* Situated N. N. W. of Presqu' Isle and N. of Erie. (See the map.)—*Note by author.*

[2] Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle in the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, in 1719; he entered the army when quite young, and after serving in Holland became Commandant of the Swiss Guards. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, Bouquet obtained a commission in the British Army and was placed in command of the Royal Americans. He arrived in America in 1756. In 1757 Bouquet proceeded to Charleston to take command of the troops raised for the defence of Georgia. In 1758 he served in New York, joined the expedition against Fort Duquesne under Forbes, and was appointed Adjutant-General. From 1759 until the outbreak of the Pontiac conspiracy he remained in charge of the western posts. He died of fever in September 1765. The Bouquet Papers in the British Museum, copies of which are in the Canadian Archives, form an important source for Canadian and American history.

[3] William Byrd was born in 1728 and died in 1777. He was the son of William Byrd, founder of the city of Richmond, President of the King's Council of Virginia, and one of the leading men of wealth and culture in the American colonies. He became a member of the King's Council, and was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Virginia Regiment in 1756.

[4] John Armstrong was born in the north of Ireland in 1720. He emigrated

Burd, or Byrd,[1] with three companies of Delawares under Captain Battel; amounting, in all, to about four thousand men. [145] It has already appeared, that a corps of the enemy, as was suspected, not less than twelve hundred, besides Indians, collected from the different forts above-mentioned, were drawn off towards Niagara by Messieurs Aubry and de Lignery, with a view to surprise the forces lately under Brigadier Prideaux, and thereby compel them to raise the siege: in consequence of which procedure, we find, by dispatches received some time after our arrival *here*,* that Mr. Stanwix has possessed himself 1759. (Sept. 30th.) October.

to Pennsylvania between 1745 and 1748, and became a surveyor on the western frontier. In 1750 he laid out the town of Carlisle, and in 1755 surveyed the roads for Braddock's expedition. After Braddock's defeat he enlisted as a private; in January 1756 was made Captain of the 2nd battalion of Pennsylvania, and on May 11 became its Lieutenant-Colonel. During the next three years he was the leading provincial officer engaged in the defence of Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1756 he destroyed the Indian village of Kittanning on the Allegheny River, from which the savages had repeatedly raided the settlements. For this action, in which he was severely wounded, he received the thanks of the Corporation of Philadelphia. On May 27, 1758, he received a commission as Colonel, and in the campaign of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne commanded the Pennsylvania troops. He served in Pontiac's war in 1763. On February 29, 1776, he was appointed Brigadier-General by the Continental Congress, and on June 5, 1777, was commissioned Major-General and Commander of the State troops of Pennsylvania. He died on March 9, 1795. Many of his official letters written during the Seven Years' War are in Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives*, and in the Bouquet Papers, copies of which are in the Canadian Archives.

[5] Hugh Mercer, born in 1720, served as Captain in the French and Indian wars. In 1758 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and given command at Pittsburg in 1759. He became a Brigadier-General in the revolutionary army and was killed at Princeton in 1777.

[1] James Burd, son of Edward Burd, of Ormiston, near Edinburgh, Scotland, and his wife, Jane Halliburton, daughter of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was born in 1726. He emigrated to Pennsylvania, was appointed a Captain in 1754, served in Braddock's expedition, became Major of the Augusta Regiment on April 24, 1756, Lieutenant-Colonel on January 2, 1758, and Colonel in 1759. During the American Revolution he supported the cause of the colonies and was appointed Colonel of the 2nd battalion of the Pennsylvanian troops in 1775, but resigned in the following year. He died in 1793. Some of his letters and papers are printed in Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives*.

* At Crown Point.—*Note by author.*

1759. (Sept. 30th.) October. of Venango and Presqu' Isle without much trouble, put those places into an excellent posture of defence, and garrisoned them; he has also completed the works of Pittsburgh and Fort Ligonier,[1] together with our other posts on the frontiers of Pennsylvania; and closed his expedition by taking the submission of various tribes of Indians, with whom he has renewed treaties of alliance; Detroit, however, still remains to the enemy, whose garrison are so infeebled, and, in other respects, miserably circumstanced, being destitute of every kind of succour or relief from Canada, that it is no longer in their power to give us the least disturbance: Thus has the Commander in Chief the extreme satisfaction to behold the glorious effects of his incomparable measures.

26th. It is certainly a most agreeable contrast to draw a comparison between the situation of our affairs in this boundless territory, at the conclusion of this memorable campaign, with the state in which they stood at the commencement of the year 1757. Upon the return of the army to Crown Point, we found the new fortress in such forwardness as to be almost finished; whereupon the General gave immediate orders for constructing three additional forts, without loss of time, for the grenadiers, and two corps of light infantry, the better to strengthen this important post, and protect the country to the southward of it, now farther secured by the completion of the works at Ticonderoga. The abilities displayed by his Excellency, in the whole progress of this year's very difficult [146] and severe service, must be universally admitted to exceed all imagination; the obstacles he had to encounter, in a country so different from all others, are not to be enumerated; the precautions taken to secure the army, as we advanced, with our chain of detached posts, from insult or surprise; the expedition used in constructing several vessels to render us

[1] Fort Ligonier, or Fort Loyalhannon, situated on the east side of Loyalhannon Creek, Westmorland County, Pennsylvania, was built by the British in 1758.

superior to the naval force of the enemy on the lakes; the judicious manner in which the troops were embarked, and our order of rowing, or sailing, was directed; the provident regulations that were made, whereby the army never wanted provisions or refreshments; the unwearied pains taken to train up the raw provincial troops, with the exact discipline supported throughout, and the constant attention paid to preserve the health of the men; the admirable diligence, spirit, and patience exerted in dragging artillery, rafts, boats, and other craft over the carrying-places; and, finally, the General's pursuing our advantages no farther than is consistent with the utmost good policy;—these, together with the steadiness and precaution displayed in conducting the different operations of the campaign, and the effectual manner in which he now employs the remainder of it, in securing our conquests, are all such eminent excellencies, in the art of war, as must excite the astonishment and admiration of all mankind. 1759. (Sept. 30th.) October.

I must now return to our famous garrison of Quebec, of which I shall present the reader with a description, at the time of its surrender; and then proceed with the occurrences of a very severe winter campaign.[1]

The city of Quebec * consists of two towns, distinguished by the high and low town: they are separated from each other October. 1st.

[1] The Curé Récher makes frequent references to the severity of the weather:

"Dec. 16, 1759. Froid de 20 degrés.
„ 17, „ 21 degrés de froid.
„ 18, „ 20 degrés de glace avec du vent.
Fev. 2, 1760. 20 degrés 1/2 avec un vent fort.
„ 15, „ 15 degrés."

(*Recherches Historiques*, vol. ix. p. 140.)

* Said to be derived from *keh-beis*, which is an old Algonquin Indian expression, and implies,—'What is streight.' This is the etymology given by French and other historians, who advance that the Aborigines first expressed themselves to that effect, with admiration, upon their discovering the streight formed in that part by Cape Diamond, and some eminences jutting into the river from the south shore.—*Note by author.*

1759. October. by [147] a steep cliff of rock,[1] which is a natural fortification to near two thirds of the upper town, at the same time that it serves as a shelter to the low town from the keen, penetrating, north-west winds; the buildings were, in general, very good, until destroyed by our artillery, during the siege; and consisted, besides dwelling-houses, of a number of churches, colleges, convents, and other public edifices, which, in the city as well as the country throughout, are built of a durable kind of greyish stone, whereof they have great plenty in this province. There is a large parcel of vacant ground within the walls of the upper town,[2] which, however, does not furnish them with many gardens, the land being so barren and rocky as not to bear cultivation; and the few that they have within the city, being naturally of a shallow soil, are indebted to borrowed mold from other places. The streets of the high town are broad but uneven, running upon a declivity from the south, where they are highest, to the north. Those of the low town are narrow, standing on a confined spot of ground, which was formerly overflowed by the tide to the foot of the precipice, and, by the retiring of the waters, pointed out a place, at the head of a spacious and most delightful bason, commodious, in all respects, for merchants to build and inhabit, for the convenience of *trade*.* Their principal public buildings were the cathedral, of which only the walls remain: the bishop's palace, the colleges of the Jesuits and Recollects, the convents of the Ursulines and Hôtel de Dieu, with their churches, a seminary for the education of youth, almost beat to pieces, with a neat chapel adjoining; a stately, but unfinished, house for the Knights-Hospitallers, the Intendant's magnificent palace in the suburbs of St. Roque, and the church of Madame la Vic-

[1] Palace Hill and Mountain Hill are the principal roads leading from the Lower to the Upper Town.

[2] There were not any very large parcels of vacant ground in the Upper Town at that time. Probably the largest was that known as the Esplanade, which is still used as an exercising ground for the troops.

* The tide rises here eighteen feet and a half.—*Note by author.*

toire, in the low town, of which the walls only are *standing*.* [148] I am credibly informed they had a fine painting in that church, representing a town in flames, with an inscription setting forth, that, in the year 1711, when this capital was threatened with a siege by Walker[2] and Hill, one of their pious women, pretending to be inspired, prognosticated, 'that this 'church and lower town would be destroyed by the British, 'perhaps heretics, in a conflagration, before the year of our 'Lord 1760.' Which made so great an impression on all ranks of people, that they dedicated two days, every year, to fasting and worship, and implored the intercession of their patroness with the Almighty, to protect that church and city from fire and sword, &c. In the corner-houses of the streets are niches in the walls, with statues as large as the life of St. Joseph, St. Ursula, St. Augustine, St. Dennis, and many others; with the like figures in the fronts of their churches and other religious houses, which have an agreeable effect to the eyes of passengers. The castle,[3] or citadel, and residence of the late Governor-

1759. October.

* In the year 1690, we sent an army to besiege Quebec, under the command of Sir William Phipps, who, after wasting time, and losing many men and some ships, was obliged to retire; the church of La Victoire was built to commemorate the raising of this siege.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] This is an error. The corner-stone was laid on May 1, 1688, and the church was dedicated to the Infant Jesus. After the repulse of Phipps in 1690 the name was changed to Notre Dame de la Victoire. See p. 22.

[2] The fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker was wrecked off Egg Island in the St. Lawrence in August, 1711. When the tidings reached Quebec in the following October there was great rejoicing amongst the inhabitants, and the name of the church was again changed and dedicated to Notre Dame des Victoires.

[3] The first residence of Champlain, the founder of Quebec, was built at the foot of Cape Diamond in 1608, and called the *Abitation de Québec*. It had many of the features of a fort, and served the needs of the colony until 1620, when Champlain commenced the more important structure on the crest of the rock which was later named the Fort St. Louis. The building was completed about the year 1628, and it served as a residence for the invader Kirke from 1629 to 1632. After Quebec was restored to France and Champlain was named Governor, he resided in the fort and died there in 1635. The foundation of the first Château St. Louis within the Fort St. Louis, was laid in 1647.

1759. October. General, fronting the Recollects' college and church,[1] and situated on the grand parade, which is a spacious place surrounded with fair buildings, is curiously erected on the top of

The Château became the official residence of the Governor from that date. It was considerably damaged during the siege, but it was restored and improved and occupied by several English governors. In 1783 Haldimand, the Governor, constructed another residence within the fort known as Haldimand House, and from that time the Château was probably used for administrative offices. The Château St. Louis was destroyed by fire in 1834.

[1] The Récollet Church and Monastery were situated in the Upper Town on St. Louis Street, near the Château, on the site now occupied by the present Court House and a part of the Anglican Cathedral.

The following historical data regarding the Church and Convent of the Récollets at Quebec is taken from Appendix No. 4 of *General Report of the Commissioner of Public Works of the Province of Quebec for* 1897, and is signed by Ernest Gagnon, then secretary of that department. "The site of the Sénéchaussée [Senechal's Court], now occupied by the Court House and the Anglican Cathedral, was given by King Louis XIV to the Reverend Récollet Fathers for the purpose of erecting a hospice or refuge thereon.

"The Letters Patent for the granting of a place called the Sénéchaussée at Quebec for the establishment of a hospice or refuge are dated May 28, 1681.

"The taking possession of these grounds took place on the 30th July, 1681, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"The Récollets of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, who had received from Louis XIV in 1681 the gift of the land formerly occupied by the Sénéchaussée opposite Fort St. Louis, established thereon a branch of their monastery called the 'Convent of the Château.' Later on, in 1693, when Monseigneur de St. Vallier obtained some nuns to found a general hospital at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, the Récollets gave up their establishment on the banks of the river St. Charles, and the 'Convent of the Château,' though of insufficient size, became their sole establishment in Quebec. It was at this time that the fine Church of the Récollets (the construction of which was begun on the 14th July, 1693) was built, which Charlevoix stated to be 'worthy of Versailles,' and which covered a space whose eastern and western boundaries would at present be the centre of the upper portion of the Place d'Armes and the south-eastern extremity of the site occupied by the Court House. It was ornamented with stained glass and fine paintings from the brush of the celebrated Brother Luke Lefrançois. Its spire, which was respected by the shells fired in 1759, was of admirable purity of line.

"The first 'Convent of the Château' rose a short distance from it on the north-east part of the grounds now occupied by the Anglican Cathedral. The second convent, built after the year 1700, was contiguous to the church and with it formed a perfect square. In the centre was the courtyard, which was spacious and regular in shape.

"The belfry of the Church of the Récollets stood on the exact spot where

a precipice, south of the episcopal house, and overlooks the low town and bason: whence you have a most extensive and delightful prospect of the river downwards, and the country on both sides, for a very considerable distance. This palace, called Fort St. Louis, was the rendezvous of the grand council of the colony. There is, besides, another citadel on the summit of the eminence of Cape Diamond, with a few guns mounted in it; but, excepting its commanding view of the circumjacent country for a great extent, and of the upper as well as lower river for many leagues, it is otherwise mean and contemptible. Most of the other public buildings carry a striking appearance, particularly the Jesuits' college,[1] Ursuline and Hôtel de Dieu convents with their churches; the Bishop's palace[2] and chapel of ease ad- [149] joining, and, above all, 1759. October.

is now the main entrance of the Court House. The whole of the main building (the church) was on the Place d'Armes. The convent that was contiguous to it (the second convent) was built mostly on the site of the Place d'Armes, a small portion on the site occupied by the Court House, and a smaller portion on the site occupied by the Anglican Cathedral.

"The Church and the Convent of the Récollets were destroyed by fire on the 6th September, 1796."

[1] In the year 1626 a son of the Marquis de Gamache offered his fortune to the Jesuits for the purpose of building a college in Quebec. The scheme could not be carried out for some years owing to the surrender of Quebec to the English in 1629. On March 18, 1637, the Jesuit Fathers, who had returned to Canada, secured 12 arpents of land for the purpose of the college, and the building was commenced. It was rebuilt in a more substantial manner in 1720, and Patrick Mackellar, the British engineer, reported in 1757 that it was one of the best buildings in the city, and should be occupied by the British if they gained possession of Quebec. A view of the interior, drawn by Major Short immediately after the siege of Quebec, is given at p. 244. After the building was restored it was occupied by the troops under General Murray, and from that time was known as the Jesuit Barracks. The present City Hall is built on the site of the old college.

[2] The ground near the Grand Battery at the top of Mountain Hill, upon which the Bishop's Palace was erected, formed at one time the garden of the Récollets. It was later acquired by Louis Hébert, an early settler, who built a house thereon. In due course the property passed into the hands of François Prevost, Town Major of Quebec, from whom it was purchased in 1688 by Mgr. de St. Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec. The Bishop resided in the house until 1693, when he began the construction of a palace on the site. The corner-stone was laid in 1694 and the palace was occupied in 1697. The

1759. October. the superb palace of the late French Intendant,[1] with its out-offices and spacious area, would be ornaments to any city in Europe: but the residence of the Bishop, by its situation on the top of the precipice between the high and lown [*sic*] town, suffered very considerably from our batteries, as did that of the Governor-General before-mentioned, which are both built of brick, they being conspicuously exposed to our view from the south side of the river.

On the right of the descent, leading to the low town, stands a stately old house, said to be the first built of stone in

Governor Beauharnois and the Intendant Raudot made it their temporary abode in 1705 after the destruction of the Intendant's Palace, and it was also the residence of the Intendant Begon. The Bishop subsequently rented the palace for the benefit of the poor, and the famous Dr. Sarrazin became a tenant. The last bishop to reside in the palace was Mgr. Pontbriand, who left during the early days of the siege of Quebec. The building was almost totally destroyed during the siege, and after its restoration it was rented by the Government for the Legislative buildings. Lord Dorchester inhabited a part of the building during repairs to the Château St. Louis. The present Archbishop's Palace, situated within a hundred yards of the old palace, was built in 1844, at a cost of $466,000. (See Têtu, *Histoire du Palais Episcopal de Québec*, 1896.)

"The building denominated the Bishop's Palace," says Bouchette (*Topographical Description of Lower Canada*, published in 1815, p. 446), "has been a fine edifice, and standing on an elevated spot, it is very conspicuous; it is situated near the grand battery, extending in an easterly direction from the gateway, or communication to the Lower Town, along Mountain Street one hundred and eighteen feet, and then in a line running at right angles to the former, one hundred and forty-seven feet; its average breadth is thirty-four feet; on the south and east sides it is three stories high, but on the others no more than two; it was built for the residence of the Catholic Bishop of Quebec; it contained a chapel with every suitable convenience, and was by no means destitute of embellishment. An annuity has been granted by the Government to the head of the Catholic faith in lieu of it."

[1] The Intendant Talon, shortly after his arrival in Canada in 1665, turned his attention to the industrial development of the country. At the foot of what was later known as Palace Hill he built a brewery which was finished in the year 1671. The enterprise was not a success financially, and the Intendant converted it into a residence, and a place of meeting for the Superior Council. The building, with the exception of the vaults, was destroyed by fire on January 5 and 6, 1713. On the ruins of the building was erected the Intendant's Palace occupied by Bigot. The upper story was demolished by the British batteries during the siege of Quebec, and the building was finally again converted into a brewery and as such is occupied to-day.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE

From a drawing by Richard Short

this city; and, over the front door of it, is engraved a dog gnawing a large fleshy bone, which he has got under and between his fore-feet, with the following whimsical inscription: 1759. October.

Je suis le chien qui ronge l'os,
Sans en perdre un seul morceau:
Le temp viendra, qui n'est pas venu,
Je mordrai celui,[1] *m'aura mordû.*[2]

The true meaning of this device I never could learn, though I made all possible inquiries, without being gratified with the least information respecting its allusion. I have been informed, that the first proprietor of the house had been a man of great natural abilities, and possessed a plentiful fortune, which he, after many disappointments and losses in trade, had scraped together, by means of the most indefatigable industry. Now whether the foregoing device had any reference to these

[1] "qui m'aura": see Errata.

[2] The author's version is not correct. The inscription is as follows:

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS
EN LE RONGEANT JE PREND MON REPOS
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENV
QVE JE MORDERAY QVI M'AVRA MORDV.

Immediately under the inscription was a stone bearing the date 1736.

Nicolas Jacquin Philibert, a merchant of Quebec, acquired the property in 1734, and made certain additions and improvements in 1736, when it is presumed the stone with the golden dog was set up. Hawkins, in his *Picture of Quebec*, published in 1834, claims that Philibert quarrelled with the Intendant Begon, who came to Canada in 1712. "Unable to obtain redress for his injuries, real or supposed, M. Philibert, bitterly, although covertly, expressed his sentiments under the image of the *Chien D'Or*. . . . M. Begon determined on revenge, and M. Philibert descending the Lower Town hill, received the sword of M. De R——, a French Officer of the garrison, through his body."

Later writers, including Sir James Lemoine and Mr. William Kirby, give somewhat similar versions, but substitute the name of the Intendant Bigot for that of Begon. Bigot became Intendant in October, 1748, and we have shown in a previous note, p. 63, that Philibert died in January, 1748. The house was demolished about the year 1870, and the stone was inserted in the walls of the city Post Office, close to the site of the old building. After a lapse of 150 years the origin of the dog, the bone, and the inscription is still a matter of conjecture. (See letter of M. A.-P. Allies, quoted in the Appendix.)

1759. October. particulars of his own private affairs; or that we may rather suppose the bone with flesh on it to resemble Canada, and the dog, an emblem of fidelity, to represent the French settled there, as if determined faithfully to defend that colony for their King and country, against the savage natives, who may perhaps be alluded to by the two last lines of the in- [150] scription: I will not take upon me to determine, but submit it to the more penetrating capacity of the curious reader.

The custom-house is also in the low town, where the Collector is splendidly lodged; and this is almost the only house in that quarter, which by its particular situation, escaped the flames and ravages made by our merciless messengers of destruction in the siege.

The principal strength of Quebec consists in its eminent situation: ship-guns cannot have sufficient elevation to do it any considerable damage, and it is too hazardous an undertaking for bomb-ketches to attempt to destroy it, because they, or any other floats that may be opposed to it, would lie almost at the mercy of a furious fire from the several batteries erected one above another, down to the level of the water; and any ships brought against it must run up with the flood, stand off and on until the tide of ebb, and then retire; it was for these, and other obvious reasons, that the immortal Wolfe wisely possessed himself of the south side of the river at Point Levi, whence only he could have communicated with the heights opposite to the garrison, where he raised his batteries with so much success.

The communications between the low and high town, from their prodigious natural steepness, are difficult at all times to be ascended, and were respectively defended, when the place surrendered, by traverses, batteries, and flank fires, thrown up every-where, that scoured all those passages, so as to render them intirely inaccessible, in case a descent had been made below: if the General had executed that plan, we should certainly have been cut to pieces; for, in that case, the enemy

would have thrown in some thousands of musketry from their camp, and lined all the defences above, insomuch that I think it would have been impracticable for a single man to have escaped unhurt; and it is to be observed, that our batteries must have remained totally silent, [151] in an undertaking of this kind; it was for these reasons that Major M'Kellar diverted the General from making the experiment. I would not be understood to derogate from his Excellency's merit, by his entertaining thoughts of putting so arduous and desperate an enterprise into execution; it was natural in the Commander of the expedition, and quite uniform with his inherent intrepidity; but he was unacquainted with the interior parts of the city, and therefore displayed his equally innate wisdom in submitting to the opinion of the Engineer, who was no stranger to the insurmountable difficulties I have pointed out.[1] Besides the occasional flanks fires before-mentioned, to scour the avenues throughout the city, its defences consisted of twelve batteries, designed for an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, but did not mount more than one hundred and six, whereof some were of small account; the greatest number of them, particularly that called *Le Clergè en Barbette*,[2] pointed to the bason and the south shore, to defend the anchoring-ground and the channel to the upper river: these were mostly thirty-six-pounders; the rest, except a few of eighteens, were composed of twelves, and from that downward to fours and

1759. October.

[1] There is no evidence in the journals or in the correspondence to show that Wolfe ever seriously contemplated a descent at the foot of the cliff. On the contrary there is proof that he carried out the plan which he suggested before he arrived at Quebec. In the summer of 1757, Patrick Mackellar had gained access to Quebec, and made an excellent report on the defensive works and a detailed plan. The report and the plan were handed to Wolfe when he left England in 1759, and he appears to have studied them during the voyage, as he refers to places which could not have been known to him except through the plan. He indicated that he might possibly effect a landing about two miles above the town, which is the distance of the Foulon where he landed on September 13.

[2] The battery on the ramparts in front of the garden of the Seminary.

1759. October. three-pounders;—besides several mortars of different calibres, bedded in various places for the annoyance of shipping. The ramparts, or line of fortification to the country side, consists of an intire wall of masonry of a modern construction, and seems to be part of a design intended to be cannon-proof; there are no batteries on it, except a few flank fires about the port of St. Louis, St. Jean, Palais, and one or two other places; this line of stone-work extends, from the S. S. W. corner behind the citadel of Cape Diamond, to the north corner near the lower road leading from the country to St. Rocque, where, by the assistance of nature, it forms a strong angle, and runs away in a long curtain eastward, excluding that whole suburb, to Port Palais, and a little beyond it: whence it terminates to the low town with the dicing slope of the rock, and with no other defence than a regular piquet-work on its summit, with loop-holes for musketry, [152] and two worm-eaten nine-pounders, pointed to the strand, at the entrance of the little river; at the east end of the upper town is a wall of masonry, which joins to the piquet work before-mentioned on the north-east, and runs south, seemingly intended to cover a steep bye-way leading to the sally-port from the lower town, and may be effectually protected by musketry, as it is of a good height, with a foot-bank, supported by scaffolding, which gives small arms a great command over that quarter, the men being well covered *above*.* On the flank opposite to the south shore, from the south-west angle, all round Cape Diamond, is another stockade work, running with great symmetry down to the dock-yard in the low town, with loop-holes for musketry. But this seems to me to be the most assailable part of the whole. There is no ditch round the town, nor any kind of outworks; and, though

* In an adjoining house was quartered the grenadier company of Otway's regiment, with a reserve of a spare apartment for a Subaltern's guard, which always mounted there, in my time; whence this place was called the sally-port at Otway's grenadier guard. I know no other name for it.—*Note by author.*

it would be an undertaking of immense labour and great expence, I think it very practicable to surround the town, on the land-side, by a moat communicating with the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, which, together with natural springs in the rocks, would keep it for ever sufficiently supplied with water, and would render that part of the town impenetrable. Perhaps some may think I talk of impossibilities; but, when we take a view of the stupendous works of this nature carried on in other countries, even through rocks, of much greater depth and extent, they may, with me, be confirmed in the veracity of the old adage, *Nihil mortalibus arduum est.*[1] 1759. October.

The line of masonry, encompassing the city on the west, is revested, on the inside, with a great body of earth, in which are two spacious vaults with sally-ports communicating to the country; whether [153] these are designed for casemates, and are rendered bomb-proof, I cannot take upon me to advance; at present they serve as storehouses, for the reception of wheel-barrows, pickaxes, and other intrenching tools. At some distance within the line, are a chain of citadels or redoubts of masonry, extending from Cape Diamond down to the hangman's redoubt, which is near the strong angle, before described, westward of the palace-gate; I have been informed, that these were the ancient limits of the city, and that they had a common garden wall between each of these bulwarks, for the defence of the inhabitants against the incursions of the Indians; but this part of the garrison, by all that I can learn, has undergone many revolutions, since the year 1711, when it was menaced with a siege by Sir Hoveden Walker and Colonel Hill, as has been already observed. The ground to the north-west of Cape Diamond, within the walls, is high and commanding, and an excellent spot whereon to erect cavaliers or grand batteries, which would top the works of the place considerably, range

[1] Mackellar's description of the works of defence, and reference to the plan, will give the reader a much clearer idea of the lines of defence than can be obtained from the author's account. See Appendix.

1759. October. the adjacent country for a vast extent, and even the upper river as far as Sillery, where it would be almost impossible for ships to ride in any kind of safety; upon the whole, it is in the power of art to render Quebec as impregnable to the land-side, as it is naturally, by its singular inaccessible situation, to the river; and it might then, with a garrison of ten thousand men at least, be deservedly styled the *Bergen op Zome*[1] of the new world.—The general hospital[2] stands near a mile from the town on the W. N. W. side of it, and is a very stately building: it is situated on the south side of the river Charles, which meanders agreeably under its walls, and consists of a spacious dome, looking to the east, with two great wings, one fronting the north, and the other the south;—in this house is a convent of nuns of the Augustine order, who have lands particularly appropriated for their maintenance; and the sisters, from religious motives, have assigned the principal parts of this habitation for the reception of sick and wounded Officers and soldiers, to whom they are excedingly hu- [154] mane and tender; the French King has hitherto endowed this hospital with a bounteous salary for the support of a Physician, Surgeons, Directors, Clerks, Stewards, Inspector, &c. for whom there is a very decent table, as likewise for such Officers of the troops as happened to labour under any infirmity. These women are subject to the direction of a Mother-Abbess, who is sister to

[1] Bergen-op-Zoom, a town in the province of North Brabant, famous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a fortress.

[2] General Hospital. On September 13, 1692, Mgr. de St. Vallier bought the Convent of the Récollets on the bank of the river St. Charles, and a little later gave it to the four nuns of the Hôtel Dieu who were chosen to found a general hospital. On October 30, 1692, a number of poor people who had been cared for in a house in the Upper Town were transferred to this building, and on April 1, 1693, four Hospitalières nuns took formal possession of the hospital. Two wings were added to the building in 1710–11, and in 1736 another wing, 120 feet long, was built for the accommodation of discharged and disabled soldiers. This building proved inadequate for the requirements of the nuns, and a new hospital, to the west of the old building, was begun in 1740. Further additions were made in 1850. There is some valuable silver in the hospital, the gift of Madame de Maintenon to Mgr. de St. Vallier.

M. de Ramsay, the late Governor; and, according to their monastic custom, assumes the name of 'Sainte Claude.' Every soldier pays a weekly stipend, while he is here, besides his allowance of salt provisions; and then he is not at any farther expence. They eat and drink well of such things only as are fit for them, in the soop and spoon-meat way; whatever beverage the Surgeons think proper to direct is provided for them, and no men can lie more clean or comfortable than they do. Our soldiers were taken equally as good care of; for the nuns make it a point of conscience, and perform every menial office about the sick as unconcerned, and with the same indifference, that one man would attend another; when our poor fellows were ill, and ordered to be removed from their own odious regimental hospitals to this general receptacle, they were indeed rendered inexpressibly happy; each patient has his bed with curtains allotted to him, and a nurse to attend him; sometimes she will take two, three, or more, under her care, according to the number of sick or wounded in the house. The beds are ranged in galleries on each side, with a sufficient space, between each, for a person to pass through; these galleries are scraped and swept every morning, and afterwards sprinkled with vinegar, so that a stranger is not sensible of any unsavoury scent whatsoever; in summer, the windows are generally open, and the patients are allowed a kind of fan, either to cool them in close sultry weather, or to keep off the flies, which, at that season, by reason of the vicinity of some marshes, together with the river Charles, are numerous and troublesome. Every Officer has an apartment to himself, and is attended by one of those religious sisters, who, in general, are young, handsome, and fair; courteous, rigidly [155] reserved, and very respectful; their dress consists of a black, sometimes a white, gown, with a bib and apron, a close cap on their head, with a forehead-cloth down to their brows; their breasts and neck intirely covered; the sleeves are made long, so that not above half the arm from the elbow is in sight: their cloaths sweep the ground; 1759. October

1759. October. on the top of the head is pinned a square piece of black shalloon, which serves as a cloak, flowing carelessly over their shoulders, a little below their waist. Every woman wears a silver crucifix, about three inches in length, which hangs by a black ribband from the neck to the girdle or apron-string; and, in this dress, they make a very decent, grave, and modest appearance: they are not under the same restraint as in other Popish countries; their office of nursing the sick furnishes them with opportunities of taking great latitudes, if they are so disposed; but I never heard any of them charged with the least levity. In the south wing of this edifice is a superb church, and, in the other, a very neat chapel; in both of them are several images and Scripture-paintings as large as the life: that of St. Peter, in an attitude of contrition for having denied his Master, is the best of them, and is truly expressive. The altar of the church is most sumptuously gilded, with a tolerable painting behind it, barely in view. Over it is a large clumsy representation of the Almighty, carved in wood, with a long grey beard and flaxen hair, cloathed in white, and surrounded with angels; in his right hand is a globe, while his left points, rather ungracefully, to something invisible to the spectator. Their altar-cloths and hangings are of curious needle-work, the manufacture of the nuns, and wrought on silk, in different colours. The walls are covered with wainscot of oak to half of their height, the pannels whereof are painted in dark shaded landscapes, representing the adjacent country. Upon the south side of the chancel is a large pair of folding grated doors, before which the nuns sit on benches, one above another, as in a theatre, when they attend at service. To the westward of them are two confessing-seats; on each side of the [156] church are stalls and benches, with loose forms in the area for the meaner sort of people; over the west door is a very neat gallery for music, to which they ascend by a flight of stairs, on the right and left of the entrance. On the north side of the church is a saloon, with a curious monument, and an altar over it,

elegantly gilded and ornamented with small figures of wax-work, personating the Saviour of the world, and Mary, his mother; on each side are two statues; one to the memory of St. Augustine, the patron of this foundation; which is a venerable figure, cloathed in purple and white, bare-headed, with a long grey beard; in his right hand he holds a flaming heart, which seems to engross his attention; and, in his left, a small book. The other commemorates Charles, called St. Charles,[1] Archbishop of Milan, who made a liberal endowment to this church and hospital; he is represented as reading very attentively; he stands upright, with his hands a-cross, and an open book laid on them; his silver hair flows down his shoulders, and he is clad in scarlet and white. In this saloon lie the remains of the late General Montcalm,[2] to whose memory they have not yet had time to confer any honours; the monument I made mention of is that of John, the second Bishop of Canada, the principal founder of this charity, whose encomiastical epitaph may not be unacceptable to the inquisitive reader: 1759. October.

'EPITAPHE de l'illustrissime et reverendissime Pere en Dieu,
'Messire Jean Baptiste de la Croix de Cheveriere de St.

[1] St. Charles Borromeo was born in the Castle of Arona on the shore of the Lago Maggiore in Northern Italy on October 2, 1538. He received the tonsure at the age of twelve, and studied at Milan and at the University of Pavia. In 1559 he received the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law. He was made Cardinal Deacon in 1560 by his uncle, Pope Pius IV. He was ordained priest in 1563, and filled the office of Secretary of State. Although devoted to his work he found time for study and even recreation in playing the lute and violoncello, and even indulged in a game of ball. He was appointed Archbishop of Milan, and gave much attention to the production of the Catechism and the revision of the Breviary. The Reformation of the Secular Clergy and of the Communities gave him much concern, and he became one of the chief factors in the Catholic Counter-Reformation. During the plague in Milan, in 1576, he worked heroically in relieving the plague-stricken inhabitants, and continued the work of reformation until his death in 1585. He exercised great influence on his age, and his memory is still revered.

[2] This is an error. The remains of Montcalm were deposited in the Ursuline Convent.

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'Vallier,[1] second Evêque de Québec, et Fondateur de
'cette Maison.

'Grenoble fut le lieu de sa haute naissance.
'Sa pieté parut de sa plus tendre enfance:
'Engagé dans l'eglise, Aumonier de son Roi,
'Son merité brilla dans cet illustre emploi;
'Tandis que, par ses mains, Louis se fait largesse,
[157] 'Ses mœurs aux courtisans inspiroient la sagesse;
'Son example toucha pleurs[2] Abbés de cour,
'Ils lui deurent vers Dieu leur sincere retour.
'Loin d'être ambitieux des brigueurs, des vains titres,
'De France constamment il refusa les mitres,
'Celles de sa patrie avoient trop de douçeurs,
'Celle du Canada lui plût par ses rigueurs:
'Celle[3] mitre d'un saint est fait pour la tête,
'Qui l'aime pour l'avoir braver la tempête,
'Venir, maigrè[4] les flots et les monstres marins,
'La chercher au païs de noirs Americains,

[1] Jean Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrière de St. Vallier was born at Grenoble on November 14, 1653. He was appointed Canon in 1676 and Chaplain to the King. In 1684 he was nominated as successor to Mgr. de Laval, Bishop of Quebec. He visited his diocese in 1685, and returned to France in 1686. In the year 1688 he was consecrated Bishop in the Church of St. Sulpice, Paris, and left for Canada in the same year, devoting himself with energy to the organization of his immense diocese. He visited France in 1691, and again in 1694, when complaints were made against him at the Court. Louis XIV commanded him to remain in France and demanded his resignation. The Bishop refused, but it was not until 1697 that he was permitted to return to Canada. During his voyage to France in 1704 the ship was captured by the English, and Mgr. de St. Vallier was taken prisoner and detained in England until 1709. He then went to Paris. The King again asked for his resignation. The Bishop would not consent, and permission was not given him to return to Quebec until 1713. He died at Quebec fourteen years later at the age of seventy-four. By the order of the Intendant Dupuy his burial took place at night. He had been Bishop of Quebec for forty years.

[2] "plusieurs": see Errata.

[3] "cette": see Errata.

[4] "malgré": see Errata.

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‘ A travers cent ecueils des pointes herissées.
‘ Cette mitre s’offrit, et flatta ses pensées;
‘ Le desir de souffrir la lui fit accepter,
‘ Il traversa la mer pour venir la porter.
‘ Comme un astre brillant, dans la force de l’age,
‘ On le vit aborder dans ce païs sauvage;
‘ Il y vint successeur de l’illustre Laval,
‘ De toutes ses vertus il parut le rival;
‘ Il imita sa foi, sa prudence, et son zèle;
‘ Peut être en plusieurs pointes passa-t-il son modele.
‘ Son art pour mettre l’ordre, et pour le maintenir,
‘ Pourra servir d’exemple aux Prelats à venir:
‘ En lui tout étoit grand, tout étoit respectable,
‘ Son port majestueux, et son front vénerable.
‘ Evêque dans un lieu dont il avoit fait choix,
‘ Il eut selon ses vœux, les plus pesantes croix.
‘ Il fit toujours paroitre un courage invincible,
‘ Aux pertes d’ici bas, il étoit insensible;
‘ Captif chez les Anglois, et cinq ans arrêté,
‘ Sa vertu triompha dans sa captivité.
‘ Dans les plus grands perils, jamais le vi—t—on craindre;
‘ Toute sa crainte étoit la loi de Dieu d’enfraindre,
[158] ‘ De la voir violer, de manquer aux besoins,
‘ Du troupeau que le Ciel conduisoit par ses soins.
‘ Plus que sa propre vie, il aima ses ouailles;
‘ Pour toutes il avoit d’un pere les entrailles,
‘ Pour les sanctifier il n’omit jamais rien;
‘ Il leur distribua plus d’un million de bien;
‘ La tendre charité forma son charactere:
‘ Du pauvre vivement il sentoit la misere,
‘ La soulagea toujours, le Ciel l’a secondé;
‘ Temoins trois hôpitaux que lui seul a fondé;
‘ Son cœur brulant pour Dieu des plus ardentes flammes,
‘ Il vecut, il est mort, en lui cherchant des ames,
‘ A la réligion lui doit tous les progrés

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'Qu'en quarante-trois ans dans ces lieux elle a faits.
'Ces vierges, dont il fut le pere de plus tendre,
'Gardent, comme un tresor, sa precieuse cendre;
'Cette cendre entretient les divines ardeurs
'Que leur saint fondateur alluma dans leurs cœurs.
'Cette cendre leur parle, et lorsque desolée;
'Leur ame de son deüil remplit ce mausolée,
'Il gemit de penser que leur pere n'est plus:
'Cette cendre leur dit qu'il vit dans ses vertus;
'Qu'il doit être imité; que leur plus douce etude
'Doit être demontrée par leur gratitude;
'Que c'est ce qu'il attend, pour fruits de ses biens faits,
'De voir ici regner la ferveur et la paix.
'Ici des saints Prelats repose le modele,
'On admira toujours sa rare pieté;
'Par cent nobles travaux il signala son zèle;
'Trois hôpitaux fondès marquent sa charité.
'Son esprit, ses talens, son illustre naissance,
'Devoient le faire Evêque en l'ancienne France:
'Son Prince, qui l'aimoit, voulut l'y retenir;
[159] 'Mais meprisant les fastes et les grandeurs humaines,
'Pensant combien un jour elles paroitront vaines,
'Il vint en Canada pour chercher a souffrir.

'Durant quarante et trois années,
'La fois dans ces vastes contrées.

'A fait, par son moyen, de merveilleux progrès;
'Son amour, son respect, envers l'Etre Supreme,
'Pour son troupeau ses soins et sa tendresse extreme,
'Le rendront à jamais digne de nos regrèts.

'Vous vierges, qu'en mourant il fit ses legataires,
'De son cœur, de sa cendre, ici depositaires,

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'Conserve cherement ce precieuse tresor;
'S'il ne vous laissa pas des revenus bien amples,
'Il vous laissa des grands exemples,
'Qui vous serviront plus que l'argent et que l'or.

'Hic jacet illustrissimus ecclesiæ Princeps, Johannes 'Baptista de la Croix de Cheveriere de St. Vallier Gratiano- 'politanus, genere noblissimo ortus; primùm Ludovici XIV. 'ab Eleemosynis, deinde secundusque regensis antistes: pietate, 'ac zelo animarum, alter Borromæus; morum suavitate, ac 'regendi ratione, alter Salezius; pauperum dum viveret pater 'mortuus inter pauperes, quibus se suaque omnia devoverat. 'Quiescere voluit in hoc valetudinario à se summis curis atque 'impensis constructo. Diem extremam obiit 26 Decembris, 'anni 1727, ætatis LXXV, episcopatus XLIII. Patri amantis- 'simo ac munificentissimo, fundatori suo, hujusce domus sancti- 'monialis hoc grati animi monumentum posuere.

'REQUIESCAT, &c.'[1]

As I have not the happiness to be a favourite of the Muses, I shall only attempt a merely literal translation of these poetical encomiums.

[160] 'EPITAPH of the most illustrious and most reverend 'Father in God, *Messire* * John Baptist de la Croix de 'Cheveriere de St. Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec, 'Founder of this House.

'Grenoble was the place of his high birth.
'His piety was early in his infancy conspicuous.
'Engaged in the church, Almoner to the King,
'His merit shone forth in that illustrious employ;

[1] This epitaph still exists.

* This is a particular title of honour among the French, and usually applied to people of quality only.—*Note by author.*

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'Whilst, by his hands, Lewis distributed his bounty,
'His morals inspired the courtiers with wisdom:
'His example moved many Abbées of the court,
'To him they owed their sincere return to God.
'Far from being ambitious of court-favours or titles,
'He constantly refused a Bishopric in France,
'Whose mitres would sit too light upon him,
'Preferring that of Canada for the sake of its severity:
'This mitre of a Saint was made for the head
'Of him, who loved to encounter difficulties,
'And came here, in spite of sea, billows, and monsters,
'To acquire it in the country of swarthy Americans,
'A-cross hundreds of shelves of sharp-pointed rocks.
'This mitre presented itself, and pleased his ideas;
'The desire of suffering made him accept it,
'And he crossed the boisterous seas, in order to wear it.
'Like a blazing star, in the vigour of life,
'He was seen to land in this savage country;
'He came here successor to the illustrious Laval,
'Apparently the rival of all his virtues;
'He imitated his faith, his prudence, and zeal,
[161] 'In many respects perhaps, he exceeded his pattern.
'His ability for placing and maintaining good order
'Will serve for an example to future Prelates:
'Every thing was great and respectable in him,
'His majestic air and venerable aspect.
'Bishop of a country he had made choice of,
'He bore, to his wish, the weighty burden thereof:
'He shewed, on all occasions, invincible courage,
'And was insensible to all disasters on earth.
'A prisoner with the British, and five years confined,
'His virtue triumphed throughout his captivity;
'In the greatest of dangers a stranger to fear;
'His sole dread was that of infringing God's laws,
'Of seeing them violated, of failing in his duty,

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'Towards the flock committed by God to his care.
'He loved his sheep with the tenderness of a father,
'He omitted nothing for their increase in holiness,
'He distributed among them more than a million,
'Amiable charity formed his character:
'Sensibly feeling for the miseries of the poor,
'He always comforted them, Heaven seconding him;
'Witness the three hospitals he himself founded;
'His heart burning for God with the most ardent flame,
'He lived and died in converting of souls,
'And religion is indebted to him for the progress
'It made in those places, these forty-three years.
'Those virgins to whom he was the tenderest father
'Preserve, as a treasure, his most precious ashes;
'These ashes maintain that heavenly ardour
'Kindled in their hearts by their sanctified founder;
'They remind them of him, when dissolved in grief;
'His monument fills their souls with mourning,
'They groan to think their father is no more:
[162] 'But these ashes tell them he lives in his virtues;
'That he ought to be imitated; and their delicious study
'Ought by their gratitude to be demonstrated;
'Because all he desired, for the fruit of his bounties,
'Was to see peace and holiness reign in this place.

'Here reposes the model of most reverend Prelates,
'Having always displayed the most consummate piety;
'By an hundred noble labours he testified his zeal;
'Three hospitals founded point out his great charity.

'His wit, talents, and illustrious birth,
'Must have made him a Bishop in old France:
'His Prince, who loved him, would there have retained him;
'But, contemning ostentation and human grandeur,

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'Thoughtful how vain they would one day appear,
'He came to Canada to encounter hardships.
'For forty-three years, the faith in these countries
'Made, through his means, marvellous progress;
'His love, his respect, towards the Supreme Being,
'His care, and affection extreme, for his flock,
'Will for ever render him worthy to be regretted.

'Ye virgins, whom he made legatees, when dying,
'And depositaries of his heart and his ashes,
'Preserve tenderly that precious treasure;
'If he bequeathed you no large revenues,
'He left you great examples,
'Infinitely more valuable than silver and gold.

'Here lies the most illustrious Prelate, John Baptist de la 'Croix de St. Vallier, &c. &c. of Grenoble; born of noble 'blood; at first, Almoner to Lewis XIV, and afterwards second 'Bishop of Canada; [163] for piety and zeal of souls, another 'Borromeus *; for sweetness of manners, and reasonable govern- 'ment, a second de Sales †;[1] while he lived the father of the 'poor, he died in the arms of the poor, to whom he devoted

* Called St. Charles, *quondam* Archbishop of Milan.—*Note by author.*

† If I am not mistaken, St. Francis de Sales was formerly Bishop of Geneva, and was driven out of that country by Calvin, the famous reformer.—*Note by author.*

[1] St. Francis de Sales was born at Thorens in the duchy of Savoy on August 21, 1567. He belonged to an old aristocratic Savoyard family. He was educated at the College of Clermont, Paris, and studied law at Padua, and received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1593. When about to receive the appointment of a Senator he decided, against his father's wish, to seek admission to Holy Orders, and he was ordained in 1593. He devoted himself to the conversion of the Huguenots of Le Chablais, and met in Geneva Theodore Beza, the patriarch of the Reformation. He was sent on religious missions to Rome and to Paris. He preached Lenten sermons before Henry IV, who wished to retain him in France. In 1602 he succeeded his uncle as Bishop of Geneva. He founded the Institute of the Visitation. His *Introduction to the Devout Life* reached the fortieth edition during his lifetime. He died at Lyons, December 27, 1633.

'himself and his all. He desired to be reposed in this hospital, 1759. October.
'founded by his great care and expence. He breathed his last,
'on the 26th of December, 1727, in the seventy-fifth year of
'his age, and forty-third of his episcopate. This monument
'was erected by the nuns of this house, in grateful remembrance
'of their most beloved father and munificent founder.

'PEACE TO HIS MANES.'

The chapel is small and extremely neat, void of all superstitious pageantry; within the chancel stands a table with a green cloth on it, as in the established church of England; the walls are covered with boards, which, with the rails of the chancel,—seats, and a compact gallery for singers, are painted an olive colour. Here, as well as in the church, are lamps burning, both by day and night, according to the Romish custom; but whatever may be deficient in this is amply compensated in that of the Ursulines,[1] within the city; where no art has been spared to render it, throughout, as ostentatiously glittering and captivating as possible. This convent is dedi-

[1] The religious Order known as the Ursulines was founded in 1535 by St. Angela de Merici, who became the first superioress. The object of the Order was the instruction of young girls. The movement was taken up with enthusiasm in Italy, Germany, and France, and within a few years the community had several distinct houses. In 1572, St. Charles Borromeo obtained for the Order the status of a monastery. In 1639, Madame de la Peltrie, a wealthy French lady, offered her services and her fortune to found a mission in Canada, and sailed from Dieppe with three Ursulines and three Hospital sisters. The three latter founded the Hôtel Dieu. The Ursulines chose for their patroness St. Ursula, the Virgin Martyr, who, according to the legend, was daughter of a prince in Britain. She was put to death by a horde of Huns at Cologne, some say in A.D. 384, and others in A.D. 453, together with 11,000 virgins who accompanied her. According to another account the number of her companions was only eleven.

On the arrival of the Ursulines in Canada in August 1639, they occupied a small house facing the site of the church of Notre Dame des Victoires. In the spring of 1641 they began the building of their convent in the Upper Town on lands ceded to them by the Company of the Hundred Associates, and they took possession of the monastery on November 21, 1642. On November 30, 1650, the convent was burnt to the ground. A larger building was immediately begun, and opened May 29, 1652. This building was destroyed by fire on

1759. October. cated to St. Ursula, their Patroness, whose descent the nuns have traced to Scotland; she is said to have been killed by the Indians in her endeavours to reform them, and to sow the good seed of Christianity in this country; in commemoration of this pious woman and her martyrdom, they have erected her statue against the wall of the edifice, with an arrow (being the instrument by which she was killed) transfixed in her breast. The Hôtel de Dieu[1] is a spacious fair building, with an Attic story; and seems as if intended, in process of time, to be enlarged in the form of a square; but, [164] at present, it consists of two wings only, making a saliant angle. By an inscription, I perceived it was constructed, in the year 1639, at the sole expence of Mary de Vignerot,

October 20, 1686. The nuns rebuilt on the old foundation, and added a small wing. The convent was opened on November 9, 1687.

From 1712 to 1715 the monastery was enlarged, and a chapel adjoining was built in 1720. In 1759 this building was used by the British for public worship. The chapel was rebuilt in 1901 and opened November 21, 1902.

[1] The Hôtel Dieu du Precieux Sang was founded in 1637 by Marie Madeleine de Vignerot, Marquise de Cambalet, Duchesse D'Aiguillon, who was born in the Castle of Glenay, Vendée, in 1604. She was the niece of Cardinal Richelieu. For political reasons her engagement to Count Bethune, son of Sully, was broken off, and she married at the age of sixteen the Marquis de Cambelet, in the presence of the Court in Paris. Her husband was killed two years later at the siege of Montpellier. She intended to embrace the religious life, but Richelieu called her to the Court, and she became tirewoman to the Queen. Her uncle entrusted her with the distribution of his alms. The Cardinal, who was much attached to her, purchased for her in 1638 the duchy of Aiguillon. After Richelieu's death she devoted nearly all her fortune to charity. She was a patroness of the great literary men of the time. Corneille dedicated *Le Cid* to her. She died in 1675. Her funeral oration was delivered by Fléchier, a famous Jesuit preacher. In 1639, Mère Marie Guenet de Saint Ignace and two other Hospitalières arrived in Quebec and took up their residence at Sillery, and later in a house in Quebec. It was not until 1654 that the corner-stone of the convent was laid, and it was consecrated for use on August 10, 1658, by Mgr. de Queylus. Another building was added in 1672, and considerable additions and improvements were made in 1696. Two centuries later the wing facing Palace Hill was added to the original structure. There are several valuable paintings in the convent which were there at the time of the author's visit, including a *Crucifixion* by Van Dyck, a Rubens, presented by the Duchess D'Aiguillon, and a portrait of St. Francis by Zurbaran. In the chapel there are paintings by Le Sueur, Coypel, and Stella.

Duchess of Aiguillon; of whom I saw a tolerable portrait, on her knees in a praying posture: her Grace dedicated this house to St. Joseph, who is also the Patron of Canada. I had a view of many other paintings of angels, saints, &c. but they are too indifferent to deserve any notice; the sisters of this convent are, in general, elderly women, less polite and complaisant than in the other two nunneries; which I impute to their remarkable austerity. There is such a sameness in all the churches and chapels of the different religious houses, that a farther description of them will be unnecessary; if, in the course of the ensuing winter, I may see cause for any observations respecting these recluses; their habitations, ceremonies, amusements, or manner of living; they shall be duly inserted in the sequel of this work. The inhabitants of this city, before it was besieged, did not exceed six thousand seven hundred of both sexes, and of all ages; though I have heard it asserted, previous to our fleet and army sailing up the river, that the males of Quebec, fit to bear arms, amounted to between seven and eight thousand: this probably has been taken from some late exaggerated accounts of the French; or perhaps it was intended therein to include the fencible men within the city and district, or government of Quebec; but even this calculation must be erroneous; for, in the dispositions agreed upon by the enemy in a council of war for the defence of their capital, we find that the brigade of Quebec, which composed the right of their army in camp, did not exceed three thousand five hundred men; and the troops ordered to remain within the town, called *La milice de la ville*, were mustered at no more than six hundred and fifty; to which if we add three hundred students who were in arms, and as many merchants and other volunteers, who were actually residents of the place, we can perceive that these, summed up toge- [165] ther, fall greatly short of the numbers boasted of by French travellers and writers. It is true, there has been an immense increase of inhabitants, throughout the colony, within these forty years

1759. October.

1759. October. past, if we may credit what we have been told by the Clergy upon the spot; one of these reverend fathers assured me, that, when our army landed on the island of Orleans, their whole force, in and about the garrison, amounted to twenty-two thousand men, though some of them afterwards, who were not actually mustered, were allowed to depart, for the defence of their respective parishes. To all these, if we could subjoin the number of Canadians who were actually employed this year at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and the defences of the other numerous fortresses throughout, what the French would impose upon us to be, the extent of this great colony; and compare them with the state of the country in the year 1714, and afterwards in 1747, as delivered to us by the historians of those times; we shall find the French inhabitants of Canada amazingly multiplied, notwithstanding their losses from time to time (not by sickness, for it is a remarkable healthy climate, but) by the accidents of war, to which they have been exposed for many campaigns past. Father Charlevoix tells us, 'That Monsieur Vaudreuil, late Governor-General of 'Canada (and father, or uncle, to the present Governor) ac- 'quainted the French Ministry, in the year 1714, that this colony 'had actually no more than four thousand four hundred and 'eighty fencible men, independent of the twenty-eight com- 'panies of the King's troops (regulars, amounting to six hundred 'and twenty-eight men) which, he added, are dispersed in the 'extent of an hundred leagues;' and Doctor Douglas, late of Boston, in his American History, sets forth, 'That, in 1747, all 'their militia, or fighting men, who were capable of marching 'and fatigue, did not exceed twelve thousand, exclusive of 'regulars and Indians; the latter are computed at one thousand;' who, I am credibly informed, have been since much decreased. I perceive I have been insensibly led, from a calculation of the fencible men who were inhabi- [166] tants of Quebec only, to the numbers throughout this extensive province of Canada, which, though I had intended to have reserved them for

another opportunity, may as well, while I am treating upon that subject, be specified here; and I have been assured by one of the fathers of the Recollects, that, independent of the forces from old France, and several small tribes of savages, the Canadians bearing arms in different places, at the commencement of this campaign, amounted to twenty-seven thousand men, from the age of sixteen to sixty.[1]—But it is now time to resume the diurnal operations of our victorious troops stationed within the capital. 1759. October.

Yesterday evening a reinforcement was sent to the general hospital, occasioned by Monsieur de Bougainville's expressing some uneasiness at the restraint he is under there. Agreeable weather these two days. The loss of our forces, this campaign, by sickness, shot, &c. is computed at fifteen hundred and sixty; that of the enemy at two thousand five hundred and fifty. A vessel is arrived here from Boston with liquors and some provisions. General Monckton fills up all vacant commissions. The inhabitants are ordered to be disarmed, and their houses to be searched, lest any fire-arms, ammunition, swords, or cutlasses, should be secreted; on this occasion, I shall recite a circumstance thought to be a little extraordinary: Lieutenant-Colonel John Young *,[2] of the Royal Americans, having, when made a prisoner, in August 1757, at fort William-Henry, been shamefully stripped and plundered among the rest of his fellow-sufferers, lost, with several other things, a pair of silver-mounted, screw-barrelled pistols: Monsieur Belcombe,[3] a very 2d.

[1] The Census of 1754 estimated the population of the City of Quebec at 8001, and that of New France at 55,009. That of 1765 gave 8967 and 69,810 respectively. (*Statistics of Canada*, vol. iv. (Ottawa, 1876), pp. 61, 64-65.)

* This gentleman is now no more: in justice, therefore, to his character, I shall only observe, that he was a man of great merit, an incomparable Officer, of sound judgment, long experience, and was universally esteemed. He was, with great propriety, appointed to act as Judge of the Police, in which he acquitted himself with honour, to the general satisfaction of the British traders settled here and the French inhabitants.—*Note by author.*

[2] See note on Colonel Young, p. 146.

[3] M. de Bellecombe, appointed Captain, Royal Rousillon Regiment, September 1755; Aide Major, Quebec, December 1757; detained in the General Hospital, Quebec, from September 13, 1759, to May 1, 1760.

1759. October. agreeable French Officer, was particularly polite to the Colonel, in his captivity; this gentleman [167] is now, in his turn, a prisoner to us, and thereby had an opportunity of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Young. Yesterday he took a merchant of his own nation, and his intimate friend, to wait upon the Colonel, and to request a favour, which the other chearfully promised to grant, if in his power: thereupon the Officer produced a pair of pistols, now the property of the merchant; and intreated he would take them into his possession in trust for this citizen, until the fate of Quebec should be determined by a peace, lest, upon a general search being made for arms, the pistols should be taken from him, especially being of English workmanship. The Colonel, no doubt, agreeably surprised to meet with his old companions, of whom he had been master above twenty years, interrogated the Frenchman, how and where he obtained them, and how long he had been possessed of them? To these questions he at first received evasive replies, till acquainting Monsieur Belcombe and his friend, that they were formerly his property, taken from him by the Indians, as before mentioned; producing, at the same time, a seal, some spoons, and other articles in plate, all equally alike engraved with the Colonel's own crest; and comparing them with the pistols; put it beyond a doubt. At length the merchant politely restored them, upon Colonel Young's paying him five Louis d'ors, the sum for which he affirmed he bought them from an Indian Sachem, some time after the demolition of fort William-Henry. A Canadian gave information to-day, that, being lately in company with two sailors belonging to the French fleet, he heard them boast of their intention to repass the town with their ships, and slip through our fleet, in like manner as they said they had done at Louisbourg; whereupon notice was immediately sent to the Admiral, and the fellow was paid a suitable reward for this instance of his attachment to us. Monsieur Bougainville received orders, this evening, to depart the general hospital to-

morrow, and return to his colours.[1] The troops are employed in removing provisions and other stores, making fascines, [168] inclosing the suburbs of St. Rocque,[2] building centry-boxes, with booths or sheds for boats, &c. and laying foot-banks, for the service of musketry, to the parapet of the rampart, or wall next the country side of our garrison;[3] which, in many places, is above nine feet in height, and seems to be an unfinished piece of work. The guards do not mount until the evening, on account of the foregoing sundry occupations. 1759. October.

Moderate weather these two days: in consequence of orders for this purpose, to-day has been dedicated to Divine service and a solemn thanksgiving for the success of his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of this fortress; the troops were excused all duties of labour and fatigue, and, about eleven o'clock, the several regiments marched to the church of the Ursulines, preceded by our General Officers, where they heard an excellent sermon suitable to the *occasion* *;[4] several 4th.

[1] Bougainville had come to Quebec to arrange for an exchange of prisoners and for the care of the wounded. Very friendly relations existed between him and Townshend, but Murray did not regard him with as much favour. (Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, pp. 294–295; Kerallain, *La Jeunesse de Bougainville*, pp. 159–162.)

[2] A part of the Lower Town is called St. Roch.

[3] The excellent work done by Murray at this time no doubt saved Quebec in the spring of 1760.

* The text was taken from Psalm xviii. 50.—*Note by author.*

[4] There may have been a thanksgiving sermon delivered on this date, but it seems improbable. The Rev. Eli Dawson, Chaplain of the *Sterling Castle*, gives the date as September 27, and the text of the sermon, the 49th verse of the 18th Psalm. The sermon was dedicated to Mrs. Wolfe and published a few months later under the following title: "A Discourse, delivered at Quebec, in the Chappel belonging to the Convent of the Ursulines, September 27th, 1759; occasioned by the Success of our Arms in the Reduction of that Capital: at the request of Brigadier-General Monckton, and by Order of Vice-Admiral Saunders, Commander in Chief. By the Reverend Eli Dawson, Chaplain of His Majesty's Sterling-Castle, on Board of which Ship the Vice-Admiral's hoisted his Flag, during the Siege. London: Printed for R. Griffiths, opposite Somerset-House in the Strand. MDCCLX." The two volumes of the author's *Journal* were printed in 1769, and there are several entries which prove that the text was not prepared for the Press until several years after the events

1759. October. French merchants, said to be of the Reformed religion, and commonly called Hugonots,* attended, though unacquainted with our language.

took place. For example, in September 1759, we find "the admirable service performed by that experienced master of his profession, Colonel, now Major General Williamson." Colonel Williamson was appointed Major-General in July 1762. We are inclined to think that the 27th was recognized by both arms of the service as the day of thanksgiving, and not October 4.

In the Annals of the Ursulines we find this entry: "General Murray manifested his wish to occupy a part of the Convent as a hospital, for the wounded or sick of the army. The proposal was acceded to with a good grace, and immediately workmen were sent in to make the necessary repairs. Commencing by the church, the only one in the city that was not in ruins, they had it prepared for divine service by the 24th of September." (*Glimpses of the Monastery*, 1639–1839, p. 282.)

It is interesting to note that the pulpit was within ten or twelve feet from the spot where the remains of Montcalm had been buried thirteen days before. Probably the nuns of the convent were not invited to attend. If they were present they must have felt uncomfortable when the preacher gave out the text, "Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord! among the Heathen"! "These Words of the Royal Psalmist," says the preacher, "are Part of an Ode, or Song, which breathes a Spirit of Triumph; and was evidently wrote upon the Occasion of some remarkable Victory over his Enemies. . . . Reason will most assuredly approve this conduct, upon every similar Occasion: . . . It would be needless (was it my Province) to enlarge upon the Importance of the Acquisition . . . the richest Jewels that adorn the British Crown." After lauding the work of the army, the worthy preacher seems to have remembered that he was chaplain to the navy, and he says, "let me particularly add, military Operations of a mixed Nature, by Sea and Land." However, he returns to the subject a few minutes later and waxes eloquent on behalf of Wolfe and the army: "Ye Mountains of Abraham, decorated with his Trophies, tell how vainly ye opposed him, when he mounted your lofty Heights with the Strength and Swiftness of an Eagle! Stand fixed forever upon your rocky Base, and speak his Name and Glory to all future Generations! . . . Swell your Trumpets with the Glory of a Military Exploit through distant Worlds! An Exploit! which, for the Fineness of Address in Stratagem! the Daringness of the Attempt! and the Spirit of its Execution! shall take Rank with the choisest Pieces of ancient or modern Story in the Temple of Fame, where it remains immortal!" (From the copy in the British Museum, 4487, h. 11. There is a reprint in the *Battlefield Series*, No. 4, printed by the nuns of the Franciscan Convent at their Press on the Plains of Abraham, Quebec, 1901.)

* This is an epithet of reproach by which our enemies have ever distinguished the Protestants in France, and for this the following reasons are assigned: 'At the city of Tours, in that kingdom, there is a gate called Hugo's 'gate, where the Protestants were formerly accustomed to meet for Divine

We had an incessant heavy rain this day. I removed[1] the tenement assigned me for my quarters, which is a cart-house and a stable, called, by the inhabitants, *Un Hangar*;[2] within it is a spacious, but unfinished, apartment, with a closet; it has no cieling, save a parcel of boards laid loose; and it thereby forms a loft, or place for hay; a rack and manger stood at the other end for [169] horses, from which however I was separated by a stone partition. I have troubled the reader with this trifling circumstance, to give him some idea of our winter cantonment; several Officers, it is true, were better lodged, particularly those of superior rank; yet I was far from being singular: there were a great many who, though they had a more decent entrance to their houses, were much more indifferently lodged; for, with the assistance of a good stove, and some carpentry-work, my habitation was rendered tolerably comfortable. Five deserters arrived to-day from the upper country; they say their troops are in the greatest distress for provisions, particularly bread[3] and spirituous liquors; and think it will be miraculous, if they can subsist this winter. Their head quarters are at Jacques Cartier, about six or eight leagues from this garrison. 1759. October. 5th.

Being detached on a fascine party to-day, I discovered a small trunk covered with seal-skins, concealed in a thick coppice: on breaking it open I found a scalp, which I suppose to have been a child's, with fair hair, *en papillote*; it was about the size of a large saucer stretched on a hoop, and the flesh-side painted. There was a letter from a person in the country 6th.

'worship; or from King Hugo's ghost, being the *scarecrow* used in that city to 'frighten children, and which was said to walk in the suburbs in the night, 'at the time and place usually appointed for the Reformed to assemble.' Charles IX. of France forbad this name by an edict.—*Note by author.*

THUANUS, lib. xxiv.

[1] "to"; see Errata.

[2] *Hangar* is the word still employed in Quebec for an outbuilding.

[3] Flour seems to have been plentiful in Montreal at this time, but money was scarce and the prudent "habitants" were not eager to accept the paper money of the colony.

1759. October. to his uncle, a merchant in the upper town of Quebec, containing a most pathetic picture of distress; a Mic-Mac was mentioned to be the bearer of it. There were likewise in the trunk some damaged powder, musket-balls, buck-shot, and several square slugs, three inches long, of lead and iron, with a scalping knife and some other immaterial trumpery.

8th. Pleasant weather today; a Canadian of distinction, with a young savage valet, arrived from Montreal. Having, in the course of this campaign, procured a curious Indian manuscript grammar, composed by a French Missionary, I transmitted it, this day, to England, with the above-mentioned scalp; when my friend, who was the bearer of them, called upon me for his charge, I was employed in taking extracts from that ingenious work; which, though imperfect, I shall here present to my reader. The author observes, 'that the natives are so rude as 'to have no letters or characters among them, and conse- 'quently there is no certain way of writing their [170] names 'of things; all that can be done is to express their harsh 'sounds or guttural pronunciations, as near as possible, in our 'own letters. Their manner of expression is vehement and 'emphatical; their ideas being few, their language is not 'copious, but consists of a parcel of words, ill contrived by 'a rumbling and ungraceful sound of many syllables.—Here 'follow a few specimens.*

* When I consented to the publication of these volumes, I flattered myself I should have been able to procure this grammar, in order either to annex a copy of the principal part of it to the work, or to have extracted the most remarkable rules and examples, for the peculiar gratification of the *literati* and the curious; but, though I made repeated applications for it in person, and expressed how interesting it would be to this undertaking,—I was not so happy as to succeed.—*Note by author.*

'I, or me, . . . *Nir.*	'You, ... *Quiraoua.*
'Thee, or thou, . . *Quir.*	'You, we, or us, . . *Quiraoueint.*
'He, or him, . . . *Ouir.*	'They or them, . . *Ouiraoua.*
'We, ... *Niraouint.*	

'N.B. *Qu* must be pronounced like a *k*;—*ou* as *w*;—*a*, which by the

The fleet are dropping down towards Coudre, to be in readiness to sail with the first fair wind. 1759. October. 10th.

I was sent on a week's command, this day, to the convent of the Augustines, or general hospital; my orders were "to "prevent soldiers and others from plundering or marauding in "that neighbourhood; to protect the house, with all its in- "habitants, gardens, and inclosures from insult; to examine "all persons that arrive from the country; to give immediate "notice to the garrison, if any number of men should appear "in arms, either by detaching a Serjeant, or firing three distinct 11th.

'generality of Britons is absurdly and erroneously pronounced as *è* in French, 'must be expressed *au*, as in the English word *all*, &c.

'Ax, or great Ax, .	*Agaquet.*
'A little Ax, . .	*Agaquetous.*
'All, . . .	*Cuquina.*
'Always, . .	*Caquellie.*
'Ashes, powder, dust,	*Pingo.*
'Assist, or aid, .	*Muouineoua.*
'Afterwards, . .	*Mipidatch.*
'Ball, . . .	*Alouin.*
'Bear, . . .	*Macqua.*
'A little Bear, .	*Maquons.*
'Beaver, . .	*Amic.*
'Beaver-skin, . .	*Apiminique.*
'Bread, . . .	*Paboochican.*
'Brother, . .	*Nicanich.*
'Canoe, . .	*Chiman, or Shieman.*
'Corn, . . .	*Malomin.*
'Courage, . .	*Tagouamissi.*
'Comrade, . .	*Nitchee.*
'Captain, or leader,	*Oquima.*
'Child, little children,	*Bobiloochins.*
'Country, . .	*Endalaquian.*
'Dead, . . .	*Nipouin.*
'Die, or I die, .	*Nip.*
'Devil, . . .	*Matchimanitoo.*
'Dog, . . .	*Alim.*
'A little Dog, .	*Alimons.*
'Drink, . . .	*Miniquee.*
'Duck, . . .	*Chichip.*
[171]	
'Earth, . . .	*Acq, or acquin.*
'To eat, . . .	*Ouissin.*
'English, .	*Ouatsaquaminc.* *Datchirini.*
'Eyes, . . .	*Oosquinchic.*
'Father, . .	*Nooss.*
'Fatigued, . .	*Tacoossi.*
'Fat, . . .	*Pimate.*
'Fire, . . .	*Scoot.*
'Firelock, . .	*Scootecan.*
'Fusil, or Fuzee, .	*Pasquissigan.*
'Fish, . . .	*Quicons.*
'France, .	*Mittigoochiouec.* *Endalaquianc.*
God, great Spirit, &c.,	*Quitchimanitoo.*
'Good, . . .	*Coolatch.*
'Girl, . . .	*Icquessens.*
'Hair, . . .	*Lissis.*
'Heaven, . .	*Spimincacquin.*
'Head, . . .	*Oosticooan.*
'Hungry, . .	*Pacquate.*
'It freezes hard, .	*Quassinamagat.*[1]

[1] The manuscript referred to by the author was probably a grammar and vocabulary prepared by a French missionary priest for use in his mission. It appears to be Algonquin, or some branch of that nation. A list of the words

1759. October. "muskets; and, if not instantly answered, must be repeated; "not to suffer any luggage, horse or cart loaded, to depart the "hospital, without a positive order or passport; to seize all "fire-arms, ammunition, or whatever may be useful to the "enemy, which may happen to be in the environs of the guard; "and, finally, to grant permits to Surgeons, Mates, or Domestics "belonging to the convent, &c. when they are necessitated to "pass towards the town on their lawful occasions." I lived here, at the French King's table,[1] with an agreeable polite society of Officers, Directors, and Commissaries; some of the gentlemen

as translated in the latest Algonquin dictionary by the Rev. James Lemoine, Chicoutimi, 1909, is here given.

I, me	*NI, nin*	Child	*Abinotcinj*
Thou, thee	*Ki, kin*	Country	*Dajè nikian*
Him	*Win*	Dead	*Nipo*
("He" is expressed by a modification of the verb.)		Die, or I die	*Nipo*
We	*Ninäwint*	Devil	*Mätci Manito*
You	*Kinawa*	Dog	*Anim*
You, we, or us	*Kinäwint*	Little dog	*Animôns*
They, or them	*Winawa*	Drink	*Minikwan*
Ax, or great ax	*Wakâkwat*	Duck	*Cicib*
A little ax	*Wakakwatons*	Earth	*Aki*
All	*Kakina*	To eat	*Wisini*
Always	*Kakike*	English	*Aganêca*
Ashes, powder, and dust	*Pingwi*	Eyes (his)	*Ockinjik*
Assist, or aid	*Witokaw*	Father	*Oos*
Afterwards	*Midac*	Fatigued	*Cikatose*
Ball	*Monz äsïn*	Fat	*Pimitewan*
Bear	*Macqua*	Fire	*Ickote*
A little bear	*Makons*	Firelock	*Ickotekan*
Beaver	*Amik*	Fusil, or Fusee	*Packizigan*
Beaver skin	*Apiminikwei*	Fish	*Kïkons*
Bread	*Päkwejigan*	France	*Wemitigoji aki*
Brother (his)	*Wikanis(an)*	God	*Kitci Manito*
Canoe	*Tçîmân*	Good	*Kwenatc*
Corn	*Mandamin*	Girl	*Ikwesins*
Courage	*Mangotâsiwin*	Hair	*Mînisis*
Comrade (his)	*Witckiwe*	Heaven	*Wakwi*
Captain, or leader	*Okima*	Head (his)	*Octïkwan*
		Hungry	*Päkäte*
		It freezes	*Gackatin*

[1] At this time the nuns were sorely pressed for means to procure provisions. The paper currency of the country was discredited, and there was little silver in the colony. Monckton therefore advanced the nuns the sum of £600 to assist them. (Monckton to Pitt, October 8, 1759: Public Record Office, A. & W. I., vol. 88; the letter is printed in *Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 132.)

were married, and their ladies honoured us with their company; they were generally chearful, except when we discoursed upon the late revolution,[1] and the affairs [172] of the campaign; then they seemingly gave way to grief uttered by profound sighs, and followed by an *O mon Dieu.* The Officers soon perceived that, though I did not express myself with great facility in their language, I perfectly understood them, and therefore they agreed to converse in Latin; which, though far from being consistent with their boasted *politesse*, did not affect me so as to be offended; for I was more upon an equality with them in that tongue, especially as they spoke it with less fluency, than their own. They generally concluded with some rapturous sentences, delivered theatrically, such as 1759. October.

> *Per mare, per terras, per tot discrimina rerum,*[2] &c. and
> *Nos patriam fugimus, nos dulcia linquimus arva.*[3]

—at length, after racking my memory for a distich, or line applicable to the times, I interrupted them with this citation from Virgil, *O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit!*[4] which so surprised them, that, having stared at each other for some moments, one of them approached me, and asked, if I could speak Latin? I then, with seeming diffidence, answered in the affirmative, affecting their accent with tolerable exactness; this discovery put a period to all farther conversations in that language; for they neither attempted to spout, or utter a word of Latin, while I continued among them. We dined, every day, between eleven and twelve, and afterwards were respectively served with a cup of *laced* coffee; our dinners were generally indifferent, but our suppers (what they call their *grand repas*, or best meal) were plentiful and elegant. I

[1] We presume that the author refers to the siege or to the late campaigns.

[2] *Per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas Ostendunt.* (Virg., A. i. 204.)

[3] *Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva Nos patriam fugimus.* (Virg., A. i. 3.)

[4] Virg., Ec. i. 7.

1759. October. was at a loss, the first day, as every person was obliged to use his own knife and wine, there being only a spoon and a four-pronged fork laid with each napkin and plate; however, in the evening, my servant attended me with some excellent port, a goblet, knife and fork; the latter, being different from theirs', particularly the knife's being round, and not sharp-pointed, together with the superior strength of [173] my wine (which they by no means disliked) to their poor sour stuff,[1] afforded us a copious subject for agreeable conversation, with variety of opinions and remarks upon the different customs of countries. Each person here produces an ordinary clasped knife from his pocket, which serves him for every use;[2] and, when they have dined or supped, they wipe and return it: the one I had, before I was provided with my own, was lent me by the Frenchman who stood at my chair, and it gave my meat a strong flavour of tobacco, which, though it might have supplied the want of garlick to the owner, or his countrymen, was so exceedingly disgustful to me, that I was obliged to change my plate, and it was with difficulty I could eat any more: the hour for supper was between six and seven in the evening. As we dined so early, I gave myself no trouble about breakfast; but, after being there two or three days, one of the nuns delivered me a polite billet from Madame St. Claude,[3] the Mother-Abbess, requesting my company to partake of an English breakfast, as she called it; to which the bearer added, 'If you 'are ready, Sir, I will do myself the honour to shew you the 'way.' I instantly followed my conductress to a spacious apartment, where I found the Lady with several of the sisters em-

[1] This was probably native wine. From early times the nuns made excellent wine from currants and other small fruits.

[2] The nuns were not in the habit of using clasp knives, but they were unprepared for guests, and knives were probably scarce at this time.

[3] Mère Marie Charlotte de Ramezay de St. Claude de la Croix, eighth superioress of the General Hospital of Quebec, 1738–1741, and 1756–1759. She was daughter of Claude de Ramezay and Charlotte Denis, of Three Rivers, and sister of the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. She died November 15, 1767.

ployed at needle-work. A table was placed in the middle of the room, on which stood two large silver coffee-pots, one quart and one pint mug, a plentiful loaf of bread, a plate of butter, and a knife; on another plate lay five or six slices of bread, not less than an inch thick each, and half the circumference of the loaf, covered with a profusion of butter. Upon my entering, I paid my compliments to the oldest of the ladies (in which I happened to be right, she being the Governante) and then to the others; two chairs were immediately set to the table, and, Madame St. Claude desiring I would take my place, we both sat down. She then pointed to the coffee-pots, telling me one contained tea, the other milk; but, perceiving it was not to my taste, for the tea was black as ink, she assured me there was half a pint of [174] it in the pot, and it had been well boiled with the water; I told her it was rather too good for me, and that I should make a good repast of bread and milk. Hereupon, I was not a little incommoded with apologies; and I remember she observed, 'that they are not 'accustomed to such diet, for that they never drink tea, except, 'in cases of indisposition, to work off an emetic; when it is 'always boiled in water, to render it as strong as possible.'[1] Madame, with some concern, politely proposed to order in a pot of coffee, which I did not consent to; and she assured me it should have been prepared at first; but she had heard the English always preferred tea for breakfast. However, I fared exceedingly well upon the other provision that was made for me, and passed near two hours most agreeably, in the society of this ancient Lady and her virginal sisters.—My pen was very frequently employed in writing permits for the people of this hospital; when the weather permitted it, and I was not engaged, I usually walked in the garden with one or two French Officers, and, at other times, played at piquet with them. It was whilst on this command that I had an opportunity of viewing distinctly this edifice, church, and chapel, as already described; 1759. October.

[1] Tea is not a favourite beverage with the French Canadians even to-day.

1759. October. and, in this manner, much to my satisfaction, I spent the eight days allotted for this duty.

13th. The troops in garrison were mustered to-day, and four deserters arrived from the French army; they inform us, that an attempt is much talked of for the recovery of this fortress in the winter, but that, in general, such rumours are vague, and only thought to be propagated to keep the Canadians in spirits and their forces together; they add, that, possibly, the great distress of the enemy may, before the expiration of many months, drive them upon some desperate enterprise, or compel the militia to disperse, and the regulars to surrender.

18th. After a series of exceeding bad weather, such as tempestuous winds and almost incessant rain, it was, yesterday evening, more moderate, and the wind, shifting to the north-west, brought on a smart frost in [175] the night; to-day it is mild and pleasant. The small craft in the river have been much damaged by the late hard gales; the Admiral, with the remainder of the fleet in the bason, weighed anchor, saluted the garrison with twenty-one guns, which were returned by the like number from our batteries; and fell down to Coudre, in order to take the first favourable opportunity of returning to England; two sloops of war are to winter here with us, viz. the Racehorse of twenty guns, and the Porcupine of eighteen, commanded by Captain Miller and Captain M'Cartny.

19th. Our weather cold and seasonable. The reliefs for the detachments at the General Hospital and Beauport were ordered to march a few miles up the country, on the banks of the river Charles, in search of canoes, batteaus, or gun-carriages; they returned, in the afternoon, without making any discoveries, and took their respective guards. A general court-martial sat, this day, for the trial of a deserter.

20th. A Serjeant and two privates have been lately carried off, supposed to be by Indians, as two small parties of these rabble have been hanging about the villages of Beauport and St. Foy, for several days past. Some deserters are brought in, who

SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS, VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE

London: printed for Robt. Sayer. From the print in the Dominion Archives

report, that Monsieur De Levis declares he will oblige us to keep close within our walls, until the time he has appointed for action shall arrive, when he is determined to try, if he cannot recover Quebec by a *coup de main*.[1] 1759. October.

ORDERS.

"One Lieutenant-Colonel and Major are appointed as 21st.
"Field-Officers of the day. Three Captains are appointed for
"guard; one for a fatigue-party with arms, and two, for the
"like service, without arms. The troop to beat at nine o'clock
"for the future; two hundred men, who have been bred to
"work cannon, to parade at three o'clock this afternoon; those
"regiments, that cannot [176] give their proportions of such as
"have been accustomed to work at the ordnance, must com-
"plete their numbers by others, whom the artillery will teach;
"those men are to attend the train every morning at eight
"o'clock, until farther orders. Whereas three men have lately
"been taken by the enemy, in consequence of their stroling
"into the country: for the future, no soldier, or other person,
"are to pass out of the gates of the town, or be permitted to
"pass any of the guards, or centries, in the suburbs of the
"garrison, on any pretence whatsoever."

This day a Serjeant and eleven men, belonging to a guard in the low town, went into an adjoining cellar[2] in search of plunder, where, having lighted a candle, they threw the piece of burning paper they had used for that purpose on the ground, which instantly caught a quantity of powder, placed there accidentally or otherwise, and blew up; by this unhappy disaster four men were killed on the spot, and the rest were

[1] The French officers appear to have been less discreet than the English, as French deserters often brought in trustworthy information, whereas Montcalm declared that the information supplied by English deserters was worthless.

[2] Probably one of the vaults near the church of Notre Dame des Victoires.

1759. October. miserably scorched and disfigured. Private notice has been given to the troops to prepare for a review. High Mass was performed this day in the church of St. Ursula,[1] in commemoration of her birth; I went, with several other Officers, to see their ceremonies, where we saw all their finery and different vestments displayed, and were very agreeably entertained.

ORDERS.

22d. "The following regiments to be ready to-morrow on their "alarm-posts at eleven o'clock, and to march, when sent for, "to be reviewed upon the grand parade, viz. the fifteenth, "twenty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-third, and second battalion "of Royal Americans; the other five regiments are to take "the guards to-morrow, which will mount at eight o'clock. "Twenty-five men, who can row and manage boats, to be "given to Lieutenant Patishal,[2] one of the Fort-Adjutants, to "take care of the boats of the garrison; those men are to do "no other duty."

[177] The general court-martial is dissolved: a Captain-Lieutenant of the Royal Americans was tried, and honourably acquitted; a private soldier is condemned to die for desertion. The French or Spanish ships are expected down by the next tide; our centries are ordered to keep a good look-out for them, and a number of gunners are in readiness at the batteries opposite the south shore, at every tide of ebb. Our weather is very variable, one day excessively wet, and the next tolerably fair; the inhabitants say, that this summer and autumn have been uncommonly rainy.

[1] There was no church dedicated to St. Ursula. The author refers to the church of the Ursulines. The building had been damaged during the siege, but its restoration was complete on September 24.

[2] Lieutenant Robert Pateshall, appointed Lieutenant, 40th Regiment, February 1749; Captain-Lieutenant, same regiment, April 1761; Captain, same regiment, September 1761.

ORDERS.

"The honourable Brigadier-General Murray, being to 1759. October. 23d.
"remain in command of the corps,[1] is appointed to act as
"Governor, and Colonel Burton as Lieutenant-Governor, of
"the town of Quebec and its dependencies. The five
"following regiments to be ready on their alarm-posts to be
"reviewed to-morrow at eleven o'clock, if weather permits,
"viz. the forty-seventh, forty-eighth, fifty-eighth, third
"battalion of Royal Americans, and seventy-eighth. The
"Adjutants are desired to apply to the Assistant Quarter-
"Master-General for a proportion of thread, which was found
"in the French stores, to be distributed to the respective
"companies of the several corps, in order to repair and keep
"their cloaths whole."[2]

Our weather changed again to rain last night, and continued this day without intermission; the French cavalry came this morning into our neighbourhood, and carried off some prisoners, and a considerable number of black cattle belonging to the general hospital. The Governor has resolved to make severe reprisals for these outrages, and to oblige the enemy to keep at a greater distance from our environs.

[1] Murray seems to have been appointed Governor and Commander of the troops on October 12, 1759, as he refers to his appointment in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated on the 12th. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.) His appointment as Civil Governor was dated October 7, 1763.

[2] On October 8, Monckton in a despatch to Pitt stated that as he had found "a good many Shoes and coarse Cloth, in the Public Stores, I have taken upon me, to direct Brigadier Murray to distribute some of the Shoes and Cloth to make Waistcoats, to keep them [the soldiers] warm in the Winter, *as a Reward for the great Spirit, with which they went through the Campaign, and their Gallant Behaviour on the 13th of September.*" See note 1, p. 107.

If there was any thread left after patching their clothes, no doubt it was expended on the waistcoats. The rewards to the soldiers for their gallant behaviour up to this date appear to have been: a gill of rum; a hank of thread; a pair of shoes; a piece of cloth (coarse).

[178] ORDERS.

1759. October. 24th. "Two Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty-two Serjeants, and "a thousand rank and file, to parade for fatigue to-morrow "morning at day-break; the guards to parade to-morrow at "ten o'clock, and continue to do so until farther orders."

An Officer of the twenty-eighth regiment was buried yesterday.[1] General Monckton has reviewed all the troops. A sculking party of the enemy, supported by some light cavalry, attempted to force our post in the great redoubt on the north side of Charles's river,[2] but were soon repulsed by the detachment there, without any loss: one horse and rider were killed, on the part of the assailants; when the latter fell, his companions threw him a-cross another horse, and carried him off; it is conjectured they had several men wounded. A Subaltern and fifty privates, with Non-commissioned in proportion, were sent to reinforce that post; they marched out of port St. John, under the escort of a much larger command, who took a tour of some miles round by Sillery, and returned by Port St. Louis. In consequence of the repeated insults of the enemy, orders were this day sent to the several guards next the country to exert the greatest vigilance, and, if any number of men with arms should appear upon the heights, to shut the gates, and apprize the Commander in Chief without delay. Upon the robbery being committed by the enemy at the general hospital,[3] a message was sent to the Superior of the Jesuits, to assure him, if the cattle were not restored within a certain time, his society should be immediately banished the town, and not permitted to return, on pain of death; the result of which, and

[1] William Henry Fairfax, appointed Ensign of the 28th Regiment, November 22, 1757; died October 22, 1759.

[2] For position of redoubt, see plan in Appendix.

[3] Why the fathers should have been accused of robbing the convent is not made clear. On the 23rd the author says "the French cavalry came this morning into our neighbourhood and carried off some prisoners and a considerable number of black cattle belonging to the General Hospital." Possibly the "crafty fathers" were in league with the wicked cavalrymen.

a report made thereof by these crafty fathers to the French Commander, was, that the cattle were all safe returned this evening. One of our soldiers was found killed and scalped on Abraham's Plains: this murder is supposed to have been perpetrated yesterday;[1] it is said, that two Canadians of the conquered country [179] have shared the same fate with the other, but I do not take upon me to affirm it. The French ships are fallen down to Cape Rouge; it is expected they will attempt to repass the town this night, and, at the same time, as is currently reported, a diversion, by way of experiment, will be made, on two distinct quarters of our fortress, by some chosen corps under M. Levis and M. Bougainville: be that as it may, precautions are thought necessary; a large quantity of ammunition is issued out this afternoon to the troops, every soldier is ordered to lie in his cloaths and accoutrements, and an additional Captain's guard mounted at sun-set. 1759. October.

General Monckton went down the river and embarked, to proceed to New-York for the re-establishment of his health; he was saluted by the garrison. Major Irving, of the fifteenth regiment, is appointed to act as Quarter-Master-General in the room of Colonel Carleton: and the honourable Captain Maitland, of the forty-third regiment, to act as Adjutant-General in the room of Major Barrè, both having retired to the southward for the recovery of their wounds.[2] The Jesuits have received orders to depart the town, as soon as possible. 26th.

ORDERS.

"Orderly time for the future at eleven o'clock. One Cap- "tain, four Subalterns, eight Serjeants, two Drummers, and 28th.

[1] Evidently the Indians were still in the neighbourhood.

[2] "26th.—Brigadier Monckton, in the Fowey, the Orford and Medway, sailed from Hence, being the last ships to depart." (*Murray's Journal of Quebec: Canadian Archives*, M. 221. A copy of this journal was printed by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in its *Third Series of Historical Documents*, 1871.)

1759. October. "two hundred men, to parade, to-morrow morning, for "fatigue with arms; two Captains, six Subalterns, twelve "Serjeants, and six hundred rank and file, to parade, at the "same time, without arms, to remove stores and provisions; "and two Colonels, six Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, and six "hundred rank and file, to parade, at day-break to-morrow, "for fatigue without arms; (five Captains, sixteen Subalterns, "thirty Serjeants, and fourteen hundred rank and file, in all.) "—A sloop being arrived with eighteen casks of eels, at two "pounds ten shillings per cask, to be sold to the Officers of "the army; any Officers, who chuse to buy them, to send "their [180] names to the Adjutant-General this evening, "and the Governor will give orders for their being de-"livered."

The several corps of Officers are paying their compliments to the Governors. The method, we are told, by which the enemy propose to recover Quebec, is by setting it on fire with a shower of fire-arrows, and then to storm the place while we are in the confusion which the general conflagration, it is supposed, will occasion among us. We have opened several embrasures in the curtains of the walls looking to the country, and mounted guns on them, twelves and twenty-four pounders. The Jesuits' college being now evacuated, we are converting it into a magazine for provisions;[1] this gives great umbrage to the inhabitants. A deserter was shot to death on the grand parade, pursuant to the sentence of a general-court-martial. Our weather uncertain, generally wet; air raw and cold. The Canadians inform us, that the army under General Amherst are returned by lake Champlain to Crown Point for the winter,

[1] The Jesuits' College was the most substantial building in the town Mackellar in his report refers to it as a desirable place for the British to occupy Murray, under date of November 14, writes: "As I found no place so prope as the Jesuits College to lodge the provisions that the Fathers are but few in Number, and the Society being in General Remarkable for Intrigue, I acquainted them of the Necessity I was under, to take possession of the whole Building and gave them leave to Depart when they pleased." (*Journal.*)

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE JESUITS, SHOWING THE DESTRUCTION WROUGHT DURING THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC

From a drawing by Richard Short

and that they had not reached the isle au Noix; which was a great disappointment to Monsieur Bourlemacque, as he had lately received a large reinforcement. A barrier is erected on the outside of the strong angle near the hangman's redoubt,[1] which covers the lower road leading from Palace-gate through the suburb of St. Rocque, to the General Hospital, the river Charles, and the adjacent country; a house, conveniently situated without this barrier, is fortified to contain a detachment; as is also a smaller habitation on the inside for a Serjeant's guard; the former is on the north side of the road, and the other on the south. From these posts intirely round that quarter, we have extended a line of picquets with loop-holes for musketry, which are strengthened, at the extremities of the point, by block-houses; a chain of these timber fortresses are to be constructed on the heights, round the outside of the ramparts, at six or seven hundred yards distance, a-cross the isthmus:[2] these will effectually prevent any attempts of the enemy by surprise; yet, after all the additions we can make, in this way, it will still be an indifferent [181] fortification, and tenable only against light field artillery and musketry.—Some French uniforms, blankets, friezes, and flannels, found in the stores, are delivered to the soldiers gratis; likewise fifty hogsheads of sour claret and a quantity of coarse salt to the *Officers* .[3] The Governor, by a placart published this day, permits such of the inhabitants

1759. October.

[1] See plan in Appendix.

[2] See plan in Appendix.

[*] Two bushels of this salt, with a sixth of a hogshead of wine, fell to my lot; these, with the eels we lately bought, being better suited to the palates of Frenchmen than Britons, we bartered with the country-people for beavers, hares, mutton, and other fresh provisions, which were very difficult to be acquired.—*Note by author.*

[3] "29th.—As the Inhabitants, among other Articles, were in great want of Salt and would prefer Exchanging Cattle, Sheep, Fowls and Greens for that to Ready species, I thought it a proper Indulgence to the Officers, who had chearfully gone through so much Fatigue, to divide among them according to their Ranks, a Quantity which had been found in the King of France's Stores." (*Murray's Journal.*)

1759. October. as cannot afford to live in town to retire to the country, with their effects, for the winter.[1]

29th. Three Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty Serjeants, and eight hundred rank and file, some with, and others without arms, are ordered for fatigue to-morrow. His Excellency has appointed Lieutenant Warburton,[2] of the 58th regiment, to do the duty of Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master-General, in the room of Captain Matthew Leslie, who has resigned.

The effective strength of the army in this garrison will appear from the following return[3]:

October 29, 1768 [*sic*].

Regiments.	Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Quarter Masters.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Fifers.	Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks.
15th .	1	1	3	16	8	1	1	1	1	1	33	14	2	455	
28th .	1	1	4	9	8	0	1	1	1	1	25	18	2	536	
35th .	0	1	7	15	8	0	1	1	2	1	39	16	2	728	
43d .	1	1	7	10	7	1	1	1	1	1	29	18	2	585	
47th .	0	1	2	15	8	1	1	1	1	1	38	17	2	538	
48th .	1	0	5	10	7	1	1	1	2	0	28	16	2	802	
58th .	0	1	3	9	8	0	0	1	1	1	26	16	2	508	
2d Battal. R. Amer.	0	0	4	12	6	0	1	1	1	1	31	14	2	465	
3d Ditto.	1	0	6	16	7	0	1	1	2	1	34	16	2	540	
78th .	1	0	7	24	12	1	1	1	2	1	50	25	4	978	
Rangers.	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	100	
Royal Artillery	0	1	2	9	0	0	1	1	0	1	6	6	0	195	
Total .	6	7	51	147	79	5	10	11	14	10	343	178	22	6430	7313

[182] Our weather very tempestuous, with constant rain. The citizens, particularly the females, reproach M. Vaudreuil, upon

[1] "30th.—To Facilitate and at the same time quicken such of the Inhabitants as wanted to Retire to the country, I gave them leave for so many days to go out without passports, with all their Clothes and Household Goods, Stores excepted, as these were Immediately Necessary for the Garrison; and tho' this order was not strictly according to the Capitulation, yet was it according to the old Maxim, Necessity has no law." (*Murray's Journal.*)

[2] John Warburton, appointed Ensign of the 58th Regiment, January 2, 1756; Lieutenant, March 15, 1759; Captain, September 30, 1763.

every occasion; and, after giving full scope to their bitter invectives, they conclude with imprecating, 'that he may be 'brought to as miserable and barbarous an exit as ever an 'Euporean [*sic*] suffered under savages.'[1] At these seasons I have frequently interrupted them, by throwing in, 'Or as ever 'an Englishman suffered under savages by his orders;' to which, in their rage, they always assented; yet, when these passions subsided, they never would admit that the barbarians had perpetrated their cruelties, at any time, on our people, by authority 1759. October.

[3] The following statement summarises the monthly return signed by Brigadier-General Murray, October 24, 1759:

General and Staff Officers		11
Engineers		8
Regiments of the Line and Rangers:		
Officers Present—		
Lieutenant-Colonels	6	
Majors	6	
Captains	51	
Lieutenants	146	
Ensigns	82	
Chaplains	5	
Adjutants	9	
Quartermasters	8	
Surgeons	9	
Mates	14	
		336
Sergeants	345	
Drummers	188	
		533
Rank and File—		
Fit for duty	4873	
Sick present	1172	
Sick in hospital	204	
Absent sick and on duty	1207	
On furlough	30	
		7486
Artillery—		
Effectives present	150	
Sick present	54	
		204

There were present in addition 25 carpenters from Massachusetts. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

[1] The poor women of New France at this time had ample grounds for complaint. While their husbands and sons were employed in military service, all the work of the farm fell to their share. Even in time of peace Vaudreuil made a weak governor. At a crisis he was helpless.

1759. October. from either Vaudreuil, Montcalm, or others;[1] of the falsity of this, however, we have too many undeniable proofs. A soldier of the twenty-eighth regiment, who has been missing for some time, was yesterday discovered, in the coppice to the westward of the general hospital, killed and scalped; one of his arms was cut off; his bowels were taken out and cut into shreds almost innumerable, with a long skewer thrust through his upper lip, nostrils, and the crown of his head; the blood-hounds carried away his heart.

31st. Our weather is changed to frost and sleet: the like detachments employed these two days on duties of fatigue as on the 29th; a French frigate came down under Spanish colours; we gave her three guns, two of which passed through her hull, and obliged her to strike; a detachment was immediately sent on board, and her crew ordered into confinement.[2]

Nov. 2d. Three Captains, ten Subalterns, twenty Serjeants, and eight hundred rank and file, with and without arms, for fatigue, as before. A detachment of a Major, two Captains, six Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, four Drummers, with two hundred rank and file, their arms in good condition, and ammunition completed to *forty rounds* per man, are under orders of readiness to march, at a moment's warning.

[1] The Indians were undesirable allies. Neither the French nor the English could exercise effective control over them.

[2] From the correspondence of General Murray we learn that the captain of the ship had reported that his vessel had sprung a leak, and that he could not proceed until repairs had been made. Murray thought of retaining the vessel as a prize, but, finding that there were forty hands on board and no provisions, he decided to release her, as he had scarcely enough food for the garrison. He refers to the matter in his *Journal* under the date of the 5th, as follows:

"This day the Spanish Ship, as she was laying ashore to find out the leak, fell to pieces, the Captain and several French Merchants, to whom I had given leave to take their passage in Her to France, applied for leave to procure one of the French Merchant Men who lay above in the River, which I Readily Granted; as I know from Experience it was always in their power to pass in the Night; that the Ships might obstruct our operations in the Summer; and that it was Removing so many hands, I must otherwise subsist upon account of the Friendship subsisting between the two Crowns, tho' I could not well spare the provisions."

[183] The following spirited manifesto was published, in the beginning of this month; the copy that fell into my hands had no precise date; but, as it seems to be prior to our winter operations, it may be seasonable to insert it in this place: 1759. Nov.

'Par Monseigneur Jaques Murray, Brigadier-General, Com-
'mandant en Chef les Troupes de sa Majeste Brittannique
'dans la Riviere de St. Laurent, Gouverneur-General de
'Quebec, et du Païs conquis, &c. &c.

'Après une campagne rude et penible, nous ne peusions
'qu'a donner du repos aux troupes, et laisser respirer les peuples
'en tranquilité, après les malheurs qu'ils ont essuyés durant le
'cours de cette année, marquée par tant d'evenements grands
'et decisifs; mais, malgrè les intentions si humaines, je me vois
'rappellé en campagne, par la fidelité que je dois a mon Prince,
'et pour proteger les peuples soumis à ses armes. Par quel
'droit Monsieur de Vaudreuil peut il donner des ordres à des
'gens qu'il a abandonnés à leurs mauvaise fortune? Quel tour
'peut il donner aux ordres injustes et cruels donnés aux
'sauvages de courir sus et detruire les Canadiens ainsi aban-
'donnés, et ce, après une suite d'injustices et de violences, pour
'mettre le dernier comble a leurs malheurs? Comme les
'Generaux des ennemis ont jugé à propòs de lever des contri-
'butions sur les paroisses que nous sont soumises, les loix de la
'guerre et de la justice m'obligent d'user de représailles sur
'celles d'en haut; en cela, comme pour l'avenir, leur conduite
'reglera toujours la mienne. Il seroit heureux pour les
'Canadiens, que, moins soigneux de leur gloire, ils sougeassent
'uniquement au bien de l'état; les courses sur les Canadiens
'seront reprimées; l'habitent jouiroit du repos; ouvrez les yeux
'sur vos propres interêts: toute communication avec l'ocean
'étant bouchée, sans espoir, sans ressource, avec un grand corps
'des troupes aguerries dans le sein du païs, un autre à ses
'portes, presque tous les postes [184] d'enhaut emportés ou

1759. Nov. 'abandonnés : nous vous exhortons avec empressement d'avoir 'recours à un peuple libre, sage, genereux, prèt a vous tendre 'les bras à vous affranchir d'un despotism vigoreux, et à vous 'faire partager avec eux les douçours d'une gouvernment juste, 'moderé, et equitable :—que si vous ne profites de cette avis, 'vous avez à attendre le traitement le plus severe, qui puisse 'être permis, par le droit de la guerre.—Les manifestes des 'Generaux Wolfe et Monckton ont respirés les sentiments le 'plus doux et le plus humains; leurs menaces aussi étoient 'justes. Ces menaces jusques ici n'ont pas été executées, parce 'qu'on sçavoit combien l'on s'étoit attaché à faire accroire aux 'Canadiens, que les Anglois étoient des gens sans foi et sans 'humanité; à présent ils doivent sentir combien on leur en a 'imposée :—notre conduite envers ceux de leurs compatriottes 'qui nous sont soumises met ce fait en evidence.—Ainsi comme 'il n'y aura plus d'excuse pour les Canadiens, si jamais ils 'prennent la partie d'avoir recours aux armes, ils doivent, dans 'ce cas, s'attendre à toutes les rigeurs qui peuvent être exercés 'par une armée victorieuse et justement irritée; le blame en 'retombera sur eux mêmes, une telle conduite sera dictée par la 'nature humaine, et les loix des nations et de la guerre la justi-'fiera pleinement. Fait à Québec, et scellé du sceau de nos 'armes, ce Novembre, 1759.

'Par Monseigneur, &c. CRAMAKE.[1]

'JACQUES MURRAY.'

There being many readers who are not conversant in the French language, I shall here annex a translation of this sensible and seasonable placart.

[185] 'By the Honourable James Murray, Brigadier-General, 'Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Troops in

[1] Cramahé : see note, vol. i. p. 346.

'the River St. Laurence, Governor-General of Quebec, and of 1759. Nov.
'the conquered Country, &c. &c.

'In consequence of a most severe and painful campaign, 'we thought of nothing else but to repose our troops, and to 'let the people breathe in tranquillity, after the misfortunes 'they have suffered in the course of this year, marked with so 'many grand and decisive events; but, notwithstanding such 'our humane intentions, I see myself, through that fidelity 'which I owe to my King, and for the protection of the people 'submitted to his arms, again called into the field. By what 'authority can Mr. Vaudreuil issue out his commands to the 'people whom he has abandoned to their distresses? What 'reason can he assign for the unjust and cruel orders he has 'given to the savages to fall upon and destroy the Canadians 'thus deserted, and this, after a series of injustice and violence, 'to put the finishing stroke to their misfortunes? As the 'Generals of the enemy have thought proper to raise contri- 'butions on the parishes that are submitted to us, the laws of 'war and of justice oblige me to make reprisals on those of the 'upper country; in such cases, for the future, their conduct 'shall always regulate mine. It will be happy for the Canadians, 'if, less solicitous for glory, they think of nothing but the 'good of the state; the incursions of the enemy against them 'shall be restrained; the inhabitants shall enjoy quietness; open 'your eyes to your own interests; all communications with the 'ocean being stopped up, without hope, without resource, with 'an army of experienced veterans in the heart of your country, 'another at its gates, almost all your frontier barriers snatched 'from you, or abandoned![1] We ardently exhort you to have 'recourse to a free people, wise, generous, ready to embrace 'you, to free you from a severe despotism, and to make you

[1] The Canadians were in an unenviable position. If they took up arms they were threatened by the British, while Vaudreuil on the other hand used every endeavour and threat to enlist them in the cause of France.

1759. Nov. 'partake of the blessings of a moderate [186] and most upright 'government,—but, if you will not profit by this advice, you 'must expect the most rigorous treatment, consistent with the 'laws of war. The manifestoes of the Generals Wolfe and 'Monckton have breathed the most gentle and humane senti- 'ments; their menaces were equally suitable. These menaces 'have not been hitherto executed, because it is well known to 'us, that no pains have been spared to inculcate in the minds 'of the Canadians, that the British are a people equally void of 'faith and humanity; now they must perceive, how grossly 'they have been imposed on, and our behaviour to their 'countrymen who have submitted to us clearly demonstrates it. '—Seeing therefore the Canadians have no farther excuse, if 'ever they shall presume to have recourse to arms, they must, 'in that case, expect all the horrors that can be inflicted by a 'victorious and justly inraged army; the blame will then revert 'upon themselves; human nature will warrant such a pro- 'cedure, and the laws of nations and of war will sufficiently 'justify it. Given at Quebec, and sealed with the seal of our 'arms, this — day of November, 1759.

'By his Excellency's command, CRAMAKE,

'JAMES MURRAY.'[1]

[1] At this time Murray appears to have made a rough division of the province into counties as follows:

"A Sketch of the Counties in the Province of Quebec on each side of the River St. Laurence.

North side of the River.

1. County from St. Johns, the Easterly Bounds, to the Province of 7 Islands, Swanton County.
2. From thence to the Bay of St. Nicholas or English Harbor.
3. From thence to the Island of Jeremy, Bedford County.
4. From thence to Tadusac, Hallifax County.
5. From thence to Cape Goose.
6. From thence to Cape Torment.
7. From thence to Mount Morancy, including Island of Orleans, Townshend County.

ORDERS.

"The like detachments, for fatigue, with and without 1759. Nov. 3d.
"arms, as usual. The Governor desires the Commanding
"Officers of regiments will not allow the blankets that were
"delivered out to be cut up, until farther orders. Whereas the
"ship that was expected with money to pay the army has not
"arrived, and it is now too late to hope for it until the spring: [1]
"it is ordered that the men of every corps in the garrison be

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8. From thence to Port Neuf, Wolfe's County.
9. From thence to St. Maurice River, King's County.
10. From thence to Datra River, Bute County.
11. From thence to the entrance of Ottowa River, takeing in the Islands of Montreal, Jesus, Perrot, &c., Murray County.
12. From thence to the uper part of the Colony, Egmont County.
13. One County left between Ottowa River and the River St. Lawrence, Amherst's County.

South side of the River.

1. County from Cape Gaspé to Magdelain River, Dean County.
2. From thence to Cape Catt, Greenville County.
3. From thence to Point des Peres, Elliot County.
4. From thence to Green Island River, Hillsbourough County.
5. From thence to River Owell, Lennox County.
6. From thence to south River, Saunders County.
7. From thence to Cheaudier, Monckton's County.
8. From thence to Little Duchene, Queen's County.
9. From thence to Godfrey River, Elibank County.
10. From thence to Sorel River, Richmond County.
11. From thence to the Fauls of St. Lewis, Loudoun County.
12. From thence the Ceader Fauls, Eglington County.
13. From thence to the uper part of the Colony, Mansfeild County."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D.)

[1] When Wolfe arrived at Quebec there was not a single farthing in the military chest, and he had not even the means to buy kettles for the troops. (See Wolfe to Amherst, May 1, 1759: *Siege of Quebec*, vol. vi. p. 52; Wolfe to Pitt, June 6, 1759: Wright's *Life of Wolfe*, p. 503.)

Some of the friends of the officers apparently sent out a sum which was distributed amongst the men. In October, Amherst sent Murray nearly £20,000, and the officers of the navy collected about £3000 and handed it to Monckton for the use of the garrison. This appears to have been all the money received until the following spring.

1759. Nov. "accounted with, agreeable to the orders of his Excellency the "Commander in Chief; and that the balances due to the "soldiers be regularly credited, [187] and carried on, until "there is an opportunity of clearing them; which the Governor "promises shall be done, the instant that money arrives from "the Paymaster-General. The Officers of port-guards have "orders to pass all salt which is certified by an Officer that he "has given it, in exchange for provisions; one of the reasons "for the General's ordering salt not to pass out was only "meant, that the country-people might not be supplied by "any but by the Officers."

The wind has veered to the south-east, which brought on a violent storm accompanied with rain. A citizen of property and credit, being arrested upon a strong suspicion of corresponding with the enemy, was threatened, if he did not make discoveries relative to another (suspected) person, he should receive an hundred lashes, and be drummed out of the garrison, with a halter about his neck; for this purpose the poor man was brought to the grand parade at guard-mounting, where two intercepted letters, directed to himself, were produced to confront him. However, he expressed such astonishment at the epistles and their contents, with so much candour; and affirmed his innocence, with so great energy and openness of countenance; that Colonel Young (the Field-Officer of the day) generously and judiciously took upon him to remit the punishment, until he should confer with the Governor:— when the Frenchman was ordered to put on his cloaths again (for he had been stripped) he protested, 'that, if any man 'could prove he ever acted derogatory to strict probity and 'good faith, since we became masters of Quebec, he would con-'tentedly submit to the most ignominious punishment that the 'British could inflict upon him!' We are likely to be much distressed for fire-wood this winter, being at present obliged to shift with what can be procured from old fences and demolished houses; but, the soldiers having abused this

indulgence, we are forbidden to collect any more from the ruined habitations; so that it is not improbable but we shall be driven to the necessity of providing ourselves here, in the same manner as when we wintered [188] in Nova Scotia. The following regulations, though (necessarily) prolix, are too interesting, not to be inserted intire in this work. 1759. Nov.

Standing ORDERS for the Garrison of Quebec.

"The troop to beat at eight o'clock in the morning; the 4th.[1] "men for guard to assemble, on their respective regimental "parades, at half an hour after, and march from thence to the "grand parade, attended by the Adjutants, who will be answer- "able that every man is properly dressed and accoutred, his "arms in good order, with thirty-six rounds of complete cart- "ridges; and in the front[2] a pair of creepers[3]: to save the great "expence of paper by loading with cartridges, the men are to "load, before they come to the grand parade, from powder- "horns.—Evening-gun to fire half an hour before sun-set; the "Drummers of every guard will then beat a retreat; the gates "to be shut a little after sun-set; the reveillé to beat half an "hour before day-light; each regiment to mount a regimental "guard of one Subaltern, one Serjeant, Corporal, Drummer, and "twenty men, from which patroles are to go, every hour in the "night, through the districts of their regiments; as this guard "is not to turn out to any person, the Officer may do the "orderly duty in the regiment, if the Commanding Officer "thinks proper. In case of an alarm of the approach of an

[1] Under date of the 4th, Murray wrote: "Ordered out a Captain and 200 men to Destroy the Works of the Enemy along the North shore of the River, from the petite Rivière to the Sault de Montmorenci. Distributed also sixty-one Hogsheads of Wine, which had been found in the King of France's Stores, to the Officers of the Garrison." (*Journal.*)

[2] "frost": see Errata.

[3] It is probable that these "creepers" were strips of leather with short spikes which were strapped to the boots to prevent slipping. The soldiers had great difficulty in descending Mountain Hill, and upon one occasion a whole company sat upon the ground and slid down.

1756. Nov. "enemy, the signal for which will be—*three guns fired from the* "*grand parade, three from the ramparts towards the country, and* "*three from the low town;* the regiments are to assemble im- "mediately at their alarm-posts, and to send instantly an "Officer to the Governor's house for orders. The Officers "and soldiers of the artillery, and the soldiers of the different "corps appointed to assist them, are directly to repair to the "batteries assigned them, until everything is quiet. The regi- "mental guards are to send constant patroles through their "respective districts, and to make prisoners any inhabitants, "men or women, they find in the streets; all soldiers, straggling "from [189] their posts on this occasion, are likewise to be "seized, and the houses, wherein any extraordinary noise is "heard, are to be examined; to execute this properly, it will "be necessary to reinforce those guards with a Serjeant and "eighteen men. The alarm for fire will be—*the drums beating* "*to arms;* it will begin by the Drummers of the regiment in "whose district it happens, and is therefore left to the judg- "ment of the Officer commanding that corps, whether, or not, "it will be requisite to alarm the whole garrison; if it should, "the troops are to observe the orders given for the alarm of "the approach of an enemy, with this difference, that fifty "men, with Officers in proportion, from each regiment, are "immediately, with buckets and engines belonging to that "corps, to march to the fire without their arms, and the "Governor will be present on the spot to issue his orders; "buckets, in case of fire, to be kept at the regimental guards. "The alarm-posts of the several regiments as follows:

"The fifteenth, between Port Lewis and the Ursuline "bastion.[1]

"The twenty-eighth, five companies Palace-street,[2] and "five ditto John-street.

[1] For position of the bastions, see plan in Appendix.

[2] Palace Street leads from St. John Street to the Lower Town.

"The thirty-fifth, six companies between the Bishop's 1759. Nov.
"palace and the battery-guard; and four ditto at the two-gun
"battery between the late Montcalm's house[1] and Palace-gate.

"The forty-third, in the square before the Jesuits' college.

"The forty-seventh, in the street where Major Hussey,
"their commanding Officer, quarters.

"The forty-eighth, at the head of their own colours,—the
"Intendant's palace.

"The fifty-eighth, between their own barracks and Palace-
"gate.

"The second battalion of the sixtieth, in the hollow
"between the ——[2] bastion and Port St. Lewis.

"The third battalion of the sixtieth, six companies by the
"barrier and the naval offices, and four ditto by the barrier
"towards the Anse de Mer.[3]

[190] "The seventy-eighth, six companies on the grand
"parade, and eight between the old citadel and magazine-
"guard.

"Every regiment to be kept completely to *thirty-six rounds*
"of good cartridges, and *three good flints* per man. The rolls
"to be called every morning at troop-beating, and every
"evening at gun-firing, in the presence of an Officer, who
"will read to the men all orders relating to them. No
"soldier is to be allowed to intermarry with the inhabitants,
"nor are they to work for them. No soldier to go on board
"any ships, nor into boats, without a pass from the Governor.
"No Officer or soldier to lie out of the districts of their
"regiments or corps, without the Governor's particular leave.
"No soldier to have port-liberty without a pass from the
"Governor, for which they are to apply to their Commanding
"Officers. All soldiers off duty to wear their side arms, and,

[1] Montcalm's House now bears the name of "Candiac." It is situated on the ramparts, near the Archbishop's Palace. Candiac, near Nimes, France, was the birthplace of Montcalm.

[2] Bastion St. Louis.

[3] This barrier was on Little Champlain Street at the foot of Cape Diamond.

1759. Nov. "when any of them go out of the ports, they are to leave "them at the guard till they return; as no man will be "allowed to stir from their guards, they are to take with them "whatever they may want, for the time they may be upon "guard. No soldier to be out of his quarters, after tattoo-"beating; every regiment and corps to pick out men who "understand French, to send orderly upon their sick at the "hospitals. The water * of this town being unwholesome, it is "recommended to use the river water, which, from long experi-"ence, is found by much the best. The great difficulty of "procuring wood, which must be attended with considerable "fatigue to the troops, makes it necessary to be particularly "saving of that article; stoves will contribute thereto; as many "therefore as possible must be collected, and put up in the "mens' quarters. The walls of the houses, which are in danger "of tumbling down, [191] are to be thrown in, to prevent "accidents; Commanding Officers are to take care that this is "done in their respective districts. As it is ordered that no "persons shall suttle in the district of any corps, without the "licence of the Officer commanding that corps, it is expected "they will be answerable for the conduct of their respective "sutlers: no sutler, or person keeping a public-house, to sell "any liquor before troop-beating, or after tattoo, on pain of "losing their licence, and being severely punished. As much "rum as is consistent with the health of the troops will be "issued daily; therefore no person is to presume to sell spirits. "Any person, detected in buying necessaries from soldiers or "sailors in his Majesty's service, shall not only incur the penalty "expressed by the act of parliament, but be also liable to "corporal punishment, and never more be allowed to follow the "army. The French inhabitants are ordered to put out their

* There are several spring-wells in different parts of the upper and lower town; and a report prevailed, that, before Quebec surrendered, the enemy had poisoned or corrupted the waters, by throwing a number of dead dogs and cats into them. I think the inhabitants did not use those wells, which makes it suspicious.—*Note by author.*

"lights at ten o'clock at night, and to report to the Governor 1759. Nov.
"all strangers who lodge in their houses; they are not allowed
"to have arms or ammunition, nor to hold or have any extra-
"ordinary meetings. It is the duty of every British subject to
"inform the Governor of every thing that happens derogatory
"to those orders, and every other circumstance they may dis-
"cover, inconsistent with the good of his Majesty's service and
"the prosperity of the nation: if it is required and necessary,
"the informers shall not only be concealed, but rewarded hand-
"somely, in proportion to the importance of the intelligence.
"No French inhabitants to be allowed to work upon the
"batteries or ramparts at any time, nor are they to be in the
"streets, after it is dark, without a lanthorn; after tattoo-
"beating all French inhabitants, found in the streets, are to
"be made prisoners; and, notwithstanding the proclamations
"issued to the citizens, inforcing these orders, the Commanding
"Officers of corps will direct their Quarter-Masters to repeat
"them in their respective districts, that none may plead ignor-
"ance. As the regiments will have a number of creepers, snow-
"shoes or rackets, and mogosans delivered to them,[1] [192] they
"will take care to keep them properly fitted, that they may be
"come at for use on the shortest notice; the snow-shoes to be
"kept hung up, to prevent the rats and mice from eating them.
"Each regiment will likewise have a number of snow-shovels, to
"clear away within their own districts, and to keep open com-
"munications. All chimnies are to be swept once a fortnight.
"The Quarter-Masters to attend the magazines, when the
"regiments are served with provisions or wood; and to march
"their men regularly to and from thence. The French in-
"habitants of Quebec by the capitulation being intitled to the
"possession of their effects, and his Majesty's proclamation for
"the free exercise of their religion,[2] it is determined to punish

[1] These articles were found in the magazine in the Lower Town.

[2] The free exercise of their religion was assured to the French under the terms of the capitulation, but there could not have been any proclamation on

1759. Nov. "all robbing and plundering, or insult offered to their persons, "in an exemplary manner; and, when any of their processions "are made in the public streets, *it is ordered that the Officers pay "them the compliment of the 'hat*,[1] because it is a civility due to the "people who have chosen to live under the protection of our "*laws* * *; should this piece of ceremony be repugnant to the consciences "of any one, they must retire, when the procession approaches.*—As "the honour of the nation and this army is concerned in a strict "discipline being kept up, all officers are to take notice of every "disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, they may observe "in the men of any regiment. It is hoped this garrison will "consider themselves as one corps, zealously and unanimously "in promoting his Majesty's service, and preserving that "reputation which they have so justly acquired.

"N.B. *These orders to be read to the men once a month.*"

[193] Second Standing ORDERS for the Garrison and Guards of QUEBEC†.

"The relieving Officer to draw up his men opposite to the "old guard, and in the same order, either three deep, or in a "rank intire: when he has made his guard rest, the Officers

the subject at this date signed by the King. The despatch announcing the fall of Quebec was sent September 21, and reached England October 17. Even if a proclamation had been signed on the same day it could not have reached Quebec by November 4. Monckton or Murray may have made an announcement, or issued a proclamation, although we have not met with one on the subject. No proclamation seems to have been necessary. The right was unquestionable at that time.

[1] This act on the part of the British was much appreciated by the people of Quebec.

* This is conformable to an order in the like case, which was published, by his Royal Highness (of glorious memory) William Duke of Cumberland, to the army in Flanders.—*Note by author.*

† These regulations were not issued out until the 14th instant; but to prevent their interfering with other matters, I think it not improper to annex them to those of the 4th, to which they may be supposed to form a supplement. —*Note by author.*

"advance towards one another, paying the compliment of the 1759. Nov.
"hat; and the Officer of the old guard tells him what number
"of centries are posted, their orders, &c. &c. and delivers him
"a report of the guard with all orders, &c. The Serjeant and
"Drummers of the old guard, at the same time, deliver their
"orders to those of the new guard; after which both guards
"shoulder, and the corporals of the new guard number off their
"men, and draw out their number of centries to be posted.
"The Serjeants of each guard to see that the guard-rooms,
"and utensils in charge of the guard, are clean and in good
"order; the Drummers are to examine those of the Officers,
"and be answerable for them. If any thing about the guard-
"room is broke or lost, or any thing under charge of the guard
"broke or spoiled, such as gates of the town, centry-boxes,
"picketing, fascine-work, &c. &c. it is immediately to be
"reported to the Town-Major, otherwise the Officer will be
"obliged, at his own expence, to repair those damages. The
"relieving Officer is to examine every thing he is charged with,
"particularly prisoners, who are always to be seen. As soon as
"the old guard marches off, the new guard is to be drawn up
"on the ground vacated by the old guard, and either ground or
"lodge their arms, as the weather permits: after which he is to
"order a Serjeant to make out a roll of the guard, with the
"names and numbers of the men, distinguishing their regiments.
"If the Governor, or any person intitled to [194] compliments,
"should pass by the guard, during the relief, the oldest Officer
"is to give the word of command to both the guards. All
"guards to turn out to the Governor, as often as he passes; but
"only to pay him the compliment due to his rank in the army *,
"viz. rested arms and one ruffle. All the guards to turn out to
"the Lieutenant-Governor, with rested arms, as often as he
"passes; to the Colonel of the day, as often as he passes; the
"first time with rested arms; always after, with shouldered

* See Mr. Bland's incomparable treatise of Military Discipline, chap. xivth, article 4th, page 199.—*Note by author.*

1759. Nov. " arms; to the Major of the day with shouldered arms, as often " as he passes; to the Town-Major with shouldered arms, as " often as he visits them; the Town-Adjutants may require any " guards to turn out, in the day-time, to have the rolls called; " and, in the night, the Town-Adjutants may go the rounds, to " be received in the same manner as the Town-Major. The " rolls to be frequently called, once between every relief, and " oftener, if necessary; centries to be relieved every two hours, " till the weather sets in severe; then they must be relieved " every hour; and this is to be mentioned in the reports. The " men of every relief to be seen and examined by the Officer or " Serjeant of the guard, that they are sober and fit for duty; " the corporal of every relief and patrole to report, when he " returns to the guard, how he found every thing; patroles to " be sent between every relief, who are to visit all the centries. " No centry is ever to sit down on his post, or quit his arms, " whistle, sing, or smoke tobacco, &c. and to allow no noise or " riot near his post. Centries posted upon prisoners not to " suffer any thing to be carried in to them, till it is examined " by the Serjeant or Corporal of the guard; and, on no account, " to allow liquor to be carried in to them; all centries to rest " to the Field-Officers of the garrison, and, in the night, to " all rounds, patroles, and parties with arms; all centries to " challenge, after it is dark: those on the ramparts only, and " without the gates, to demand [195] the countersign. Centries " at the ports and avenues of the town to suffer no soldier to " pass them, in the day, without a pass signed by the Governor; " and, after dark, no person whatever pass through the wickets, " without orders from the Officer of the guard; centries upon " the ramparts and batteries to suffer none but British Officers " and soldiers to walk there in the day-time; in the night, only " patroles, rounds, and reliefs. If a centry is taken ill, or the " cold is so great that he cannot support himself under it, he is " to pass the word from centry to centry, till it reaches the " guard, that he may be relieved. All centries, except those at

" the guard-room doors, when they challenge, and are answered, 1759. Nov.
" *Rounds or Patroles*, are to reply,—*Pass, Rounds or Patroles.* If a
" centry, rounds, or patroles, should discover any body of troops
" from the ramparts, or any noise like that of an enemy
" approaching, the guard must be got under arms. Officers
" commanding port-guards are to send all stragglers and sus-
" pected persons to the Governor to be examined; they are to
" take an account of all carts coming into town with provisions,
" that they may be allowed to return to the country, provided
" they carry nothing contrary to orders; all carts to be searched
" going out, or coming into town; and whatever may be of
" service to the enemy is to be stopped. Arms, ammunition,
" and tools of all sorts, are, on no account, to be carried out
" of town; provisions, shoes, stockings, and such-like things,
" are to be stopped at the guard, the people detained, and a
" report made immediately. No carriages are ever to be
" allowed to stop in the gate-way, or any concourse of people,
" men or women, near a guard. All guards to be under arms
" at retreat-beating, and their arms and ammunition examined;
" every guard to clear the ramparts of snow within their own
" centries, to preserve the communication. In case of an
" alarm, or any thing considerable in town, the guards are all
" to be kept under arms, and the gates shut: all guards to take
" [196] prisoners French inhabitants who are in the streets, after
" it is dark, without a lanthorn; likewise all soldiers out of their
" quarters after tattoo. At gun-firing, every night, the port-
" guards are to send a Serjeant and four men each to the main-
" guard for the keys; as soon as the centries at the ports see
" the Serjeant coming with the keys, they are to acquaint the
" guard, which is immediately to get under arms, under the
" arch of the port, drawn up in two ranks facing one another,
" that the keys may pass between them; when they arrive,
" the Officer is to order his men to rest their firelocks, and
" the Drummers to beat a march, while the gates are locking
" and unlocking: the Officers of the port-guards are them-

1759. [Nov.] "selves to see the gates locked; which done, the keys are to "be sent back to the main-guard by the Serjeant and escort "who brought them, the Serjeant whereof is to remain for the "countersign. The reveillé to beat a little before day-break, "taking it from the main-guard; when all guards are to be "under arms, and to continue so until it is broad day-light. "At the reveillé a Serjeant and four men from each port-guard "to be at the main-guard for the keys, which the guards are to "receive, drawn up in the same manner; and the gates are to "be opened with the same ceremony as they were shut, with "this difference, that a patrole be always sent out to recon- "noitre all the suburbs, and return, before the gates are "opened. The Drummers of the port-guards are to beat the "reveillé and retreat upon the ramparts. The Officers of the "old guards are, upon hearing the drums of the new guard, to "order their men to stand to their arms; when they come in "sight, they are to make them shoulder; and, when they come "very near, the Officer of the old guard orders his men to rest "their firelocks; upon which the drums beat a march. After "the Officer of the old guard has delivered his report, and ac- "quainted the relieving Officer with his charge, his number of "centries, patroles, &c. &c. he is to [197] order his men to "shoulder; the new guard to do the same, until the centries "are relieved: then the Officer of the old guard orders his men "to rest their firelocks, and club, and form their ranks to the "right or left, the Drummer beating the troop, which is a signal "for the new guard to rest, and his drum to beat a march. "Officers commanding guards to dismiss them, when they have "trooped them about one hundred yards from their guard- "rooms, except the main-guard, which must return to, and "draw up on, the grand parade, there to be dismissed.—The "manner of receiving rounds as follows:—as soon as the "centry at the guard-room door hears the rounds coming, he "is immediately to acquaint the guard; when they come "within about twenty paces, he is to challenge boldly, and

" they to answer *Rounds:* he then calls out,—*Stand, rounds*— 1759. Nov.
" *Serjeant, turn out the guard;* after which he is not to suffer
" the rounds to advance, till ordered by his Officer; as soon
" as the guard is turned out, the Officer is to send a Serjeant
" and four men to receive the rounds: when they get within
" six or eight paces, the Serjeant is to challenge briskly—*Who*
" *comes there?* They answer, *Rounds;* the Serjeant again
" challenges—*What Rounds?* and, if he is answered,—*Town-*
" *major's, Visiting,* or *Grand rounds,* the Serjeant answers,—
" *Stand, rounds; advance, Serjeant, with the parole;* then orders
" his men to rest their firelocks; upon which the Serjeant of
" the escort advances alone, and gives the Serjeant of the guard
" the parole in his ear, and with such caution, as that no
" other person may hear him. After receiving the parole, he
" orders the Serjeant to return to his escort, and, leaving his
" men to keep the rounds from advancing, goes to his Officer
" and delivers him the parole he received from the Serjeant;
" which the Officer finding right, sends the Serjeant back to his
" men, and calls out,—*Advance, rounds;* upon which the Serjeant
" of the guard orders his four men to wheel backward from the
" center, and form a lane, through which the Town-Major, or
" Officer who goes the rounds, is to pass, the escort remaining
" [198] where they were; and goes up to the Officer, who gives
" the parole to the grand rounds; but all others, Town-Major's
" or visiting rounds, are to give the parole to the Officer of the
" guard. Rounds may demand an escort from any guard; when
" the Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, think proper to visit
" the guards in the night, they are to be received as grand
" rounds, and will answer, *Governor's or Lieutenant-Governor's*
" *rounds.* When any detachment or number of armed men
" enter into town, the guard by which they must pass are to be
" under arms. Whenever the Provost applies to any guard for
" a party, it is to be given him. Every guard to send a man
" to the parade to conduct the relief; and, at gun-firing, a
" Serjeant or Corporal to the orderly room for the countersign,

1759. Nov. "who are to have wrote down the names and regiments of "the Officers commanding guards. Every guard to report "to the Field-Officer of the day, at eight o'clock in the "morning; in which report is to be mentioned the number of "centries, the time of the rounds going, and whatever happens "extraordinary; the Officer signs it, specifying his rank and "regiment; and these reports are to be delivered by the Field-"Officer of the day to the Governor. All prisoners to be sent "from the different guards, where they may be confined, to "the main-guard; the Subaltern of which is to send a report "to the Town-Major, every morning, at eight o'clock. A "man from the main-guard to be sent to acquaint any regi-"ment, which has prisoners there for small crimes not com-"mitted upon garrison-duty, that they may send for them, "and try them by a regimental court-martial. No centry-"box is to be turned or moved, after it is posted by the "public Officers."

The foregoing orders were commanded to be read to the men off duty by an Officer of a company; and to those on duty by the Officers commanding guards, &c. moreover, that no man might plead ignorance, they were directed to be repeated, for the space of a week.

[199] Doctor Russell having represented to the Governor that our men are kept exceedingly warm in the conventual hospitals by stoves, his Excellency has therefore desired the Commanding Officers of corps to keep the soldiers a fortnight from duty, after being discharged from those places, lest their being early exposed to the cold should occasion relapses; these men are not to be reported fit for duty in the weekly returns, that they may not be included in the detail of the garrison. Returns of the state of the sick are to be made, every Monday, by the Surgeons of the several corps, to Dr. Russell. The citizen, mentioned under the occurrences of the 3d instant, is proved to be innocent; the letters, that had been produced against him, were written by a person at Montreal, who was

formerly his co-partner in trade, with an intent to ruin him; and were so artfully contrived, that it was scarcely possible they could avoid being intercepted; the reason assigned for this villainy is from the poor fellow's having preferred a British to a French government. The principal inhabitants offered to lodge bills, to the amount of five thousand Louis-d'ors, as a security for this man's integrity and good behaviour. As the removal of provisions, &c. (says the Governor) is of the utmost consequence to the army, it is recommended to the Officers on that duty to keep the men strictly to the task allotted them; and he orders one Subaltern Officer, per regiment, for that service every day, that they may have the care of the men of their own corps.—Lamps are to be forthwith made and fixed up at the corners of streets, and at other convenient places: which is an excellent procedure to prevent confusion, in case of alarms; for this purpose the Quarter-Masters of corps are ordered to pick out all the tinmen they can find in the different regiments, and meet the Quarter-Master-General to-morrow morning.[1] We had an immoderate storm of wind and rain to-day; it cleared up in the evening, and froze hard. 1759. Nov.

Two Captains, ten Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, and six hundred rank and file, are ordered for fatigue, without arms, to-morrow. [200] The regiments are desired to send in a return, by Thursday next, the 8th instant, of the number of chimnies they will be obliged to occupy in their respective quarters. Intelligence is again received, that Monsieur de Levis intends to storm Quebec, this winter, with all his regulars, and a chosen body of steady, experienced Canadians; amounting in all to fifteen thousand men. The inhabitants of the town affirm, that M. Vaudreuil has informed them *of a general peace being concluded in Europe.* Six hatchet-men per regiment are ordered to parade to-morrow morning, three with axes and the like number with hand-saws, all in good order; these men 5th.

[1] This probably was the first time that lamps were set up in the streets of Quebec.

1759. Nov. are to be employed in ripping up a French ship of war on the stocks, and are to be under the direction of Captain Westerstrome,[1] of the Royal Americans, who is appointed for that service, and be excused all other duties.

A DETAIL of the GUARDS at QUEBEC.

Nov. 5, 1759.

Guards.	Capt.	Subal.	Serj.	Dru.	R. & File.	
Citadel . . .	1	3	4	2	104	
Port St. John . .	1	1	2	2	52	had, for some time, two Subalterns.
Sub. of St. Rocque .	1	1	2	2	52	Idem as Port St. John's.
Fortified house . .	1	1	2	2	52	
Dock-Guard . .	0	1	2	1	51	
Casemate . . .	0	1	2	1	51	
Provision No. 1 .	1	1	3	2	77	
Ditto No. 2 . .	0	1	2	1	52	
Ditto No. 3 . .	0	1	1	1	29	
Cape Diamond . .	0	1	2	1	41	
Otway's Grenad. .	0	1	2	1	41	on account of a sally-port leading to the low town, with a thin wall of masonry, forming a curtain or parapet for musketry.
Bishop's Palace .	0	1	2	1	41	
Port St. Lewis . .	0	1	2	1	41	
Sub. of St. John .	0	1	1	1	26	
Jesuits' College. .	0	1	2	1	41	converted into a grand Magazine for provisions.
Naval Officers . .	0	1	2	1	38	
Palace-gate . .	0	1	1	1	26	
Barrier-house . .	0	1	1	1	21	
Boat-guard . .	0	0	1	0	13	
Govern. & orderly .	0	0	15	1	16	Governor's guard, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, & 12 privates.
Total . .	5	20	51	24	865	

[201] Over and above the foregoing guards there are one Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, three Drummers, and one hundred and four rank and file, at the great redoubt, on the north side of the rivulet of St. Charles; and one Subaltern, one Serjeant, one Drummer, and thirty rank and file, at the

[1] Captain Gustav. Wettestroom, appointed Captain of the 60th Regiment, January 7, 1756.

general hospital: these two last are eight days' commands, and, besides these, each regiment mounts a Subaltern Officer's guard in their own districts; to which may be added the numbers of all ranks daily employed on sundry fatigues within and without the garrison, and the contingent detachments made, both by day and night, to harrass the enemy and protect our own environs. By this state of our duty, the reader may form some idea *of the manner in which we earn our daily bread in this inhospitable winter climate*, where we have indifferent quarters, and vile bedding for our poor soldiers, who are ill cloathed, without regular pay, or any kind of fresh provisions; in all those difficulties, the Officers bear a proportionable share;—but such hardships cannot, with justice, be imputed to any other cause, than our critical situation in the heart of an enemy's country, remote and excluded from the sea, and consequently from every kind of commerce with the rest of the world, at this severe season of the year. 1759. Nov.

As the number of Captains in the ten regiments do not exceed fifty, they were all thrown into one common *Roster*, and from thence nominally appointed, in daily orders, for their different guards, commands, or fatigues; chequering the eldest and youngest together.—We have a smart frost to-day, though the air is yet moderate.

Six hundred men, with Officers, and Non-commissioned in proportion, are daily employed in removing stores and provisions.[1] A black-smith from each regiment is ordered to From the 6th to the 12th inclusive.

[1] Murray makes the following entries in his *Journal* between November 7 and November 12:

(Nov.) "7th.—As I had sent the Sick into the Nunneries, being large and Convenient Buildings, where they were used to take care of the sick, I had now an Application made to me from the General Hospital for wood, it being Impossible for that House to procure the Quantity it Required. I therefore ordered three of the Neighbouring parishes to furnish fifty Cords each for that purpose to be paid by the King."

"11th.—As it was not Impossible that (by) the Intrigues of the Enemy, or some other Accident, our principal Magazine might be Burned or Destroyed, in order to Divide the same, I ordered two Months' Provisions to be Delivered

1759. Nov. meet the Quarter-Master-General to-morrow morning, and a return of the glaziers is desired to be given in immediately. The Commanding Officers of corps are now permitted to cut up the blankets that were found [202] in the French magazines, and delivered to them, to be applied to such uses as they shall think proper; these are a great acquisition to the soldiers, as they serve them for socks and gloves, &c. neither Officer nor soldier, except the sick, and those who are to conduct them, are permitted to go to the general hospital without a passport from the Governor. The Officers have hitherto received rum from the stores, in proportion to their rank; as have likewise the women who were on the victualling roll, but, by an order of this day, they are all struck off; the women are, for the future, to be victualled at two thirds' allowance only; for this purpose they are to be mustered to-morrow by the Town-Major: such as from sickness cannot appear are to be certified for by their Commanding Officers.

out to each Regiment that had conveniency to take in so much. I sent out this day an Engineer and 200 men to possess and fortify the Church of St. Foix, as preparatory to my Further views."

"12th.—Divided 30,000 pound-weight of sugar out of the Stores to the Regiments, which I made them pay at 7d. per pound.

"Hitherto the Necessity of Covering the Troops and preparing for the Winter kept us quiet, but this being pretty well effected, and the Enemy having had the Impudence to come and carry off Cattle from the Neighbourhood of the Town, to prevent these incursions for the future, and any surprise during the Winter, I thought proper to march a strong Detachment out, which after Reconnoitering the country myself, I took post in the churches of St. Foix and Lorette, to command all the Avenues to Quebec, so that no considerable Body could March to it without first forcing these two posts; and for this purpose fortified them in such manner, as to Resist any attack, without Cannon to support it; at the same time I published a Manifesto warning the Inhabitants of drawing upon themselves fresh Misfortunes, if they did not keep themselves quiet, and Representing to them how little they could expect from a Beaten, Dispirited Army, which had already abandoned them, at the same time published fresh Regulations for the Inhabitants, permitting them to take everything they pleased, except provisions, Leather, Soap and Candles, Commodities very scarce in the Garrison; also Established a Civil Jurisdiction for the Inhabitants, and appointed Colonel Young Chief Judge, taking into the other Offices, some of the men of the best character that I could find in the place."

Provisions are issued to the women, upon a presumption that they are useful to the soldiers, either by attending hospitals, or by washing for them and the Officers; but henceforth those who suttle are not to be enrolled, nor will any be issued to those who do not reside in the mens' quarters.—One Major, seven Captains, fourteen Subalterns, twenty-one Serjeants, nine Drummers, and seven hundred and twenty-one rank and file, are to parade, at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, with arms in good order, three flints per man, and fifty rounds of ammunition, together with six days' provisions. The anniversary of his Majesty's birth was duly observed; the artillery, throughout the garrison, were discharged at noon: in the evening the troops marched from their respective alarm-posts to their ramparts between John's Gate and Cape Diamond; there they drew up, two deep, and fired a *feu de joie*, by files, from right to left, which they performed, three times, to the satisfaction of the Governors, and the Officers in general. Some men being employed on the island of Orleans, in making fascines, &c. and others, for the recovery of their health; a return of the whole is ordered to be sent in immediately. Such of the regiments, as can conveniently lodge provisions in their districts, are to draw from a fortnight's to two months' together, according [203] to the stowage, or spare place they may have to lodge them in safety. Our weather, for these several days, has been very whimsical; sometimes frost and snow, with intermitting thaws, and sharp air. An order of this day says, "thirty thousand pounds weight of brown "sugar being in store, the Governor has ordered it to be "delivered to the regiments for the use of the sick, at seven "pence per pound; eight hundred and seventy-five pounds, at "five shillings per dollar; the Quarter-Masters are to pay Major "Irvine for it in ready money." The Officers for guard are desired to be at the orderly room at the first troop-beating, to draw for their guards, which they are forbidden to change afterwards, on any account whatever. The detachment of

1759. Nov.

1759. Nov. seven hundred and twenty-one rank and file, before-mentioned, under Major Hussey, were countermanded, but a party of them, consisting of two Captains, four Subalterns, with non-commissioned Officers in proportion, and two hundred men, were ordered out yesterday morning, and the remainder continued in readiness; this morning they were attacked by a body of the enemy, and a soldier, who was slightly wounded, was sent back for a reinforcement; he says, that, when he was leaving them, they were fixing their bayonets, upon the appearance of some cavalry coming down, to support their regulars: upon this intelligence Major Hussey, with the remainder of his command, marched out to sustain the party. The enemy gave out, that General Amherst has lost all his armed vessels, and batteaus, by a great storm on lake Champlain; that he has garrisoned all the posts that were ceded to him, and was retired, with the remainder of his army, to Albany, for the winter; they add, that they hope, before the spring, to be repossessed not only of their capital, but of all the fortresses they have lost in the course of this campaign. Various articles are issuing out of the French stores, to our soldiers, gratis; viz. uniform coats and waistcoats, coarse hats with copper laces, powder-horns, mogosons, some remnants of flannel, coarse and damaged linens. As an unfortunate Canadian was taking [204] boat a few days ago, at Point Levi, to come over here with a quantity of fresh provisions, he was set upon by ten of the light cavalry, who, not content with plundering him, beat and abused him most inhumanly, by wounding him with their sabres, and scarifying his wrists and arms with their knives; at leaving him they said, 'Now 'go and tell your fine English Governor how we have treated 'you, and we hope soon to serve him, and his valiant troops, in 'the same manner.' In a letter, full of French politeness, which M. de Levis lately sent to our Governor, he says, 'he 'hopes the war will be carried on, for the future, as in Europe, '&c.' The Bishop of Canada, who has a very amiable char-

acter, has also wrote a sensible and genteel letter to his Excellency, wherein he pleads bad health in excuse for his not having paid his respects to him before this time; says, 'he 'proposes, as soon as he is able, to return to Quebec, where he 'will endeavour to live as the Bishop of a diocese, surrendered 'to his Britannic Majesty, should do, &c.' We are informed, by the inhabitants, that Monsieur Vaudreuil, and Monsieur Bigot, the Intendant, carried on an immense trade here, by ingrossing every European commodity, as soon as ships arrived from France; which they instantly landed, and lodged in their own magazines; these they sold out by wholesale to the Merchants, when demanded, at a most advanced price, to whom the citizens and country-people paid exorbitantly for every article they stood in need of. 1759. Nov.

ORDERS.

"Each regiment is to give three men to the artillery, to 13th.
"assist in making cartridges; men most accustomed to this
"work to be chosen, who are not to be sent on any out-
"guard, that they may be ready, whenever they are wanted.
"The desertion, which has lately happened, cannot proceed
"from any other cause than the [205] fear of punishment
"for enormous crimes of theft and robbery, which have been
"amongst us of late: *What else can induce men to leave a*
"*victorious army, abounding with every thing,*[1] *to join that of a*

[1] The author gives a somewhat different account of the condition of the army at this time. See p. 269.

Murray refers to the number of desertions in these words:

(Nov.) "13th.—A very unusual Desertion at this time prevailed among the Troops. The plundering kind of War, which had been carried on this last Campaign, had so Debauched the Soldier, that there was no putting a stop to these without very severe punishment; to avoid which most probably they Deserted. To put a stop to these Disorders, I published a Reward of five Guineas to any one who would Apprehend a Deserter, or inform of those who Endeavoured to persuade others to Desert.

"14th.—As Drunkenness and Theft continued to rein predominent Vices in the Garrison, Highly prejudicial to the Service, I Recalled all Licenses,

1759. Nov. "*despicable, routed, starving enemy who must soon abandon them to* "*our vengeance?* It is every man's duty to exert himself in "putting a stop to this horrid crime, and it is the General's "intention to reward those who will discover any attempt "made to debauch the mens' principles; the person who "apprehends a deserter will be paid five guineas; and, if any "soldier will inform the Governor, his Colonel, or any other "Officer, of any person attempting to persuade him to desert, "he shall receive a reward of twenty guineas."

The winter weather is now set in, though it is not yet severe, and is much more agreeable than the extreme wet season we have had for some time past. A barrel of powder, with a cask of fifteen thousand ammunition cartridges, have been discovered, which had been artfully concealed by a Jesuit's valet, who, with his master, are close confined in separate apartments: this reverend son of Ignatius has insinuated that his domestic is an idiot, and therefore hopes any testimony of his will be disregarded: to which he was answered,—'that, had 'this powder been concealed under ground four or six weeks 'ago, it might have damaged, by the exceeding moist weather we 'had at that time; but this, being altered to a hard settled frost, 'plainly shews, that, if the fellow is an idiot, his abettors and 'accomplices are no fools.' The Jesuit was about to make some reply, but was interrupted, and reminded 'that his 'fraternity have been engaged in some of the most horrid con-'spiracies, and inhuman massacres, that have been perpetrated 'in the world since the foundation of the order of Loyola, &c.' I was informed that this conversation passed between him and our Governor, but I cannot take upon me to say it was so.

[206] ORDERS.

14th. "As wine is allowed to the sick, for whom it is necessary; "and rum is only proper for such men as are in health, and

and ordered for the future every man who was found drunk to Receive twenty lashes every Morning till he Acknowledged where he got it, and forfeit his allowance of Rum for Six weeks." (*Journal.*)

"able to do their duty; for the future it is to be issued to 1759. Nov.
"such only; and the Adjutant-General will order a return to
"be sent to the Commissary, every Monday morning, of the
"numbers of each regiment actually doing duty, that he may
"be regulated thereby in issuing out the spirits. As the
"General cannot conceive that it is possible that men, who
"have behaved so well in the field, and have done so much
"honour to their country, can commit such irregularities as
"have lately happened, if it did not proceed from drunken-
"ness, he thinks it necessary to prohibit the suttling any
"liquors whatever, and hereby recalls all licences; and any
"soldier that is found drunk will receive twenty lashes per
"day until he owns where he got the liquor, and his allowance
"of rum will be stopped for six weeks.—As Dr. Russel is
"the best judge of the sick, and for whom he shall think wine
"necessary, it will be delivered out to the regiments by the
"Commissary, according to the quantities ordered by him,
"every Tuesday morning; the Surgeons of the different
"corps will receive their orders from Dr. Russel: for the
"future one quart of vinegar will be divided out to every
"six men, weekly; and the Commissary will deliver out to
"the sick, according to the Doctor's directions."

No alteration in our weather; the detachment under Major Hussey has taken possession of two different posts, which are to be fortified; the farthest is in the church of Lorette, about twelves miles from our garrison; the other is in that of St. Foy, at somewhat better than three miles distance from hence; the road from Quebec to the upper country leads through these two villages or parishes, and they command a considerable tract of country.—This [207] scheme of enlarging our limits causes various conjectures and opinions among us: *Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum millia.* I will decline to give my own sentiments upon the matter, but shall take the liberty to substitute those of some moderate and reasonable Officers in the garrison, with whom I usually associate: 'It

1759. Nov. 'appears highly necessary, say they, for us to secure these two 'posts, as by their peculiar situation they will not only protect 'the inhabitants of the conquered country who have submitted 'to our government, but moreover we can, with greater ease, be 'supplied with fresh provisions, without which it will be difficult 'for us to subsist; in the next place, we are assured by the 'inhabitants, of our acquaintance, that, by our being possessed 'of the country on this side of Lorette, we are secured in an 'excellent vein of wood in the forest of St. Foy, whence the 'garrison, citizens, and convents can be served with fuel for the 'winter, an article so essential that, unless we can have it in 'plenty, it will be utterly impracticable for us to exist in the 'winter of Canada; furthermore we shall not only be defended 'here from insults, or attempts of the enemy, by surprise, but 'by our reinforcing these posts in the evening, or at moon-'light, if it should be thought expedient, we can be inabled 'to beat up the enemy's quarters, and levy contributions, in the 'article of *Vivres*, through their districts. Lastly, we have it 'always in our power to support these advanced detachments, 'or to withdraw them, by the assistance of proper covering 'parties, if at any time the Governors shall find such measures 'necessary.' With regard to these opinions, I shall only observe, that we happily experienced the suitableness of them in all respects, throughout the intire progress of a rigorous winter campaign.

16th. A general court-martial sat this day, for the trial of several offenders;[1] one Colonel, six Captains, and six Lieutenants composed the court; one of the delinquents was tried for a notorious robbery on the house of a French inhabitant, was

[1] General Murray refers to the court-martial in these words:

(Nov.) "16th.—A Soldier of the 48th having been tried and convicted this day of Robbing a French Inhabitant, the Instant it was Reported, the sentence was put in Execution, in order if possible to put a stop to the scene of villainies which had been carried on hitherto; at the same time Executed an Inhabitant heretofore a Drummer in the French Service for having enticed some of our Soldiers to Desert—one of them, from the Royal American Regiment, having been actually Caught in his House in a Canadian dress." (*Journal.*)

found guilty, and ad- [208] judged to suffer death; the 1759. Nov.
Governor approved of the sentence, and ordered his immediate execution. For some days past we have not had more than one Serjeant and twenty men for fatigue, the corps being permitted to form their regimental magazines of provisions in their respective districts. Our two Governors,[1] with an Engineer, escorted by a detachment of light infantry, marched out to our advanced posts, to give directions for their being put into an excellent posture of defence. Some men, who lately deserted, have been retaken; and others, upon a suspicion of intending to desert, have been discovered; an active officious Priest, who is supposed to have been the cause of this base defection in our men, has thought proper to abscond. Our detachment, that was attacked on the 11th instant, gave the enemy a warm reception, and obliged them to retire with some loss; we had only three men wounded; unluckily the reinforcement, with the Major, had not joined, or it is probable the whole French party would have been cut off.—A Subaltern, and thirty men, who were advanced beyond Lorette, were attacked last night, and obliged to fall back on the main body, to prevent their being surrounded; the assailants were above an hundred; for this reason a farther reinforcement, under Colonel Walsh, was ordered out this evening. The general court-martial is adjourned.

Divine service is ordered to be performed every Sunday and 18th.
Wednesday, in the church of the Ursuline convent, at twelve o'clock. A Frenchman was hanged yesterday, for enticing our men to desert. The centries have directions not to stop cattle, or provisions, coming into the town; nor are any of them to take notice of any thing passing out of the town, except those centinels who are posted at the ports and barriers leading to the country. The court re-assembled to-day, finished, and were dissolved; in the course of their proceedings it was

[1] The allusion, doubtless, is to General Murray, the Governor, and to Colonel Ralph Burton, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor under him.

1759. Nov. thought necessary to secure a French Priest,[1] and, as I was a member, I was accordingly detached for this purpose: I found him in his house, and arrested him in the name of [209] his Britannic Majesty; the poor old man was greatly terrified, and intreated me earnestly to tell him his crime: but I made no other delay than to post a centinel, whom I had taken with me, in the apartment with this ancient father. One soldier was sentenced to receive a thousand lashes, for absenting his duty, and using expressions tending to excite *mutiny* and *desertion*. A second, for being disguised, with an intention to desert, and being out of his quarters at an undue time of night, —to receive three hundred. A third, for an intention to desert,—one thousand. And a fourth, for desertion, and endeavouring to inveigle others to desert,—*to suffer death*. The Governor approves of these sentences, and orders that the last criminal be shot to death on Wednesday morning next, at the grand parade, before the guards march off; but his Excellency is pleased to pardon the third malefactor, in consideration of his having confessed the truth, and likewise he being an invalid by a shot-wound.

Upon Colonel Walsh's joining the detachment, under Major Hussey, he is to proceed towards Point au Tremble, to attack the enemy's advanced posts, and render their vicinity to us as disagreeable as possible, in order to compel them to keep at a greater distance: and to burn and lay waste such parishes as shall make any opposition.[2] The French ships are

[1] (Nov.) "18th.—It Having been discovered that a French priest had been tampering with some of our men, in order to persuade them to desert, I Reprieved Owen Kearnon of the 3rd Batalion Royal American Regiment upon his promise to do his Endeavour to Discover him, and Banished one Baudoain a Priest, who had taken upon him to Instruct some of our Sick Soldiers in the Hospital." (*Murray's Journal.*)

[2] On the 15th Colonel Walsh was given orders to proceed to Point-aux-Trembles and attack the enemy's advance guard. According to a letter dated November 22, the Colonel did not carry out these instructions, and Murray writes:

"Be on your Guard, there are now two Regts at the Point au Tremble;

expected down this night. The clergy and inhabitants are narrowly watched, as it is suspected they are the promoters of this breach of loyalty and allegiance in our infatuated soldiers. The Chaplains are ordered not only to officiate alternately twice a week at the Ursuline church, but likewise to give punctual attendance to the hospitals. Colonel Walsh and Major Hussey returned late this evening; they burned a parish in the neighbourhood of Point au Tremble, called St. Joseph; and laid waste that side of the country, on account of the inhabitants having revolted from their oath of fidelity; several of the colony troops were killed, others made prisoners, and we had a few men only wounded. Proclamations are everywhere dispersed, and some are fixed up [210] at the public parts of this city, threatening more rigorous measures, if the Canadians do not adhere to their engagements, and pay more

1759. Nov.

had my orders been obeyed when Colonel Walsh marched to execute my intentions relating to the Point au Tremble and les Ecureuils, we could have had at this time no Enemy this side the River Jaques Cartier—The Opportunity was infallibly our's, a disregard to positive orders has prevented the advantages that must have accrued to His Majesty's Service, had they been punctually observed, and it [will now] probably cost us numbers, to do what then could not from the nature of things have cost us ten men—Inferior officers are not to judge whether or not positive orders are prudent; they must be executed, the man who gives them is answerable for the propriety of them." (Murray to Major Hussey, commanding at Lorette: *Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

(Nov.) "20th.—Ordered Major Hussey, commanding the Detachment at Lorette, to summon the Inhabitants of that parish, to make them Deliver their Arms, Swear them, and Burn the Houses of those who might be still with the Army.

"22nd.—Having also Intelligence that the Enemy alarmed at our Motions, had Advanced a Body of Troops on this side Jacques Cartier, which might in their turn undertake something upon our advanced posts, advised Major Hussey of the same, ordered him to withdraw into the Church the Guard which was advanced from him, and to Defend it to the last Extremity. I had now Reason to consider how unlucky it was my scheme had not been thoroughly executed, as in that case the Enemy Could not have subsisted any Body of Troops on this side Jacques Cartier. In the Afternoon of this day appeared in Sight Ten French Ships, which came to an Anchor in Sight of the Town, with an Intention to have passed this night; but the Wind falling, they would not trust to the Tide only, and the next Morning, for fear of a Bombardment, Remov'd Higher out of sight." (*Journal.*)

1759. Nov. respect to the Governor's orders and demands, in supplying us with provisions, sleigh carriages, horses, &c. &c. and in case they shall neglect to acquaint his Excellency, when any of the enemy come down into their neighbourhood. The churches of Lorette and St. Foy are fortified, and have got two field-pieces each, with Gunners, ammunition, &c. these posts are surrounded by intrenchments, and a stout picquet-work, with loop-holes, for musketry; Colonel Walsh left detachments at each of those places.

19th, 20th, and 21st. Five Subalterns, eight Serjeants, with three hundred and fifty rank and file, have been each day employed on duties of fatigue without arms. The Treasurer has orders to pay two men of the Royal Americans five guineas, being the reward promised for detecting a deserter; and one guinea besides, as an acknowledgement of their proper fidelity. The criminal who is under sentence of death is reprieved, upon his having discovered a plot that was laid for the seduction of our men; on this account another Priest has thought proper to retire to Montreal. The old friar, whom I arrested some days ago, has been strictly examined; but, as nothing appeared against him, and in consideration of his advanced age and inoffensive character, he is again enlarged. Our weather is changed to a soft rain. Two women have been whipped through the streets for selling rum contrary to orders. The French ships, which have been for some time expected, are at length fallen down, and are at anchor off Sillery: one of them ran a-ground at a Point a little higher up, whereupon an Officer, with a small sculking party, were sent out secretly to listen to their conversation, watch their motions, and to annoy any of their people that may attempt to land; two twelve-pounders were intended to have been sent out to attack this frigate, but that project seems to be postponed for the present: their boats ply frequently from ship to ship, and, by the continual noise [211] and chattering on board, our party are of opinion they are much crowded; though we are informed that many principal families are gone

down the country, with their effects, in order to embark for France, after the ships shall have passed the town. 1759. Nov.

ORDERS.

"Two Subalterns, &c. and two hundred men for fatigue, "as usual. Every regiment is to form immediately a company "of light infantry, in proportion to the number of the said "regiment: this company will always be drawn up on the "left of the battalion, and will consist of a tenth of the "corps; the grenadiers being on the right, the eight remain- "ing companies will form eight subdivisions, and the Officers "are constantly to be posted with their own companies. "Whereas several Officers have represented, that some mis- "takes have lately happened at the Commissary's office, in "the issuing out provisions to the disadvantage of the troops, "it is ordered that every company be forthwith provided with "weights and scales made from those of the Pursers of either "of his Majesty's two sloops of war here, that an Officer of "a company may see the provisions weighed every week; and, "that justice may be done to the men, it is thought necessary, "once more, to repeat in orders the two different tables of "provisions, viz. 22d and 23d.

"A Table of Provisions,[1] as was allowed last Year, for one "Man for seven Days.

"Seven pounds of bread or flour,
"Four pounds of pork,
"Three pints of pease,
"Six ounces of butter,
"Half a pint of rice.

[1] It will be seen from this order that the discipline of the regiments was very severe, and it should also be borne in mind that it was only after the arrival of supplies from New York and other places that the generous provision set forth in this table was possible.

1759. Nov. [212] "A Table of Provisions, to be delivered to the Garrison "by the Governor's Orders, for one Man for seven Days.

"Seven pounds of bread or flour,
"Two pounds of pork, two ditto of beef,
"One pint and an half of pease,
"Two pints of oatmeal,
"Half a pound of butter, or one pound of cheese in lieu,
"Half a pint of oil,
"One pound and an half of flour, and
"Half a pound of suet or fruit.

"and, as it appears, by the above tables, that every soldier has "two pounds of provisions more than ever was allowed in any "of the King's garrisons before, besides the jill of rum which "is given to the men *gratis*, every Officer, Serjeant, Corporal, "and *faithful* soldier, is injoined to discover any man who "shall presume to complain of the said allowance, that the "offender may be brought to trial for *sedition*, and receive the "punishment which such a notorious crime deserves; on the "other hand, if the soldiers find any deficiency in the weight "of their provisions, they will be redressed, upon representing "it to their Commanding Officer; and the defrauder will not "escape the Governor's resentment, be he who he will. The "two foregoing tables to be pasted up in every barrack-room, "that the soldiers may know what they are to receive: and "the orders of this day to be read at the head of each com- "pany, by an Officer, every day for a week to come, that no "man have it in his power to plead ignorance."

The French ships are still amusing us; they worked up with the tide of flood this morning near to Cape Rouge; two pieces of cannon, twelve-pounders, with a detachment, were in readiness to march to the late battery at Sillery, opposite to the river Etchemin, in [213] hopes of frustrating their intended voyage, or at least of making prize of the frigate that was a-ground; but the enemy found means to lighten her before our

scheme could be executed, whereby she got off with the flood, and joined the rest of her fleet above. 1759. Nov.

The posts of St. Foy and Lorette are relieved this day, by a detachment of three Captains, six Subalterns, twelve Serjeants, three Drummers, and three hundred and twelve rank and file: these advanced commands are to be released every fortnight; being provided with necessaries and provisions for that time, according to orders; together with fifty rounds of ammunition, and three flints, per man. Our weather is again changed to frost and snow, and seems to be setting in for the winter; yet the atmosphere is perfectly serene, with sun-shine, and very agreeable. [1] A report prevails that a ship is arrived from France, and that she passed the town a few nights ago, with an express to Montreal; a pompous packet is now circulated, in consequence of this vessel's arrival, among the dispirited Canadians; viz. 'that M. de Bompar, with eleven sail of the 'line, and a respectable army, undertook to recover Guarda-'loupe,[2] but that, being foiled there, they bore away for 'Chebucto Harbour, in Nova Scotia; destroyed the town of 'Halifax, then proceeded to Cape Breton, landed without 'opposition, stormed and retook Louisbourg, and put two 'thirds of the garrison to the sword.'—Moreover, 'that 'Monsieur de Levis has received such supplies of every kind 'by this ship, with the strongest assurances of being well 'seconded by a fleet and troops, those under Bompar no doubt, 'as early in the spring as possible; that his Excellency, and the 'other French Generals, had formed a final resolution of being 'repossessed of Quebec, by the time these succours may be 'expected; to this end they have the greatest [214] reliance on 'the severity of the winter, flattering themselves we shall not be 'able to do our duty; that then the whole force of Canada are 23d.

[1] * to be inserted: see Errata.

* It is certain a frigate did arrive about this time, laden with stores and provisions, as shall be mentioned hereafter; but, in order to avoid our cruisers below, she put into Gaspée Bay, where she was compelled to remain for the winter.—*Note by author.*

[2] Guadaloupe.

1759. Nov. 'to march down on snow-shoes, provided with a sufficient 'quantity of ladders, and retake the town by *escalade*.' *It must be confessed, that invention and gasconade are among the leading characteristics by which our enemies are, and have been, in all ages, peculiarly distinguished.*[1]

ORDERS.

24th and 25th. "One Captain, six Subalterns, with Non-commissioned in "proportion, and one hundred and ninety privates, to hold "themselves in readiness to march on Tuesday morning by "day-break; each man to be provided with fifty rounds of "good cartridges, and three flints; they are also to be pro- "vided with, per man,

"One pair of leggers,
"One pair of spare shoes,
"One pair of good spare stockings,
"One warm waistcoat,
"One good blanket, and
"One pair of warm mittens.

"This detachment to be young and active men, who are best "able to undergo fatigue; the Commanding Officers are desired "to allow volunteers to go, if they are fit for fatigue; and such "Officers as chuse it may go, and be allowed a duty of de- "tachment, when it comes to their turn." *

[1] Lévis did seriously consider the question of taking Quebec by scaling the walls; and a number of scaling ladders were left on the field during the following spring. Fifteen years later Arnold attempted to capture the city by scaling the walls on the land side.

* The spirit of volunteering seems to have ceased with the capture of Quebec; every man is willing to do his duty, to the utmost of his capacity and power, when ordered; but there was not a single Officer, in the whole garrison, who offered to go, of his own accord, on this expedition.[2]—*Note by author.*

[2] The severity of the winter, the lack of blankets, snow-shoes, and sleighs would be quite sufficient to check the spirit of adventure, and moreover by this time the men must have begun to realize that the chances of preferment were slight.

[215] AFTER ORDERS.

"Each man of the detachment ordered, this morning, to 1759. Nov.
"be provided, by their own Quarter-Masters, with fourteen
"pounds of bread, and seven of pork; and the Quarter-Master-
"Serjeant of each corps to attend, in the Palace-yard, to-
"morrow morning, at ten o'clock, to receive farther necessaries
"for this command. The Governor being informed that
"several Officers have snow-shoes, he hopes those gentlemen
"will give them in to the Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master-
"General, for the use of the public, until a sufficient number
"are made for the garrison. The Commanding Officers of
"regiments will see, that a strict search is made for snow-
"shoes within their districts, that they may be collected, and
"delivered in to the Quarter-Master-General. The guards,
"for the future, on Sundays and Wednesdays, to parade at
"nine o'clock, and all the regiments are to march their men
"to the grand parade at eleven, whence they will march to
"the place of divine service."

On the night of the 24th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, the French ships passed the town, with the tide of ebb, except one, which, by the weight of our fire, we drove a-shore on the south side of the river; there are various reports of their numbers, but it is certain they were not more than eight, or fewer than five; they had a fine breeze of wind in their favour, which, luckily for them, freshened, as they got a-breast of Cape Diamond; our batteries were prepared for them, and gave them an hundred shot, besides a vast number of shells: the night being extremely dark, likewise, propitiated their escape, our Gunners having fired almost at random.[1]

[1] The author's account of the movements of these ships does not seem to be strictly accurate. From other evidence the conclusion would be reached that the loss of the ship on which Captain Miller met his accident was due to a gale, and did not happen while the French were passing the town, which was not attempted until later. According to Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Malcolm Fraser, these ships came down within sight of Quebec on November 22;

1759. Nov. Last night two deserters came from the French army, who inform us, that the enemy are going into winter-quarters; that they are exceedingly ill off for provisions, and it is universally surmised their distresses will compel them to capitulate before the winter is half elapsed; they add, that Monsieur Vaudreuil is now at Montreal, and that the Indians threaten to stone him to death, on account of the loss of their capital,[1] which

on the 24th, four of them were driven ashore and lost; Captain Miller and his men boarded one, and an explosion took place, after which the French seized the schooner in which Miller had approached; and on the night of the 28th eight of the remaining ships passed the town, in spite of a smart fire from the British batteries. (*Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Historical Documents*, Second Series.) Murray in his *Journal* describes the grounding of five vessels on the night of the 24th, and the loss of Miller and his men, but says nothing of the escape of other ships. Malartic states that on the 28th and 29th news was received (apparently at Montreal) that five ships had escaped, but five others had been wrecked opposite the Sault of the Chaudière. (*Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, p. 302.) In the *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis* we read:

"Les navires du munitionnaire devoient partir du 12 au 15, ils furent retardés jusqu'au 22 par les expéditions de M. de Vaudreuil. Ils descendirent jusqu'à trois lieues de Québec pour être à portée de tenter le passage sous la ville; un coup de vent les prit à ce mouillage. Au lieu d'appareiller, ils voulurent se défendre contre le mauvais temps; il y eut trois frégates et un autre bâtiment qui échouèrent et se perdirent, et deux jours après, en descendant, les ennemis envoyèrent une goëlette armée pour mettre le feu à ces bâtiments. Le feu ayant pris à un pendant qu'ils y étoient, ils sautèrent et les Anglois y perdirent une vingtaine d'hommes.

"Le sieur Canon qui commandoit les navires résolut d'enlever la goëlette. Il envoya sa chaloupe suivie du canot avec son second qui l'abordèrent malgré le feu de l'ennemi et la prirent. Des autres bâtiments, il y en eut un qui se perdit en descendant; les autres passèrent sous le feu de la place sans accident. On eut de leurs nouvelles, à la fin du mois, du bas de la rivière, qu'ils faisoient favorablement route." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 234.)

With these ships sailed the Sieur Le Mercier, commandant of the artillery in Quebec during the siege, who was charged with conveying despatches to the French Court, and seeking succour for the next campaign.

[1] Probably the allusion was not to Quebec, but to the Indian village of St. Francis, situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence east of the mouth of the Richelieu, which had been sacked by Major Rogers and a party of Rangers from Amherst's army, apparently on the morning of October 5. Rogers went by way of Lake Champlain and hid his boats in Missisquoi Bay, where they were discovered by Bourlamaque's scouts on September 24. Bourlamaque at once sent couriers to the missionary at St. Francis and to Lévis and other commanders, but it would seem did not write to Vaudreuil, whom he believed

[216] they impute to his misconduct. We learn, from the peasants of several parishes, throughout which the French army retreated *on the memorable 13th of September*, that the soldiery were so much terrified with the apprehensions of our detaching a division of our army to pursue them, that such of them as called for refreshments would not stay to partake of them; moreover, that the panic was so universal, that Mr. Vaudreuil, and the Officers in general, flew through the country like arrows, or, as the people themselves expressed it,—*on a suit commune*[1] *une bale du canon*, leaving the men to shift for themselves.[2] A most unlucky disaster has happened here this morning, the 25th; when the enemy abandoned their ship that lies stranded on the south shore, they left a train of powder, from the powder-room to the fire-place of the great cabbin, with a slow match, and then betook themselves, in their boats, to a schooner we had at anchor in the channel to watch their motions, of which they possessed themselves; Captain Miller, of his Majesty's sloop the Racehorse, with his Lieutenant, and a number of men, (it is said above forty) went and boarded her; the match being extinguished, Mr. Miller, not suspecting the horrid snare, gave orders to strike a light, to inable them to rummage the ship: when, unfortunately, some of the sparks, falling on the loose powder, caught immediately, and blew up the vessel, so that most of the party were killed almost instantaneously, and the few survivors are 1759. Nov.

to be with the main army near Quebec. (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. v. pp. 47, 49, 55.) The villagers, however, took no precautions, and were completely surprised. Two hundred men were killed, and the place was reduced to ashes. Rogers and his party retreated by way of Lake Memphremagog, undergoing terrible suffering and losses before they regained Crown Point on December 1. (*Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (London, 1765), pp. 145–159.)

[1] "*comme*": see Errata.

[2] The Chevalier Johnstone says:

"It was a march entirely in the Indian manner; not a retreat, but a horrid, abominable flight, a thousand times worse than that in the morning upon the heights of Abraham, with such disorder and confusion that, had the English known it, three hundred men sent after us would have been sufficient to destroy and cut all our army to pieces." (*Dialogue in Hades*, p. 52.)

1759. Nov. in as deplorable a condition as can be imagined.[1] A Canadian peasant, venturing to go aboard soon after the explosion, in search of plunder, as he confessed, to his great astonishment, (for he knew not of any living creatures being in the ship) discovered the Captain, Lieutenant, and two seamen, lying in the greatest agony, and dreadfully scorched; finding they were still alive, he went and alarmed the neighbourhood, and, having procured assistance, he brought the unhappy sufferers, with six or seven others, whom they afterwards found, to his own house, where he had them rubbed with bear's grease, and otherwise manifested to them every act of humanity in his power: in the afternoon [217] this man crossed the river, to make his melancholy report to the Governor, (for as yet we were intirely ignorant of the matter;) and his Excellency was pleased to reward the Canadian for his attachment and Christian-like behaviour, with twenty dollars and a quantity of salt provisions. Proper conveyances were immediately sent over for these distressed Officers and their men, who were removed, without loss of time, into the hospital of the Ursuline convent, where they will have the best attendance and relief that can be desired. The same detachments have been employed on duties of fatigue, on each of those days, as usual: we have had a hard frost these three nights past, insomuch that many

[1] See note, p. 285. Murray thus refers to the accident in his *Journal:*

"In the Morning we found five out of the ten Ships wrecked by the Bungling Management of the French. for tho' it blew fresh, yet it could not by any Means be called very bad weather. Captain Miller of the Race-horse went up with the Boats Man'd, without my knowledge, and Boarded one of the Wrecks; having lighted a fire, he unfortunately blew himself up, his Lieutenant and several of the men, the Rest were taken, as was a Schooner, which had been stationed above the Town, to watch the Enemy's Motions, and to make Signals; this was the more unfortunate, for these unhappy People were entirely thrown away, the Vessells being to all Intents and purposes allready Irrecoverably Destroyed, and we now lost the Ship Carpenters, who would have been Extremely useful in the Spring. For the preparations to be made against the Ensueing Campaign."

Murray was evidently much vexed at the loss of the carpenters. See note, p. 385.

of the Officers had pleasant skaiting to-day, but the main river is not yet frozen over. 1759. Nov.

We have frost, snow, and gentle thaws, alternately. Racks are ordered to be fixed up in all the barrack-rooms, for the mens' arms and ammunition, that they may be able to come at them without confusion in case of an alarm, and ready to turn out at a moment's warning. A Serjeant of one of the regiments, who had a command of twelve men at an advanced post, was attacked lately by a superior party of the enemy, whom he beat off, and made so gallant a defence, that the Governor has presented him with five guineas, and promised him preferment, on condition that his Commanding Officer will recommend him for it. The light infantry companies are all ordered to be completed. The inhabitants talk, with confidence, of a ship being arrived from France, and of her having passed the town, on her way to the Three Rivers, or Montreal; they say, 'that, upon Admiral Durel's squadron being in 'possession of the river in May last, this vessel ran up the 'Sequenny, opposite to Bear Island; and, after his fleet had 'passed the entrance of that river, she slipped out, and sailed 'for France with dispatches; that she returned again about the 'middle of October, and took her former station, until ascer-'tained of the departure of our fleet for Europe: that the 'Master of her sent his packet over land to M. Vaudreuil by 'a *coureur de bois*, and, finding, at length, [218] a favourable 'opportunity, she tripped out, and whisked by the town un-'discovered.'[1] Our streets and passages are so slippery, that it is with the greatest difficulty we can walk in them. Two women have been whipped through the town for selling spirituous liquors contrary to orders; and a Frenchman underwent the same punishment for a breach of orders. The Governor has issued a proclamation prohibiting the currency 26th to the 28th, inclusive.

[1] Several ships escaped the vigilance of Admiral Durel in the spring of 1759, and General Wolfe made a memorandum of the fact, evidently intending to refer to it after the campaign.

1759. Nov. of French, or paper money, called *Papier d'Ordonance*, either among the troops or inhabitants; and has specified the several denominations and value of such monies as will be allowed currency, viz. dollars, halfs, quarters, &c. and sterling money of England.[1] The enemy set fire, last night, to some of their ships that were stranded, to prevent their falling into our hands; and, as soon as they burned down to their guns, they, being loaded up to their muzzles, discharged, which surprised

[1] In his *Journal* on November 23, General Murray states:

"As there was a Confusion in all public Business from the Different value set upon the Current Species, I published this day [November 23, 1759] an order in French and English Regulating the same."

The proclamation referred to is of particular interest, as it is the first document issued under British rule referring to currency. A copy of this proclamation in Murray's handwriting was found recently among the family papers.

"By His Excellency James Murray, Esq; Brigadier G[en.] and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces [in] the River St. Lawrence, Governor of Quebec and [the] conquered Countries—

"Whereas it is for His Majesty's Service, the Pu[blic] Utility, and the Benefit of Trade, that the Value of the . . . species of Coin current in this Colony should be f[ixed] in order to asscertain Payments, and prevent dispute[s] between the two nations, I have therefore thought f[it] after mature Consideration, to establish the follow[ing] Table for these Purposes—

	Cury here.	French Livres.
"A Dollar at	£— 5 —	6.
A Guinea at	1 3 4	27.
A Half Johannes at . . .	2 — —	48.
A Moydore at	1 13 —	36.
A Spanish Pistole at . . .	— 18 —	21. 10 Sols
A Louis D'or at	1 — —	24.
A French Crown at . . .	— 5 —	6.

"The French Sol Marqué of six Liards, 18 for a Shilling, or 15 for a Liver—The Sol Marqué of nine Liards at 14 for a Shilling, and 12 for a Liver—And I do hereby enjoin all and every Officer and Soldier under my Command, Merchants, Artificers, and all other British Subjects residing within this Colony to pay due Obedience thereto, declaring that from and after the date hereof, all and every payment of Species made otherwise, than according to the above Regulation, shall be null and void—And I do likewise hereby forbid all Officers, Soldiers, Merchants, Artificers, and others of His Majesty's British and Canadian Subjects residing within the Colony, under the severest Penalties to pay or receive in payment, any of the Paper money heretofore Current in Canada, it being of no real Value, and a manifest Imposition on the Publick." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

us a little, not knowing the occasion; however, we had no general alarm. The report of a vessel having lately passed the town is not altogether void of foundation, but she was not French; the schooner, which was seized by the crew of the frigate that was stranded some nights ago, did brush by the garrison, not altogether unperceived, though unmolested; for our centinels supposed her to be one of our small traders, which are daily passing and repassing between the island of Orleans and the garrison with fire-wood: this has furnished the enemy with a sufficient pretence whereon to build their boasted packet, with their train of absurdly fallacious inventions. 1759. Nov.

Three Subalterns, &c. and three hundred men, for fatigue, yesterday; and four Subalterns, &c. and four hundred, for the same duties to-day. Though it still continues to freeze very intensely, yet our weather is far from being severe or disagreeable. 30th.

ORDERS.

"Wood is to be delivered to the troops on the following "days, and in the proportions here mentioned: [1]

[219]	Cords.	Half.	Quarter.	For how many days.
Field-Officers, . . .	2	0	0	...[2]
Captains, ...	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	...
Subalterns and Staff, .	0	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	...
Each guard fire-place, .	2	0	0	...
—— Barrack-chimney, .	0	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	...

[1] Murray reports that the winter set in rather earlier than usual. The wood that was cut on the island of Orleans could not be brought across the river on account of the floating ice. Until the covering of solid ice was formed and a road was made across it, there was great inconvenience, and houses and fences were used in Quebec for fuel. The navy reported that four thousand cords of wood had been delivered, but Murray says he found to his disappointment that, upon measurement, it was less than one thousand cords. (*Murray's Journal.*)

[2] "14": see Errata.

1759. Nov. "the three eldest regiments are to be served on Saturday the "1st of December; the three second eldest, on Monday the "3d; the next three, on Tuesday the 4th; and the seventy-"eighth, the artillery, and Staff on the day following; a list of "the Officers, with their rank, and a return of the number of "barrack-chimnies, are to be sent to the Commissary, by the "Quarter-Master, the day preceeding the regiments being "served."

Captain Miller, of the Racehorse sloop, died, yesterday morning, much lamented, and was this day interred with military honours; a Field-Officer, with Captains and Sub-alterns in proportion, and five hundred men, attended the funeral. Our brave soldiers are growing sickly; their disorders are chiefly scorbutic, with fevers and dysenteries; this is far from being surprising, when we consider the severe fatigues and hardships they have hitherto, and still unavoidably undergo, which, with indifferent cloathing, uncomfortable barracks, worse bedding, and their being intirely confined to a salt provision diet, are sufficient to reduce or emaciate the most robust constitutions, in this extremely frigid climate. The nuns of the Ursuline convent having presented the Governor and other officers with a set of crosses of St. Andrew curiously worked, they were displayed in compliment to this day: in a corner of the field of each cross was wrought an emblematical heart, expressive of that attachment and affection which every good man naturally bears to his native country.[1]

[1] The nuns make no mention of this gift in their annals.

The members of the community who witnessed the events of the siege in 1759 were:

Marie-Anne Migeon de Bransac of the Nativity, Superior	aged 74
Geneviève Boucher de St. Pierre	„ 83
Marie-Louise Gaillard of the Blessed Virgin	„ 62
Françoise de Hertel of St. Exupere	„ 79
Geneviève de la Grange of St. Louis	„ 65
Esther Wheelwright of the Infant Jesus	„ 62
Marguerite Clouthier of St. Monica	„ 59
Marie-Anne de Boucherville of St. Ignatius	„ 63
Marie-Anne Buteau of St. Agnes	„ 61
Marie-Charlotte de Muy of St. Helen	„ 65

Captain Leslie's detachment of one hundred and ninety privates, with Officers, &c. in proportion, who were ordered in [220] readiness on the 25th, crossed the river, this afternoon, to Point Levi; their destination is to proceed down the country as far as there are settlements, to take the submission of the inhabitants, and to inforce the Governor's commands, respecting their future deportment, &c. &c. 1759. Nov.

Our weather invariably the same. The Lieutenant of the Racehorse is dead, and ordered to be interred to-morrow, suitable to his rank. Four hundred men for fatigue on each of those days. The Quarter-Master-General is ordered to send a return, every Monday morning, to the Commissary, of the effectives of each corps, including Officers, women, and servants, who are not soldiers, and came with the army from Louisbourg; no French servants or boys, hired since the army took the field, will be victualled. At the bottom of all weekly returns, from which this general one is directed to be made, the number of women, with the names of servants and their masters, are to be specified. Fire-wood is now, and hereafter, Decemb. 1st & 2d.

Mary-Dorothy Jeryan of St. Joseph . . . . . aged 54
Marie-Claire Gaillard of St. Thomas . . . . . „ 57
Madelaine Geneviève Perthuis of St. Charles . . . „ 58
Anne-Catherine Petit of St. Stanislaus . . . . . „ 50
Jeanne-Claire Marchand of St. Etienne . . . . . „ 40
Mother Marie-Marguerite Davanne of St. Louis de Gonzague „ 40
Marie-Elizabeth Richard of St. Augustine . . . . . „ 38
Marie-Catherine Lagere of St. Gabriel . . . . . „ 40
Marie-Antoinette Poulin of St. Francis . . . . . „ 36
Geneviève de Lantagnac of St. Henry . . . . . „ 36
Angélique de Lantagnac of St. Mary . . . . . „ 29
Marie-Françoise Poulin of St. Antony . . . . . „ 26
Marie Cureux-de-St. Germain of St. Chrysostom . . . „ 27
Marie C. Lefebvre of Ste Geneviève . . . . . „ 26
Marie-Joseph des Roches of the Angels . . . . . „ 36
Louise-Françoise Soupiran of St. Ursula . . . . . „ 25
Marie-Madelaine Cureux-de-St. Germain of St. Agathe . „ 23
Charlotte Brassard of St. Clare . . . . . „ 29
Angélique C. Parisé of St. John . . . . . „ 24
Françoise Comparé of St. Francis Xavier . . . . „ 22
Marie-Madelaine Massot of St. Francis of Paul . . . „ 26
Marie-Anne Brassard of St. Magdalen . . . . . „ 23
And thirteen lay sisters.

(*Glimpses of the Monastery*, 1639–1839, p. 279.)

1759. Decemb. to be issued regularly to the troops, pursuant to the orders for that purpose: hitherto we have been obliged to shift for it, by tearing down decayed fences and damaged houses; these, with some habitations that were situated in the suburbs of St. Lewis and St. John, which it was thought advisable to demolish, on account of their proximity to the works of the place, have hitherto supplied us, though very sparingly, with that necessary article. The additional works of St. Rocque, and the Faux-bourg adjoining, are completed.

ORDERS.

From the 3d to the 7th, inclusive. "Four Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and four hundred rank and "file, for fatigue, as usual. The detachments of St. Foy and "Lorette are to be relieved to-morrow morning, and parade "at eight o'clock; one carter's sleigh will be allowed for the "Officers' baggage at St. Foy, and two for Lorette; they will "be upon the parade at the same time: the detachments to "receive one week's provisions, of all [221] species, from "their respective Quarter-Masters, except rum, which the men "are to carry with themselves: for the former of those "commands, one Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, four "Corporals, two Drummers, and one hundred privates; for "the other, double the number of each rank; the centries are "to be relieved every hour till farther orders.[1] The criminal, "mentioned in the orders, under sentence of death for desertion, "is pardoned by the General, he having discovered the Priest "who seduced him, and used his utmost endeavours to have "him apprehended. As the centries on their posts, and the "soldiers otherwise employed on the duty of the garrison, may, "from the severity of the weather at this season of the year, be "exposed to be frost-bitten, Doctor Russel recommends, that

[1] The soldiers appear to have been totally unprepared for the winter, but it is likely they were better off than were the American troops under Arnold in 1775, who appeared before Quebec in the month of December in linen coats such as are worn in summer.

" every person to whom this accident may happen should be 1759. Decemb.
" particularly careful to avoid going near a fire, and to have the
" part frost-bitten rubbed with snow by one who has a warm
" hand, and, as soon as can be, afterwards put into a blanket,
" or something of that kind, that will restore heat to the part *.
" *This order to be read at the head of every company for six days*
" *following by an Officer.* The Commanding Officers of regi-
" ments may be supplied with skins to make straps for their
" mens' creepers, by applying to the Quarter-Master-General.
" A general court-martial to sit to-morrow, for the trial of an
" Officer for neglect of duty. Two Subalterns, ten Serjeants,
" and two hundred and fifty-six rank and file, without arms, to
" parade to-morrow at eight o'clock, in order to sleigh wood
" from St. Foy; these men will be allowed four shillings for
" every cord they bring [222] home; that money will be paid to
" the Quarter-Masters of each regiment, weekly; and they are
" to keep a list of the mens' names who may be employed, and
" pay them punctually; the Officers who command this party
" will take care that the sleighs are loaded to the top of the
" standards, and that none of the wood is lost on the road.[1]
" As all the corps are now provided with powder-horns, it is the
" General's orders, that none of the men load with cartridges
" upon their regimental parades, but from these powder-horns;
" and to have wadding above and below the ball, to keep both
" powder and ball firm in their pieces; the Commanding Officers

* I know, by my own experience, as well as that of many others, that this prescription is most effectual; having frequently had my cheek-bones and the bridge of my nose so frozen, resembling a piece of ivory, as to be totally void of sensation.—In the more northern countries, particularly Lapland, when a person is frost-bitten, they thrust a red-hot iron into a piece of cheese, and, with the unctuous matter that drops from it, anoint the parts affected, which generally recover: this cheese is made of the milk of the rein deer, an invaluable animal in that part of the world.—*Note by author.*

[1] On December 3, Murray reports that, as the wood could not be brought over from Orleans, "I was obliged to send a Detachment to cut wood at St. Foix, and, a Quantity of Snow being now fallen, I ordered that Parish, and that of Lorette, to furnish a number of Sleys, to bring it in constantly every day, for which they were to be paid." (*Journal.*)

1759. Decemb. "of regiments will be provided with powder on applying to "Major Godwin,[1] and giving receipts for the same. The court-"martial ordered for the trial of the Officer for neglect of duty "is countermanded, and that Officer is forgiven, in considera-"tion of the remarkable good character the Field-Officers of "the regiment in which he serves have given him. The "Governor is sorry it should now be necessary to recommend "to the young Officers to read, with attention, the orders of "the garrison and guards; as he was sensible that few of the "corps of this army have had any opportunity of knowing "garrison-duty, he thought it incumbent on him to be very "particular in these orders: an exact observance of them in "any situation is what has always been expected; in that of "this garrison it is absolutely necessary, as the honour of the "nation, the safety and preservation of the troops, as well as "the important conquest they have made, intirely depend upon "it: therefore, for the future, no neglect will be pardoned, as "no excuse can possibly be urged; ignorance, through inex-"perience, it might, perhaps, be unjust to censure; but Officers "who are so from negligence and inattention are unpardonable, "for it is they who are to set an example to the men. For "the future, the Captain of the main-guard is to go the "visiting rounds to, and of the following guards:

[223] "GUARDS.

"Artillery,
"Citadel,
"Dock,
"Serjeants detached,
"Naval officers,
"Bishop's Palace,
"Otway's grenadiers,
"Jesuits' college.

[1] John Godwin, Captain in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, September 1, 1751; Major, November 10, 1759; Lieutenant-Colonel, November 1, 1762.

"The Captain of St. John's guard is constantly to visit "those, viz. 1759. Decemb.

"GUARDS.

"Cape Diamond,
"Casemate,
"Port St. Lewis,
"Palace,
"Magazine,
"Palace-gate.

"And the Captain of the fortified house to visit the following,

"The barrier-house, boat-guard,
"Provision guards, No. 1, 2, and 3.

"It is repeated, that the Officers of guards mention, in their "reports, the times they received both the visiting and grand "rounds. Those regiments who send sick out to the general "hospital must acquaint Dr. Russel with their number, and "time of sending, that he may give directions to have them "properly accommodated, otherwise they will not be received; "whereas wood is now regularly delivered to the troops, it is "the General's orders, that no person whatever pull down "houses or fences, or carry off any timber belonging to the "inhabitants."

[224] Though there is little wind, and the firmament is perfectly serene, with sun-shine, yet the bitterness of the season is not to be conceived; several of the men, who were clearing the snow that was lodged under the scarp of the town-wall, were frost-bitten, and some even swooned away with the excessive cold. Our artificers are now completing a chain of block-houses, which are to be erected upon the heights of Abraham,[1]

[1] These were begun as a result of the rumour that the enemy intended to attack about Christmas. One blockhouse, near Cape Diamond, was completed and occupied during the month of December; but the chain across the plateau was not finished owing to the weather and the scarcity of timber. The unfinished works, however, proved of great service during the attack by Lévis, and probably saved the city.

1759. Decemb. extending from Cape Diamond down to the suburbs of St. John. Captain Leslie's detachment is detained at Point Levi church, to watch the motions of some sculking parties of the enemy in that neighbourhood. Three soldiers of the command at St. Foy, were surprised, and made prisoners, by a body of French regulars, who came down to reconnoitre that post. Mr. Bernier, the French Commissary,[1] who has resided at the general hospital, being detected in some unfair practices, has received orders to rejoin his army, and not to presume to return within the conquered country on pain of death. By the wind's shifting to the westward, the cold is less rigorous. The Governor being under a necessity of borrowing money for the use of the Government, some of the troops have assisted his Excellency in this loan. The privates, as well as the Officers, of Colonel Fraser's regiment of Highlanders, by their remarkable frugality and sobriety, have been inabled to distinguish themselves: the creditors are to receive legal interest until they are repaid.[2] Our garrison now undergo incredible fatigues, not

[1] The Sieur Bernier was sent to Canada in 1758 as assistant to the Commissary of the army, M. Doreil. In the autumn of that year he succeeded to the position of Commissary, and, among other duties, had charge of the General Hospital during the siege in 1759. After the battle of the Plains he remained at the hospital, and acted as representative of Vaudreuil and Lévis in their negotiations with the English generals. Lévis thus reported on his conduct to the Marshal de Belle-Isle:

"Le sieur Bernier ayant resté à Québec après l'affaire du 13 pour avoir soin de l'hôpital, je l'ai chargé de vous informer de tous le détails relatifs à ce sujet; et comme les ennemis prétendent retenir comme prisoniers de guerre les officiers et soldats qu'ils ont trouvés audit hôpital, le lendemain de l'affaire, et qui y étoient entrés le 13, ce commissaire s'est acquitté avec tout le zèle, décence et intelligence possibles, des commissions, dont il a été chargé vis à vis des ennemis, et des devoirs de sa charge." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 248. See *Mémoire des Disputes* in Appendix.) Several of Bernier's letters written at this time are available. (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. x. pp. 7–41.)

[2] *Murray's Journal* contains this entry:

(Nov.) "25th.—Having Intelligence that the Merchants, ever greedy of gain, to purchase Furs had transmitted a good deal of Cash to Montreal, where they were much in want of that Commodity, the paper money by reason of the Ticklish situation of the Colony, being in utter disrepute, and there Being by no Means in the Military Chest a Sufficiency to Defray the Con-

only within, but also without the walls, being obliged to load and sleigh home fire-wood from the forest of St. Foy, which is near four miles distant, and through snow of a surprising 1759. Decemb.

tingent Expenses of the Garrison; to procure what was wanted, and Effectually to prevent a Commerce so Destructive to us, I this day published a kind of Proclamation to encourage the Friends and well-wishers of His Majesty, to lend what they could afford, for which Colonel Burton, the next officer in command to me, and I gave our Bills, to be Repaid in Six Months, with Interest at five per cent. This in a short time produced us so Considerable a Sum as £8,000, which without having Recourse to further Expedients, will enable us to wait the arrival of the Ships, and be it remembered to the Honour of the Highland or 63rd Regiment Commanded by Colonel Fraser, that the Non-Commissioned Officers and private men of that Single Regiment Contributed of that Sum £2,000."

A copy of the document referred to by General Murray is here printed:

"By His Excellency James Murray, Esqr. B[rig.] Genl. &c.—

"Whereas it is now impracticable for any Perso[ns] who have Cash by them, to remit or dispose of i[t] and a Sum of money may be wanted for His M[ajesty's] service, All those who are possessed of any, are her[eby] invited to Serve their Country, and themselves, [for] which purpose the following Proposals are pu[blished]:

"1. That for any Sum of Money which shall be bro[ught] in, a promissory note of Hand shall be given S[igned] by myself and Colonel Burton the Lieutenant Gov[ernor] and our Seals shall be affixed to the same.

"2. These Bills shall be made payable in six mo[nths] time, with a promise that if money shall arri[ve] from Great Britain before the expiration of the [said] term, these Bills shall be called in and sunk.

"3. That they shall bear interest at five per Cent. [from] their respective dates, and six month's Certain [shall] be paid, tho' they should be called in sooner.

"4. And as a further Encouragement the names [of] the Subscribers, and Sums Subscribed, shall [be] remitted home, that those who have been willing, [to] serve the Government in this Exigency, may be m[ade] known to it.

All Persons whatever Military and Civil a[re] hereby Exhorted to do their utmost for the Ser[vice] of their King, and the Good of their Country, [at] this Critical time, that the lateness of the Seas[on] and inclemency of the Weather prevent al[l] Supplies by any other Means —And I do her[eby fix] that the Conditions proposed shall be most faith[fully] and punctually executed on my part.

"Given under my hand and Seal at [Quebec]
"this 25th day of Novr. 1759.
"JAS. MURRAY.

"Cr. Signed
"H. T. CRAMAHÉ." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

1759. Decemb. depth; eight men are allowed to each sleigh, who are yoked to it in couples by a set of regular harness, besides one man who guides it behind, with a long stout pole, to keep it clear of ruts and other obstructions.[1] We are told that M. de Levis is making great preparations for the long meditated effort on this place, with which we are menaced;[2] Christmas is said to be the time fixed for this enterprise; and Monsieur says, 'if he 'succeeds, he shall be promoted to be [225] *a Marshal of* '*France*; and, if he fails, Canada will be lost, for he will give it 'up.'[3] To this important purpose all the inhabitants of the

[1] The army was still suffering from scarcity of fuel and the inhabitants outside the walls were unwilling to assist the garrison. It is interesting to observe that the adjoining parishes were still hostile to the British. The people regarded the capitulation of September 18 as applying only to the city of Quebec. In order to relieve the situation Murray offered to pay each soldier five shillings per cord for wood brought into the city, and the inhabitants for assistance in cutting and drawing the wood were paid ten shillings, so that each cord of wood cost about fifteen shillings. In Montreal the French had to pay as high as fifty shillings.

[2] The frequent rumours of an attack by Lévis created a feeling of alarm in the garrison. Food was scarce and the price of grain had risen to an exorbitant rate. Although Murray had issued an order fixing prices, very little was brought into the city. The question of the supply of wood was still more serious. The men had not received any clothing for a year and were totally unprovided for the severity of a Canadian winter. There were few horses or sleighs, and the men were not equipped with snow-shoes, so that excursions to the woods in search of fuel were difficult and often impossible. Most of the wooden buildings that were not inhabited had been used for firewood, and the troops were therefore dependent upon the outlying parishes for a daily supply. With an enemy before the gates communication with the land side would be cut off, and the only source within a reasonable distance was the woods on the island of Orleans. Murray therefore enjoined the inhabitants of the island to make roads from the woods to the river and to mark them with beacons, probably branches of spruce, as it was thought that by the beginning of January a passage could be made across the river for the sleighs.

[3] François Gaston de Lévis was born August 23, 1720, at the castle of Ajàc, near Limours, Languedoc (Departement de l'Aude). He was the second son of Jean de Lévis, Marquis d'Ajàc, and Jeanne de Maguelonne. The Lévis family was one of the oldest in France. In 1735, being only fifteen years old, he took service in the army under the title of Chevalier de Lévis, as Sub-lieutenant in a regiment of marine. He served in the campaign on the Rhine, distinguished himself at the battle of Clausen, and was

THE CHEVALIER DE LÉVIS

Engraved by J. Porreau from the painting by Mme. Haudebourt in the Versailles Gallery

colony, those excepted who are submitted to us, from the ages of sixteen to sixty, are ordered to be at Montreal by the 16th of this month; however, there are some among us who are so incredulous, as to pretend that these Quixote threats (as they call them) are only invented within our own walls, to induce the troops to be more alert and vigilant in the execution of our duty. We are informed, that our indefatigable Generalissimo still continues, with the main of his army, in the neighbourhood of Crown Point, completing his different cantonments; this intelligence is said to be brought by Captain Abercromby, one of his Excellency's Aids de Camp, who has been lately at Montreal with a flag of truce, in order to settle a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Our weather is invariably the same, though somewhat more mild at present; this depends prin- 1759. Decemb.

promoted to the rank of Captain, June 1, 1737. In 1741 and 1742 he was with the army during the campaigns in Austria and Bohemia. Though wounded in Austria, the young captain was present at the capture and defence of Prague. He fought at the battles of Saly and Teiné, under Maurice of Saxony, as well as at Dettingen. In 1745 we find him in Suabia under Marshal Coigny. Then he joined the army on the Rhine, commanded by Condé. In 1746 he led his regiment to the army in Italy and participated in the defence of Provence. He was appointed an Adjutant (aide-major). At the battle of Plaisance he had his horse killed and he was wounded in the head. Colonel in 1746, Knight of St. Louis in 1748, he was made a Brigadier in 1756 and designated to serve in Canada. There he distinguished himself, being second in command, under Montcalm, at Oswego, Carillon, and Montmorency. After Montcalm's death he took the command of the army, defeated Murray in the second battle of the Plains (1760), but was forced to abandon the siege of Quebec. After the surrender of Montreal he returned to France. In 1761 he was appointed a Lieutenant-General, and the King of England having relieved him of his parole for Europe he served in the army of the Lower Rhine under Marshal de Soubise and fought at Fillenghausen and at Shedinghem. In 1762 he married Augustine Michel, daughter of Gabriel, Seigneur de Danton, and on this occasion assumed the title of Marquis de Lévis, left vacant by the death of his elder brother in 1757. In 1765 he was appointed Governor of the province of Artois. He was appointed a Marshal of France in 1783, and was made a Duke in the following year. He devoted himself to the administration of his province, where he was held in great esteem. He died at Arras in 1787. (Count Gustave de Hauteclocque, *Le Maréchal de Lévis, Gouverneur Général de l'Artois* (1765–1787): Arras, 1901.)

1759. Dec. cipally on the winds; and here, as in Nova Scotia, the north-westers are most severe.

ORDERS.

From the 8th to the 12th, both inclusive. "The Canadians have been ordered to sleigh wood for "the garrison, without whose assistance the troops cannot be "supplied. The Governor was surprised, yesterday, at seeing "the sleighs seized upon by the soldiers, for the use of the "Officers. The orders upon that head have been already "given; the first person, therefore, for the future, who shall "presume to interrupt the public service by employing any of "the carriages hired for the King, shall, without mercy or dis-"tinction, be tried for disobedience of orders. Any regiments, "who have Serjeants that can speak French, are desired to send "their names to the head quarters immediately.[1] One woman "per regiment, from the thirty-fifth, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, "second and third battalions of Americans, to join the wood-"cutters, as soon as possible, at St. Foy, in order to wash for "[226] them. The artillery men of the different corps to do "all duties in common with their respective regiments until "farther orders. The sleighing parties to carry their arms "and ammunition; the Officers to take care that the men "sling them properly, while they are drawing their sleighs, "so as they may be easily come at, in case of necessity."

One of our blockhouses, being completed, is erected behind Cape Diamond, and was inhabited, the eighth instant, by a Serjeant, Corporal, and twelve men. We have frequent falls of drifting snow, which soften the air considerably. A

[1] The languages often caused considerable embarrassment. In order to facilitate intercourse with the inhabitants of Beauport and Charlesbourg, Murray appointed Francis Cugnet, afterwards Seigneur St. Etienne and author of several treatises on French-Canadian law, Judge of the district, as he understood both languages. (*Murray's Journal*, December 8 and 9.)

volunteer, who was upon command at Lorette, having ventured to ride out in a sleigh a little distance beyond our limits, was pursued by three soldiers of the *troupes de colonie*, when, perceiving he could not escape to his post, he drove away to the house of a militia Captain within our district, where he flattered himself he would have been safe; but they followed him thither, and made him prisoner: this affair not being properly represented, the Canadian Captain was arrested; but, upon an impartial inquiry, it appearing that he was not privy, nor in any respect culpable, he was soon after released, and sent home. Three soldiers belonging to that advanced post being missing, it is supposed they have been surprised by, or deserted to, the enemy. The sickness among the troops does not at present increase:—this we impute to their more temperate manner of living;—yet it is surprising to see them bear up so well under their inconceivable fatigues, which they undergo with wonderful alacrity, from a just sense of the necessity there is for them: it is, now-a-days, a consolation to a soldier when he is ordered for guard, notwithstanding what —he even suffers upon that duty, between standing centry, going frequent patroles, receiving different rounds, and several other contingent services in this rigorous season, well known to the experienced Officer; hence we may form an idea of the hardships they are, at other times, incessantly exposed to, and that this must continue all the winter they are well convinced of; but their daily allowance of rum contributes not a [227] little to exhilarate them under their present harrassing circumstances. No alteration in the weather. The reason of the wood-sleighers being ordered to take their arms is on account of some straggling parties of the enemy's irregulars hanging about the forest of St. Foy, and the coppices in the road leading thereto. 1759. Dec.

ORDERS.

1759. Dec. 13th, 14th,[1] and 15th. "One Captain, three Subalterns, nine Serjeants, four "hundred and thirty-two rank and file, to parade, to-morrow, "at day-break, to sleigh wood for the garrison; two Subalterns, "two Serjeants and fifty of the light infantry, to parade with "the sleighers, as a covering party. Two Subalterns, eight Ser- "jeants, and two hundred rank and file, for other fatigue duties, "to-morrow, as usual. The bridge and hospital guards to be "relieved, &c. The Quarter-Masters will receive creepers for "each regiment, by applying to the Quarter-Master General. "As the Governor has got intelligence that the enemy have "some Indians sculking near the garrison, he takes this oppor- "tunity of acquainting both Officers and soldiers, that they "may not, through inadvertency, put themselves in the power "of a *sneaking cowardly enemy*, who dare not face them when "they are armed, but will watch, for several days, to scalp a "single man that they find unarmed, or off his guard. The "Officers are desired to pay strict observance to the orders of "not allowing soldiers to pass out of the gates without a "passport. The Commanding Officers of regiments will send "in a return of the number of rounds of cartridges in their "possession. The regiments will take care to provide each "man, sent to the general hospital, with two shirts, one cap, "one jacket, two pair of stockings, and one good pair of shoes: "each regiment will give in to Dr. Russel a list of the mens' "names and companies, with the time of their entry into the "general hospital; they are also always to return, to the "Adjutant-General, the days on which [228] they require "their convalescents to be discharged from the general hos- "pital. The sleighs, fit for use, to be divided to the different "regiments, as follows; and, as more are made, they will be

[1] *Murray's Journal* states that fifty men were frost-bitten on this day.

"issued out, until the regiments have as many as they can 1759. Dec.
"employ.

	Sleighs.
"The fifteenth,	5
"The twenty-eighth,	7
"The thirty-fifth,	9
"The forty-third,	8
"The forty-seventh,	9
"The forty-eighth,	10
"The fifty-eighth,	7
"The sixtieth, Second battalion,	5
"The sixtieth, Third battalion,	7
"Seventy-eighth,	12

"The regiments will not receive wood from the public stores "for the future, but must supply themselves from the sleighs "that have been given them; and, if any of them are broke, "they must be repaired by their own corps, and be fit for duty "next day. Every regiment is to send one Subaltern, one "Serjeant, and one Corporal along with their sleighing party; "which Officer must be answerable that those sleighs are "returned safe to the place appointed for that purpose by the "Commanding Officers of the corps; one Captain will parade "every day to command the whole. The sleighing party of "the whole to parade at eight o'clock, and continue to do "so till farther orders; and each regiment will send one snow-"shovel, in order to fill up any holes or ruts, if necessary."

The reader will observe, by the foregoing orders, that the article of fire-wood, and the manner of supplying ourselves, engross our whole attention; likewise, that this service is not performed by detachments from regiments, as heretofore; but by all the men [229] not actually upon duty, and even by those who have been on guard the preceding day and night. A parcel of creepers are now issuing out of the stores for the use of the soldiers, for which they pay five pence per pair;

1759. Dec. (these inventions, so absolutely necessary to prevent accidents by falling, have been already described in my first volume.) A body of two hundred Indians are sculking about the country, between the garrison and our most advanced post at Lorette; which is the cause of the Governor's precautions respecting the wood-sleighers, who have a party of light infantry to cover them; and, in case of our being attacked, the eldest Field-Officer of the day is to sally out, at the head of the main-guard, to reinforce, and command the whole. Lamps are now set up throughout the high and low town for the convenience of the troops. Two of the inhabitants have been whipped through the streets, for appearing abroad at an unseasonable time of night, without a lanthorn, contrary to repeated orders. The British and French merchants and shopkeepers have waited on Colonel Young, as Justice of the Police, pursuant to directions for that purpose, in order to fix a price on all sorts of commodities, liquors, and provisions; notice whereof is given to the citizens and country-people. This, it is hoped, will prevent monopolies, and other gross impositions upon the troops and inhabitants. At present we are tolerably well supplied with fresh provisions, (I mean the Officers;) which, however, except the articles of beavers, hares, partridges, and other game, are very indifferent in their kinds. The weather is now become inconceivably severe, and our soldiers grow numerous in the hospitals; some, who died within these few days, are laid in the snow until the spring,[1] the ground being, at this time, impenetrably bound up with frost. Our several duties, and all other affairs, have been so admirably well adjusted, that every thing is now conducted and executed with great order and regularity, and as much ease to the troops as the nature of the service in this inclement season will permit.

[1] Interments are never made in Quebec in the winter after the frost has set in. Bodies are taken to the cemetery and deposited in a vault until the spring.

[230] ORDERS.

1759. Dec. From the 16th to the 21st.

"The sleighing parties, for the future, are not to march "until ten o'clock; they will proceed directly from their own "regimental parades to the wood, where the Officers will receive "their orders from the Captain of the covering party; which "last will parade, at half after nine, on the inside of Port St. "Lewis. The general court-martial, whereof Colonel Walsh "was President, is dissolved: the four delinquents, mentioned "by name in the orders, tried for quitting their posts, breaking "open and robbing the King's stores, have been found guilty; "two of them adjudged to suffer death, the other two to receive "one thousand lashes each.[1] Another, also named, tried for "imposing on the French inhabitants, and making use of the "Governor's name, without his authority, to force from them "their effects, was found guilty, and adjudged to receive eight "hundred lashes, and to refund the sums due to the inhabitants. "The Governor approves of these several sentences; but, in "consideration of the extreme severity of the season, his Excel-"lency is pleased to remit the corporal punishment to three "hundred lashes each.[2] As it depends intirely upon the mens' "being well or ill cloathed whether they are frost-bitten or "not, the General leaves that to the Commanding Officers of "regiments, who are also to judge, whether or not, if the "weather is fit to send the sleighs out.[3] The men will be paid "five shillings per cord for the wood they bring in for the "future.[4] The detachments at Lorette, St. Foy, Bridge and

[1] Such was the fate awaiting many of the men who, struggling for existence, without pay or proper food or clothing, yielded to the temptation of stealing something to eat or wear. The real heroes of Quebec appear to have been the poor soldiers who held out during this trying winter.

[2] Another evidence of the "mildness" of military discipline.

[3] Judging by the number who were frost-bitten, we must believe a large proportion of the men were "ill cloathed." One hundred and fifteen men were reported frost-bitten by December 17.

[4] "The Weather being very bad, the men having Received no Cloathing this year, and there being no pay for them, thought it a proper Encouragement to promise them five shillings per cord for all the wood they should Slay in." (*Murray's Journal*, December 17.)

1759. Dec. "General Hospitals, are ordered to be relieved on the days and "hours appointed, as usual.—The Officers of the covering and "sleighing parties to be answerable, that their men commit no "abuses upon the inhabitants, by pulling down their houses "or fences; and any man, that is detected in any such offence, "will be punished for disobedience of orders. The Command- "ing Officers of regiments may [231] have straw to stuff their "mens' *paillasses* *, by applying to the Quarter-Master-General. "Any time after Tuesday next, every regiment to light "the lamps in their own districts, and apply to the Quarter- "Master-General for oil and cotton, to whom they are to "give in a return of the number of lamps within their dis- "tricts, which must be very exact."

16th. We are sometimes interrupted in our sleighing parties [1] by the severity of the weather, which happened particularly on this day, and indeed the rigour of it is not to be conceived; nevertheless it is quite serene over head, and the sun, though its rays convey little or no warmth, is exceedingly bright, which is generally the case at this season, in this country, except when it sets in for snow, and that seldom continues above twenty-four hours.

Two Subalterns, four Serjeants, and two hundred men, are employed in sundry fatigues, within the walls, on each of those days; and the rest of the garrison off duty in sleighing wood, when the weather permits. M. Vaudreuil and M. de Levis have, by some means or other, received intelligence of the success of our arms, with those of the magnanimous King of Prussia, in Germany; and likewise of the victory gained by Admiral Boscawen over the French fleet off Cape Lagos; events which it is not a little surprising they will allow to transpire among their forces and the inhabitants of this

* *Paillasse*, pronounced *palliass*, is a French word, adopted and used in our language by the military; it implies a canvas, or sail-cloth, bed-case, stuffed with straw, literally a straw-bed.—*Note by author.*

[1] These parties were not on pleasure bent, but in search of fuel.

country. We are informed that M. de Bougainville returned to Europe, in the squadron which lately passed the town, in order to represent to their Ministry the expiring state of Canada. Our guards, on the grand parade, make a most grotesque appearance in their different dresses; and our inventions to guard us against the extreme rigour of this climate are various beyond imagination: the uniformity, as well as nicety, of the clean, methodical soldier, is buried in the rough fur-wrought garb of the frozen Laplander;[1] [232] and we rather resemble a masquerade than a body of regular troops; insomuch that I have frequently been accosted by my acquaintances, who, though familiar their voices were to me, I could not discover or conceive who they were; besides, every man seems to be in a continual hurry; for, instead of walking soberly through the streets, we are obliged to observe a running or trotting pace. Yet, notwithstanding all our precautions, several men and Officers have suffered by the intenseness of the cold, being frost-bitten in their faces, hands, feet, and other parts least to be suspected.[2]—Some of the guards being reduced for the ease of the troops, the detail at present stands thus: 1759. Dec.

[1] "Fur-wrought garbs" were scarce. Many of the soldiers tied pieces of cloth round their hands in the absence of gloves, and strips of blankets took the place of socks in many cases. We have seen sketches of officers carrying muffs, and no doubt with a thermometer registering twenty below zero the men cared little about their personal appearance.

[2] "December 20th.—The winter is become almost insupportably cold. The men are notwithstanding obliged to drag all the wood used in the Garrison on sledges from St. Foy, about four miles distance. This is a very severe duty; the poor fellows do it however with great spirit, tho' several of them have already lost the use of their fingers and toes by the incredible severity of the frost, and the country people tell us it is not yet at the worst. Some men on sentry have been deprived of speech and sensation in a few minutes, but hitherto no person has lost his life, as care is taken to relieve them every half hour or oftener when the weather is severe. The Garrison in general are but indifferently cloathed, but our regiment in particular is in a pitiful situation having no breeches, and the Philibeg is not all calculated for this terrible climate. Colonel Fraser is doing all in his power to provide trowsers for them, and we hope soon to be on a footing with other Regiments in that respect." (*Fraser's Journal.*)

1759. Decemb. 'four Captains, seventeen Subalterns, thirty-seven Serjeants, 'thirty-two Corporals, twenty Drummers, and five hundred 'and ninety-eight privates:' which differs from the state of the guards, on the fifth ultimo, by two hundred and fifty-seven, all ranks included; this however does not comprehend the guards at the general hospital and bridge over St. Charles, or the advanced detachments. The two men, who were condemned to die for robbery, have thrown dice for life, the Governor having been generously pleased to pardon one of them; eleven was the lucky number, which fell to the lot of a soldier of the forty-third regiment, who, it was remarked, did not discover the least satisfaction upon the occasion, either by his complexion or otherwise: the other poor fellow was instantly executed, and behaved quite undaunted, though with great decency. The detachment,[1] that has been down the south country, is returned to Point Levi, whence the Commanding Officer has apprized the Governor of Captain St. Martin,[2] a French regular and famous enterpriser, being in that neighbourhood, with a body of five hundred men of all kinds; and that he has received intelligence of their intention to attack him there this night. The General immediately sent him orders 'to possess himself of the church and Priest's 'house, and to defend them to the last extremity; that, in 'case the enemy should prove more obstinate than usual, 'his Excellency would send him a field-piece, [233] with 'a reinforcement; for which purpose the guard on the 'citadel of Cape Diamond have received commands to be 'very attentive to that quarter.' A great storm of wind and snow this night.

22d to the 31st, inclusive. Beacons are now erected along the road from the garrison to the forest of St. Foy, which were extremely necessary, as the whole country is covered, to the depth of several feet,

[1] Under Captain Leslie.

[2] Captain St. Martin was in charge of the post at the Foulon in the month of September, until he was replaced by Vergor.

with snow; the soldiers and Canadians are ordered not to remove those marks, on pain of severe punishment. The light infantry being reserved for a particular service, it is directed that they shall not be sent on any out-commands for the future. The detachment under Captain Leslie are to return from Point Levi to their quarters this evening.[1] It is given in charge to the Officers that they are not to employ or hire any sleighs belonging to the inhabitants, unless they are impowered by the Adjutant-General, or Secretary to the Governor. The 22d instant is the night fixed for the execution of M. de Levis's grand enterprise, he being determined to dine under a French flag in Quebec, on or before Christmas-day. The detachment from the south country being arrived, all their snow-shoes, with their appurtenances, viz. mogosans, straps, packstrings, and socks, are ordered to be returned into the stores. The guard-houses are all provided with stoves, which are a most incomparable invention,[2] particularly well calculated for this northern climate, and far exceeding those used in the Netherlands*: the chimnies in those places are ordered to be shut up, whereby the heat, being close confined in the apartment, renders it much more comfortable to its inhabitants. The manner by which the people supply themselves with fish, at this season, is deserving of notice. A hole or well is made in the ice, about eight or ten inches [234] diameter; there the fish gather, in great numbers, for air, as some conceive; and others are of opinion it is for light. The person then amuses them by throwing down crumbs of bread, entrails of fowl, &c. and, while the fish are greedily employed

1759. Decemb.

[1] Captain Leslie returned to Point Levi, December 25; but he was detained to watch a party of Indians who were skulking in the vicinity. He reported that all his men had been frost-bitten on the expedition to the south shore.

[2] The old-fashioned iron stoves, which are still used in Quebec, must have been most welcome to the soldiers.

* They are of cast iron, the manufacture of this country, there being an excellent foundery at the Three Rivers, which is about half-way between Quebec and Montreal.—*Note by author.*

1759. Decemb. in feeding, he slips down a black hair gin, tied to a short stick; and, guiding it round one at a time, he draws it out of its element with a sudden jirk, and thus repeats it, as long as his frigid situation will permit him to continue on the ice;[1] before his departure, he lays a broad stone over the well, to render the air or light less familiar to the inhabitants of these aqueous regions, of which there are an inconceivable variety, of different sizes, from that of a sprat to a herring, of divers colours, and most delicious to eat, fried or stewed. We find the mogosan, with a double frize sock, much warmer, and in all respects more consentaneous to this country in winter, than a thick, hard, or stubborn soled shoe. A Surgeon's Mate, of the thirty-fifth regiment, who has been ill for some time past of a malignant fever, has paid the debt of nature. The Commanding Officers of regiments are desired to make their light infantry practise walking on snow-shoes, preparatory to the service for which they are reserved; to this end five pair of these rackets are delivered to each corps, and the Officers of the light-armed companies are to be answerable that they are neither lost nor broken: some of Captain Hazen's New-England Rangers are appointed to instruct our soldiers in the use of them.[2] Christmas-day is at length come round, and M. de Levis has not fulfilled his promise of dining with us, as he affected he had resolved to do: this grand festival was duly observed by the Chaplains of the garrison to a numerous congregation, as in England. I cannot omit taking notice of an incident that happened here yesterday: passing in the evening through one of the streets, before it was dark, I met a crowd of French people, of both sexes, with staves and lanthorns, and seemingly in great haste; upon inquiry I found it [235] was one of the Popish ceremonies. These deluded creatures were going in quest of Barrabbas the

[1] This method of catching fish is still in common use.

[2] The Rangers were accustomed to making long tramps across country on snow-shoes, and were well qualified to instruct the soldiers.

robber, who was released at the crucifixion of the Saviour of the world; and, having, after a long search, discovered a man who was to personate him, being concealed for that purpose, they bound him like a thief, and whipped him before them, with shouts and menaces, until they arrived at one of their churches, where it was pretended he was to suffer as Christ did, in commemoration of *His passion*.[1] 1759. Decemb.

The Officers cannot now command a servant, if he is a soldier; every man being engaged in the wooding parties. A deserter is come in from the enemy, who declares that mere necessity has drove him to this extremity, for that they have no kind of provisions, except bread, of which every man receives one pound, per day, with water; as he brought no intelligence, he was sent over to Point Levi, with directions to go where he pleased. The anniversary of St. John was duly observed by the several lodges of Free Masons in this garrison.[2] Notwithstanding all imaginable attention is paid to the preservation of the soldiers' health, and to the re-establishment of such as are in the hospitals, yet they daily grow sickly, and the utmost skill of the

[1] The editor has found no trace of any custom corresponding to that described by the author. The Abbé Lindsay, of the *Archevêché de Québec*, who was consulted on the subject, says that he has never "heard of any such manifestations, especially on Christmas Eve, when Barabbas is out of season. Had the hour been later I should have inferred that he saw the townsfolk going to midnight mass." He suggests that the passage may have arisen from a confused recollection of *La Guignolée*, misinterpreted as that custom might easily have been by the foreign soldiery. On the eve of New Year (not Christmas) the young people would march in a body from house to house, singing a song peculiar to the occasion, known variously as *La Ignolée*, *La Guignolée*, *La Guillonée*, &c., and seeking alms for the poor. The custom was brought from France, where it appears to have continued in some provincial districts down to recent times. It seems to be of considerable antiquity, and has been sometimes assigned to a druidic origin. Obviously the ceremony easily lent itself to boisterous fun-making—a fact which has led to its discontinuance in French Canada—and some such variation might have been witnessed by the author. (See *Chansons Populaires du Canada*, by Ernest Gagnon (2nd ed., 1880), pp. 238-253.)

[2] See note on Freemasons in Canada, vol. i. p. 183.

1759. Decemb. Surgeons is too frequently frustrated.[1] The people of this country, in the autumn, make large pits in their different burying-places, wherein to lay such as may happen to die in the space of the winter, it being impracticable to break ground in that season; and, as I have observed before, the corpse is preserved under snow until the spring, when they are properly interred. It is very remarkable that, though extremely severe as it is at this time, and even surpassing any description that I can give of our weather, there is a hawthorn-tree * [236] in the town which has shot forth new leaves within this week, to the admiration of all men; the inhabitants say they never observed or heard of such a phænomenon before, and flatter themselves it is a presage of a glorious revolution in their affairs; by this they would imply the recovery of Quebec, and their former government, which they hope will be effected in the commencement of the new year. For these three days and nights successively, we have had a violent snow-storm, with a high wind, at S. E. it is rare to see a fall of snow continue so long together. Our soldiers make great progress in walking on snow-shoes, but men, not accustomed to them, find them very fatiguing. These inventions are made of hoops of hickery, or other tough wood, bended to a particular form, round before; and the two extremities of the hoop terminate in a point behind, secured well together with strong twine; the inward space is worked, like close netting, with cat-gut, or the dried entrails of other animals. Each racket is from three quarters to one yard in length. At the broadest part, which is about the center, where it is fastened by thongs and straps to the person's foot, it is about fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen inches; a light lively man does not require them so large as he

[1] It is a matter of surprise that so many of the soldiers survived the hardships of this campaign.

* The hawthorn-tree, in Canada, is curious at any season; its leaf resembles that of our gooseberry, and its fruit is almost as large as our cherry, with four stones in it, and never less than three; the how [haw] has also a much richer flavour than those we usually meet with in Europe.—*Note by author.*

JAMES WOLFE

From the portrait painted by Gainsborough for Miss Lowther, now in the possession of Mrs. Horace Pym, Brasted, Kent

who is more corpulent and less active; the hard-soled shoe is not at all suitable to them; they must be used under mogosans, as well, for the sake of the wearer's feet, to keep them warm and preserve them from the snow, as that they will not bind on so well, nor be so soon worn out. The uncouth attitude, in which men are obliged to walk, is what renders them laborious; the body must incline forward, the knees bend, ancles and instep remain stiff as if the joints in those parts were completely ossified, and the feet at a great distance asunder; by this description, which is the best I can give, the reader may form to himself a lively idea of the snow-shoes, or snow-rackets, so frequently mentioned in the course of this Journal, and the use of them; the boys in Canada have them suited to their own size, and walk on them for exercise, and as one of their winter sports; the [237] heaviest man whatever, with a pair of them, may walk on snow that would take him to his neck, and shall not sink above an inch and an half, or two inches: light men, who are accustomed to them, leave barely their impression behind them. This invention, which I have delineated, seems to be a great improvement upon the kind used by the Russians and Calmuc Tartars in Siberia; one of their travellers thus describes them:—'They are made 'of a very thin piece of light wood, about five feet long, and 'five or six inches broad, inclining to a point before, and square 'behind; in the middle is fixed a thong, through which the feet 'are put: on these shoes a person may walk over the deepest 'snow; for a man's weight will not sink him above an inch; these, 'however, can only be used on plains. They have a different 'sort for ascending hills, with the skins of seals glued to their 'boards, having the hair inclined backwards, which prevents the 'sliding of the shoes, so that they can ascend a hill very easily; 'and, in descending, they slide downwards at a great rate.' In America they have only one kind of snow-shoe, both for hill and dale, and, by their central part being worked, as I have observed before, racket-fashion, they cannot slip backward or

1759. Decemb.

1759. Decemb. forward, in going up or down a precipice; besides, a board seems to be a rude discovery; for, when the snow clots to the under parts, it must render them heavy and troublesome; and I am inclined to think the tightness, that seems requisite in fastening on a boarded shoe of such an unweildy length, must incommode the foot considerably; whereas the rackets are secured with such freedom and ease to the feet, that the muscles and sinews are not confined, neither is the circulation of the blood interrupted; a circumstance deserving of the highest attention in all frozen climates.

An Officer, with a few rangers, were detached, some days ago, express to the Commander in Chief, with a report of the present state of our garrison, the mortality among the soldiers, and the repeated menaces of the enemy.[1]

1760. January, from the 1st to the 6th. [238] 'One Captain, two Subalterns, four Serjeants, four Corporals, two Drummers, and one hundred privates, to parade to-morrow, at nine o'clock, at the Jesuits' college, provided with three flints, fifty rounds of cartridges, and one week's provisions per man. The General expects, that the Officers, who conduct their regimental sleighs, will march at the head of them, to avoid confusion with other regiments. The mogosans which have been delivered to the Quarter-Masters,[2] are to be issued to the men immediately, as they are only useful in the frost, and were provided with a view, not only to prevent the soldiers being frost-bitten, but to save their shoes; it is therefore expected that no soldier parade for the future without them, for any duty whatsoever; some socks[3] have been issued from the stores, but it will be necessary for the regiments to provide more; skins for thongs will be delivered, upon application to the Quarter-Master-General. The sleighs are, for the future,

[1] This was Lieutenant Butler. According to *Murray's Journal*, he was sent on December 26.

[2] These moccasins were returned to the Quartermaster by Leslie's men after their expedition along the south shore.

[3] Socks must have seemed a luxury to the men after the odd strips of blanket which had been doled out to them in lieu of hose.

'to keep the right hand side of the road, and are to load from 1760. January.
'the magazine of wood near Lieutenant Warburton's[1] quarters
'at St. Foy, where it will be issued according to the regulations
'already given in orders. The General desires the Officers of
'the army will send in to Colonel Young, on Monday morning
'next, an account of all the things they have bought, either
'from English or French merchants, which are not yet paid
'for, in order that he may settle the prices. The sleighs are to
'go out by St. John's gate, and the covering party to be there at
'the usual hour; the Quarter-Masters of all the corps to attend
'Mr. Barron[2] at the farthest magazine of wood, at ten o'clock
'to-morrow. Two Captains, ten Subalterns, ten Serjeants, and
'six hundred rank and file, to parade, to-morrow morning, at
'ten o'clock, without arms, for fatigue; Engineers will be there
'to conduct them. Those men, who have been pitched on as
'wood-cutters, need not be sent until farther orders. The
'regiments are desired to send every man off duty to bring in
'wood from the nighest magazine, and to go out by the road
'leading from Port St. Lewis.'[3]

[239] We have variety of weather at this time; some days it is mild and pleasant, at others cold and windy, with drifts of snow, and frequent showers of hail, liquid and freezing rain: we have had forty-eight hours so inconceivably severe, that, notwithstanding our distress for fuel, the sleighing parties could not stir out; the town, just now, is one intire sheet of ice, insomuch that, being to mount guard in the lower town, I found it impossible to get down the precipice with safety, and we were therefore obliged to sit down on the summit, and slide to the bottom,[4] one after the other, to prevent accidents, the mens' arms being loaded. A magazine of wood is now forming on

[1] John Warburton, Ensign in the 58th Regiment, January 2, 1756; Lieutenant, March 15, 1759; Captain, December 30, 1763.

[2] Mr. Barron was given a commission as Ensign by General Wolfe on September 4.

[3] The Grande Allée.

[4] A feat still performed by children in Quebec as an amusement; ofttimes to the annoyance of their elders.

1760. January. the heights of Abraham, and is supplied by horse-sleighs: in a few days the garrison will be inabled to draw from thence, which being so near, and the soldiers being excused taking their arms, they will be able to make two turns per day, a circumstance that affords general satisfaction. The men grow more unhealthy as the winter advances, and scarce a day passes without two or three funerals; though several do recover, yet the hospitals still continue full: it is, indeed, melancholy to see such havock among our brave fellows, and their daily sufferings distress the Officers beyond expression.[1] The detachment of six hundred, with the Officers and Engineers, are employed in clearing the defences on the outside and within, opening communications, and throwing up parapets in the different avenues:[2] these new works are composed of spare dry casks, filled with snow well rammed down; and are supposed to be an excellent cover against musketry.[3]

From the 7th to the 10th, inclusive. The Commanding Officers of regiments, corps, and companies of light infantry, are ordered to meet the General at his quarters to-morrow, on the 8th, at ten o'clock. The troops are now directed to sleigh wood from the nighest magazine; the like detachment of six hundred, with the Engineers, are employed on each of those days as before. M. de Levis's menaces begin to be thought of with much more seriousness than heretofore. A French Officer, who is prisoner, has been some time at Montreal on his parole, and is now [240] returned to this town: this gentleman brought a very polite letter from M. Vaudreuil to the Governor, accompanied with a parcel of New-York gazettes. An Engineer is sent out to our advanced

[1] On January 2, Murray gave instructions for a strict account to be made of the effects of Joseph Cadet. Had the British made overtures to the shady contractor he would probably have been willing to supply the garrison with provisions, as he was in a position to place his hand on all the grain and produce in the country.

[2] On January 3, Mackellar recommended that the Heights of Abraham should be fortified.

[3] For the position of the barricade of snow barrels, see plan of battle.

posts, to render them still more respectable by the addition of farther works. The light infantry are ordered to do no more duties of fatigue, and to practise walking on snow-rackets from morning until evening. We have withdrawn our post from the redoubt which covered the bridge over[1] the river St. Charles, spiked the guns, and beat off their trunnions, as they were not worth being removed. M. de Levis has postponed his design of retaking Quebec from Christmas to the 20th instant, when he is to come down with a parcel of mortars, first to bombard the town, and endeavour to burn the Jesuits' college, knowing we have made it our grand repository of provisions; after which he supposes he shall find little difficulty in storming the place; and, for this purpose, he will only conduct the flower of his army against us, consisting of seven thousand regulars, including select bodies of *grenadiers de France*, and other superfine fellows, chosen from the most experienced and approved Canadians. It is whimsical enough to see what servitude is exacted even from the dogs in this country; in the winter, one of these animals, seemingly of the Newfoundland breed *,[2] naturally strong, and nearly in size to a well-grown sheep, is yoked, by a regular set of harness, to a sleigh suitable to his bulk and strength, on which they draw wood, water, &c. and, when employed in this manner, may be said to resemble horses in miniature: I have seen one of these creatures draw a cask of water from fifteen to twenty gallons, or an equal weight of wood, from one extremity of the lower town to the upper, which is a constant ascent; when he is tired, he casts a piteous significant look towards the driver, who understands the [241] signal; and, if it is on the pinch

1760. January.

[1] For the position of the redoubts, see plan.

* I would not be understood to confine all the canine species throughout Canada to this breed alone, for they have of every kind, large and small, of the ordinary cast, as in other countries: but this sort seems to be more general, on account of the services which they are able to perform, particularly at this season.—*Note by author.*

[2] Dog teams are still quite common in Quebec and in the vicinity.

1760. January. of a hill, the man places his foot, or something else, behind the sleigh, to prevent its running backward; which the dog immediately perceiving, and not before, lies down in his harness for a few minutes to rest; at other times, he will whimper under his load when he wants to be refreshed, particularly if his driver is not attentive to him; and then he is sure to be indulged *. In passing through the streets yesterday, as our soldiers were drawing, in like manner, their loaded sleighs from the magazine of wood, they met two dogs also under their drudgery; some of the men commiserated the poor animals, and others merrily called them by the epithets of comrade, yoke-mate, brother hack, &c. asking them what allowance of pork and rum they got per day? with many other pleasantries, which they concluded by inviting the peasant and his dogs to dine with them, telling the man where their barrack was, and the number of their mess.—I was in company when these circumstances were mentioned in the presence of the Governor, who, though he expressed himself like a tender parent towards his brave soldiers for their immense, yet unavoidable, hardships, could not forbear laughing at their humour, and admiring the alacrity and steadiness displayed by the poor fellows in this rigorous climate, and their very laborious situation; it must indeed be confessed they have an uncommon share of merit, for, instead of grumblings and discontents at their repeated toils, the harassed life they lead, the want of pay, from which they might derive many comforts and refreshments under their present exigences, [*sic*]—they contentedly and chearfully submit to the necessity of the times, exerting *all the man*, and the good soldier, upon every occasion; which excites still greater admiration in us, when we reflect upon [242] the many different

* In some of the Russian territories, and, if I mistake not, it is at Tobolski, the capital of Siberia, the ordinary method of travelling, during the winter season, is in sleigh-carriages; to one of which they yoke a pair of dogs, who will draw a load of three hundred pounds weight with surprising expedition.—*Note by author.*

dispositions and multifarious humours of such a body of men as generally compose the privates of an army.[1] The weather we had on the 8th and 9th exceeds every thing we have yet seen or felt, for severity: with a high wind and a storm of thick drifting snow, through which a person can scarcely walk, nor can he see ten yards before him.[2] On the 10th, it was moderate with sun-shine, and the depth of the snow is not to be conceived; insomuch that detachments are again employed to clear the works and communications throughout the town. A Frenchman arrived, to-day, from Montreal, who was formerly an inhabitant of this city, and instead of waiting on the Governor, endeavoured to conceal himself in the house of a friend; for which they are both confined in separate prisons, and are threatened to be treated with rigour. 1760. January.

ORDERS.

"When any of the regiments have brought in all their "wood measured to them by Mr. Barron, they are to apply to "the Quarter-Master-General to have more measured out for "them, otherwise they will not be allowed to take any, and their "sleighs will be obliged to return empty. The Commanding "Officers of regiments and corps will make Officers, who com- "mand the sleighing parties, answerable that they do not take "wood from any pile but their own; and every regiment will "send a Serjeant to the pile before the sleighs go out, to prevent "confusion, and hinder their wood from being carried away by From the 11th to the 15th, inclusive.

[1] After bearing all the privations of the camp for over a year, nearly a third of the effective survivors fell, killed or wounded, on the Heights a few months later.

[2] From all accounts we are inclined to think that the winter of 1759–60 was not more severe than usual. That of the following year was, however, much milder. On March 27, 1761, Murray wrote from Quebec to Amherst: "The winter has been surprisingly mild here, the river has never been frose over, & the spring advances by great strides. I eat a fine natural salade of Denty Lion this day." (*Murray Papers: Canadian Archives*, M. 898-D.)

1760. January. "other corps.[1] The regiments to send in returns to-morrow, at "orderly time, of the number of cartridges in their possession "fit for service, and the number wanted to complete them, "according to the general orders; they are also to send to the "artillery immediately all their spare ball and damaged cart- "ridges. A return to-morrow, at orderly time, to be given in "of the number of Officers in each [243] corps, exclusive of "the Staff of the garrison; and the number of fire-places and "stoves occupied in the mens' barracks. Whereas complaint "has been made to the General, from the hospitals, that the full "quantity of provisions, for the sick under their care, have not "been delivered to them: the Quarter-Masters of the different "regiments, for the future, are to be present themselves at the "delivering of those provisions, and must be answerable that "there is no imposition. The Governor being informed that "the oil is disagreeable to the soldiers, he has ordered the Com- "missary to issue a pint of pease or oatmeal in lieu thereof. "No houses whatever are to be taken down but by the working "parties. Two Captains, four Subalterns, eight Serjeants, four "Drummers, and two hundred and eight rank and file, to "parade to-morrow at nine o'clock; each man to have fifty "rounds of ammunition, two flints, and one week's provisions."

"A PROCLAMATION by his Excellency JAMES "MURRAY, Esq; Brigadier-General, and Commander "in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the River St. "Lawrence, Governor of Quebec, and the conquered "Countries, &c. &c.

"Whereas, I have thought proper, for the benefit of his "Majesty's British and Canadian subjects, to fix a price upon "corn and flour, and it becomes requisite to do the same upon

[1] The nuns in their annals gratefully acknowledge the services of the Highlanders in bringing in wood, clearing the snow, and performing all kinds of manual labour.

"bread and meat, which have been hitherto sold at exorbitant "prices; for this purpose the following regulations are made, "and I do hereby strictly command the due observance of "them: All British butchers and bakers, who design to follow "the said occupations, are to take out a licence for the same "from the Secretary; and any, who shall pretend to exercise "the said trades without licence first had and obtained, shall, "for the first offence, be fined five pounds; and, for the "second, besides the said fine, shall be imprisoned: the whole "of which said fines to be paid to the informer. The [244] "price of bread, being of proper weight, and well baked, as "follows: 1760. January.

"Bread.	Per lb.
"White, ...	. Five pence,
"Middling sort, . .	. Four pence,
"Brown, ...	. Three pence.

"Butcher's meat as follows:

"Meat.	Per lb.
"Beef, ...	. Five pence,
"Mutton, ...	. Six pence,
"Veal, ...	. Six pence,
"Pork, ...	. Four pence.

"And I do hereby injoin all butchers and bakers to conform "exactly to these regulations, on pain of incurring the same "penalties as if they had not taken out a proper licence. "Given under my hand and seal, at Quebec, this 15th day "of January, 1760.

"By his Excellency's command, H. T. Cr.[1]

"JAMES MURRAY."

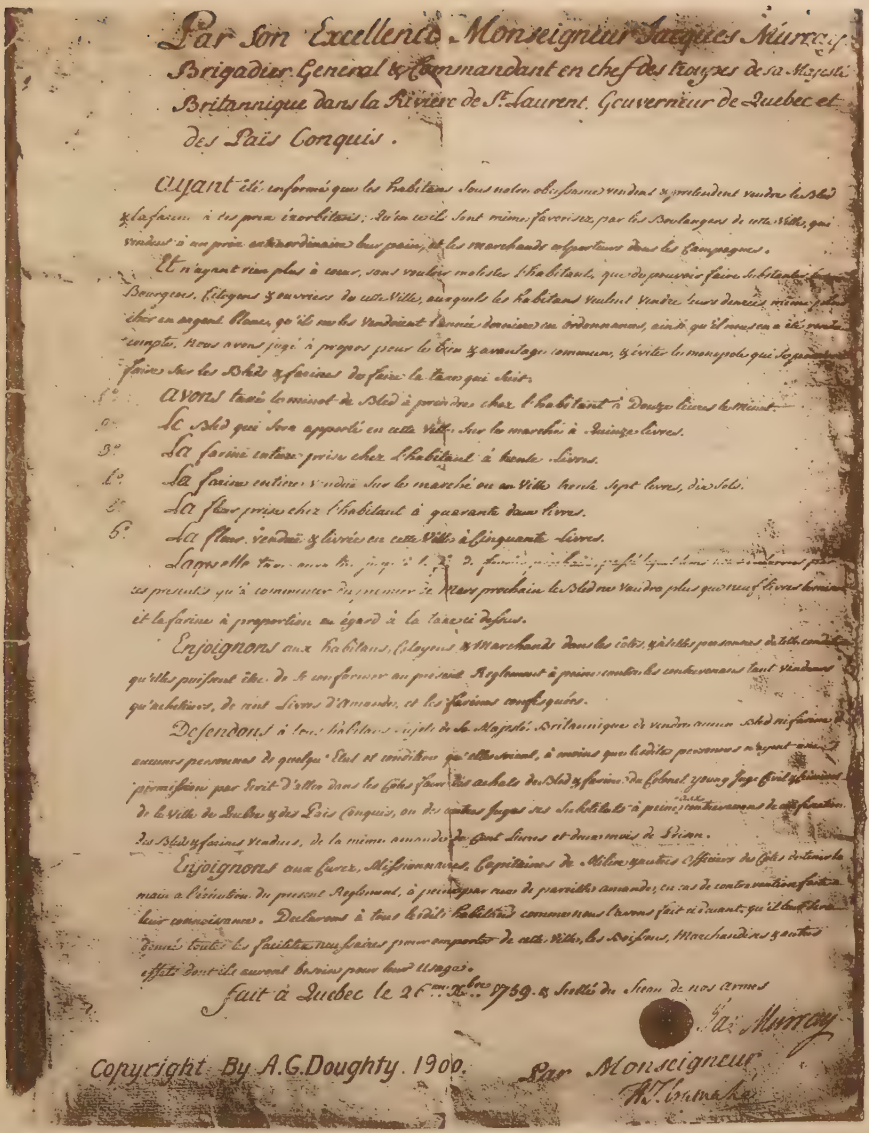
[1] Cramahé, secretary to the governor; see note, vol. i. p. 346. The order regulating the price of grain was issued on December 26, 1759; see illustration. There is a copy of the order quoted above in the *Murray Papers: Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.

1760. January. Two hundred men, with Officers and Non-commissioned in proportion, have been employed, each of these days respectively, on different fatigues; and all the rest off duty were engaged at wood-sleighing. We are pulling down the remainder of the houses which stood in the suburbs of St. John and St. Lewis, as they were thought to incommode the works, particularly the flank-fires; and obstructed the view of the centinels round the line. Some Frenchmen are taken up[1] on suspicion of illegal practices, being charged with inticing smiths and carpenters, from among the soldiery, to desert, with a promise of ten livres per day to each of these artificers, and a more considerable reward to any of them who should construct a sleigh- [245] carriage for cannon. A quantity of merchandises and liquors have been discovered among the ruins of some store-houses in the lower town, said to be the property of a merchant at Montreal, who formerly resided here; these effects are to be confiscated, the proprietor having thought fit to prefer a French to a British government; some arms and ammunition are also found among them. We talk now of fortifying a wind-mill advantageously situated on the heights of Abraham,[2] surrounding it with a breast-work, and mounting two pieces of cannon therein, with a Subaltern's command. A Frenchman is taken up for walking round our batteries; and others are apprehended and confined in separate prisons, on suspicion of sending intelligence to, and corresponding with, the enemy.[3] An ordinance is published to prohibit the vending, carrying, conveying, or

[1] Murray says: "Took up two men who Arrived but the Day before from Montreal; tho' they both at first denied any Intention to Return, yet at length one of them who had Letters Directed to that place, Confessed they were going Back, and from some Letters Intercepted, had great Reason to Imagine they were come to hire Artificers. After being Examined by some of my principal Officers ordered them to be closely confined." (*Journal*, January 11.)

[2] This windmill was on the Ste. Foy road not far from the St. John's Gate.

[3] Murray says: "Having Received Information that one of the French men I had given a Civil Employment to, held Correspondence with the Enemy, and Having no positive proof, Banished him to the Island of Orleans." (*Journal*, January 18.)



Par Son Excellence Monseigneur Jacques Murray
Brigadier General & Commandant en chef des troupes de Sa Majesté
Britannique dans la Rivière de St. Laurent. Gouverneur de Quebec et
des Païs Conquis.

Ayant été informé que les Habitans sous notre obéissance vendent & prétendent vendre le Bled & la farine à des prix exorbitans; & ces mêmes Bleds sont même favorisés par les Boulangers de cette Ville, qui vendent à un prix extraordinaire leur pain, & les marchands d'epiceries dans les Campagnes.

Et n'ayant rien plus à cœur, sans vouloir molester les Habitans, que de pouvoir faire subsister les Bourgeois, Colegans & ouvriers de cette Ville, auxquels les Habitans veulent vendre leurs denrées, même plus cher en argent Blanc, qu'ils ne les vendoient l'année dernière en ordonnances, ainsi qu'il nous en a été rendu compte. Nous avons jugé à propos pour le bien & avantage communs, & éviter le monopole qui se pourroit faire sur les Bleds & farines de faire la taxe qui suit.

1° Avons taxé le minot de Bled à pouvoir être vendu chez l'habitant à Douze Livres le Minot.
2° Le Bled qui sera apporté en cette Ville sur le marché à Quinze Livres.
3° La farine entière prise chez l'habitant à Vingt Livres.
4° La farine entière vendue sur le marché ou en Ville Vingt Sept Livres dix Sols.
5° La fleur prise chez l'habitant à quarante deux Livres.
6° La fleur vendue & livrée en cette Ville à Cinquante Livres.

Laquelle taxe nous [illegible] jugé à propos de faire publier [illegible] pour être observée par ces presentes qu'à commencer du premier de Mars prochain le Bled ne vaudra plus que neuf Livres le minot et la farine à proportion au égard à la taxe ci dessus.

Enjoignons aux Habitans, Colegans & Marchands dans les Côtes, & Isles, par nous commis de tenir la main à ce que ladite taxe soit observée, & contre les contrevenans tant vendeurs qu'acheteurs, de nous livrer à Amende, et les farines confisquées.

Desendons à tous Habitans sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique de vendre aucun Bled ni farine à aucunes personnes de quelque Etat et condition qu'elles soient, à moins que ladite personne n'ayent aussi permission par Ecrit d'icelle dans les Côtes sous les achats des Bled & farine du Colonel young Juge Civil & Surintendant de la Ville de Quebec & des Païs Conquis, ou des autres Juges par les Habitans à peine [illegible] contrevenans de confiscation des Bleds & farines vendues, de la même amende de Cent Livres et d'un mois de Prison.

Enjoignons aux Curez, Missionnaires, Capitaines de Milices, autres Officiers des Côtes de tenir la main à l'exécution du present Reglement, à peine pour nous de pareille amende, en cas de contravention faite à leur connoissance. Declarons à tous Ledits Habitans comme nous l'avons fait ci devant, qu'il leur sera permis toutes les facilités nous faires pour emporter de cette Ville, les Boissons, Marchandises & autres effets dont ils auront besoins pour leur usages.

Fait à Quebec le 26me 9bre 1759. & Scellé du Sceau de nos Armes

Jas Murray

Par Monseigneur
W. Brooke

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FIRST PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY MURRAY

From the original in the possession of the Ursulines of Quebec

exporting any merchandise, liquor, or effects of any kind, from the garrison; and charging the inhabitants, on pain of death, not to write, transmit, or even receive, any letters to or from the country, but such as the Governor shall have the perusal of. Lieutenant Butler, of the rangers, who was detached at Christmas, with a party of his own corps, to cross the country to New-York, are returned; they could not prosecute their journey, being closely pursued by a body of two hundred Indians for three days, and had no other way to escape, but by taking a different route; in which they were favoured by a great fall of snow that covered their tracks, and thereby inabled them to effectuate their retreat to this fortress without any molestation. The discoveries, made in the ruins of the warehouses in the lower town, are said to have been the property of the French King's Vice-Treasurer, and are so considerable, that it is expected they will greatly contribute to lighten the expences of Government in the support of the garrison, during this severe winter's campaign. Our weather various, and on some days much more rigorous than others, with high winds, snow, or freezing rain, alternately. 1760. January.

[246] ORDERS.

"The parties for wood are to parade with their sleighs "every morning at ten o'clock, and are to be escorted by the "Captain commanding the covering party to the magazine of "wood; the Captain will receive his orders from the Quarter-"Master-General, and will be answerable that all the parties "return carefully to town, and that his escort brings up the "rear. No regiment is for the future to send for wood but "once a day, and under cover of the party with arms; the "Officers will be answerable that their men do not take wood "from any pile but that which is measured for their respective "regiments: as frequent irregularities have been committed, it "is expected the like will not happen again, as they can only 16th to the 20th.

1760. January. "proceed from negligence and contempt of orders. The "sleighing and covering parties are to parade for the future on "the inside of Port St. Lewis, at eleven o'clock; the former "are ordered to carry their arms with them till farther orders. "The regiments will receive more snow-shoes for their light "infantry by applying to the Quarter-Master-General."

We have received intelligence that the enemy have brought some small field artillery down to Jacques Cartiers. Our artificers are constructing sleigh carriages for the service of cohorns, and guns of six and twelve pounders.[1] Upon a difference, we are informed, that has lately happened between M. Vaudreuil and M. de Levis, the former declared,—'If the 'other should decline the long projected scheme of storming 'this garrison, he, the Marquis, will execute the enterprise at 'the head of his brave Canadians.' (This is high *gasconade*, but there is nothing like putting a good face on the matter.) For this purpose they have erected walls of snow, fixed their ladders[2] against them, and are daily practising an *escalade*, to the great amusement of the women and children, who flock [247] from all the neighbouring parishes to see their gallant performances. The sleighing parties being again ordered to take their arms out with them is occasioned by the enemy's detaching some scouting savages, and others, to annoy them. The regulations, respecting the prices of corn, bread, and meat, may be advantageous to us hereafter; but, at present, there is no flour or grain to be got, and what provisions we are supplied with can only be procured, in the way of traffic, by exchanging salt for fresh. The inhabitants, and some of the troops who have acquired the method, take great quantities of fish on the river, through holes made in the ice, as before described; they are of various kinds, particularly small codlings, roaches, plaice, smelts,

[1] Information was given to Murray, "that several Shot had been stolen off the Batteries, and it was Remarkable, that It was Especially those which Fitted the French Guns." (*Murray's Journal.*)

[2] It is quite probable that the troops were exercised in this manner, as a number of scaling ladders were conveyed to Quebec in April.

and the *poisson d'or*, or gold fish, so universally admired in Europe, which is of different sizes from a sprat upwards, I am told, to the length of fifteen inches: but I have never seen any so large. A Frenchman, who dined some days ago at the mess to which I belong, gave us a most elaborate dissertation upon the sundry kinds of fish abounding in the river St. Lawrence, and the other rivers, bays, and harbours throughout the colony, the province of Acadia, and the stupendous lakes of Canada; he said he never saw any in such plenty and perfection as in this country; particularly their salmon, and a species of trouts peculiar to the lakes, which he called *truites saumonèes*, and are equally red and firm as salmon: whether he exaggerated or not, when he declared he had seen some that measured five feet in length, and weighed upwards of fifty pounds, I will not take upon me to determine, because it is possible; and, if I am not mistaken, they have, in some of the lakes in Ireland *, trouts, of an uncommon length and thickness, with all the properties of salmon. This entertaining gentleman, at my request, [248] favoured me with the following list of the principal fish inhabiting this excellent river, from its gulph up to the lakes. 1760. January.

Salmon,
Eels,
Bass, or Base,
Mackarel,
Gusperot,
Herrings,
Poisson d'or, or Gold-fish,
Chad,
Cod, of which there are several species,
Haddock,
Pike,

* Particularly in the county of Galway. And, if I am rightly informed, they are to be met with in most of the lakes and rivers in Scotland.—*Note by author.*

1760. January.

Turbot,
Hallibut,
Plaice,
Lamprey,
Sprat,
Perch,
Ray, or Thornback,
A particular species of Tench,
Congar, or Conger,
Smelt,
Roach.[1]

A great variety of small whales, particularly the *soufleur*, so called from his blowing or squirting the water, after diving, as whales do, through a hole behind his head; it is of a blackish colour. Porpusses, dolphins, and sea-cows innumerable.

Their shell-fish are small lobsters, crabs and oysters, cockles,

[1] The list furnished by the author contains the names of most of the useful food fish of the St. Lawrence at and below Quebec. A list of the fish in the St. Lawrence as described by Jacques Cartier, in 1535, is here given:

"As has been mentioned in previous chapters fish of all the kinds ever heard of abound in the river; for, from its mouth up to its end [*i.e.* as far as they went], in proper season will be found nearly all kinds of salt and fresh water fish; also will be found in Canada large numbers of whales, cod, sea-horses, and adhothuys, a kind of fish we had never seen or heard of. They are as large as a cod, white as snow, have a body and head like a grey-hound, and stay in brackish water between the river of Saguenay and Canada. There will also be found in June, July and August plenty of mackerel, mullet, barr (sartres), large eels and other fish, also as good as in the river Seine, and plenty of lampreys and salmon. In Canada are bass, trout, carp, bream, and other fresh water fish. And all the fish are taken in large numbers in their season by the tribes for food." (Stephens, *Jacques Cartier and his Four Voyages to Canada*, p. 76.)

The *Report of the Commissioners of Fish and Fisheries* (*United States*) *for* 1901 (Washington, 1902), pp. 227–240, contains a list of fishes known to occur in the St. Lawrence, prepared by B. W. Evermann and W. C. Kendall. Seventy-one species are catalogued, among which are found those to which the compilers attach the popular names of salmon, eel, bass, mackerel, herring, shad, pike, lamprey, perch, and smelt.

winkles and muscles, larger and finer-flavoured than in Europe: [249] but these latter are so coated with a pearly kind of sand, that it is difficult to open or clean them. 1760. January.

The lakes abound with sturgeon, armed fish, divers sorts of trouts * and eels, white fish, a species of herring, mullet, carp, gulfish, gudgeons, and an infinite number of other sorts, whose names are not known to any Europeans. I have not attempted to range the different kinds of fish in distinct classes, but implicitly followed my guide, in giving an exact copy of the list with which he presented me.

The same weather; daily labour, and covering parties, &c. &c. as usual. A Subaltern, Serjeant, Corporal, and fifty privates, provided with thirty rounds of ammunition, three flints, and eight days' provisions, per man, marched out, on the 22d, to reinforce the post at Lorette: a twelve-pounder,[1] with a quantity of artillery-stores and some Gunners, were also sent out; upon a double discharge whereof, which is to be the signal for the approach of an enemy, the detachment at St. Foy are to throw up rockets, until answered by the guard at the citadel on Cape Diamond. This procedure is in consequence of intelligence being brought,[2] that a large body of the enemy are come down to Cape Rouge; the centries round the line, and the patroles, are ordered to keep a good look-out, on this, and every succeeding night, for the rockets. It may seem extraordinary that the enemy have never attempted to molest the wood-cutters in the forest of St. Foy, and the men continually employed in drawing it to the garrison; to this I 21st to the 27th.

* Looking some pages forward into the original copy of this Journal, I found a piece of paper that had been mislaid, containing a memorandum I had made, when formerly reading M. Hennepin's History of Canada: he says, 'he has seen salmon-trout, taken out of the lakes, sixty pounds weight, five 'feet and an half in length, and above one foot diameter; red and firm as 'salmon,' &c.—*Note by author.*

[1] The gun was sent, according to Murray, for the purpose of giving the alarm, as rockets sent up at Lorette could not be seen in the city.

[2] The intelligence brought in to Murray was that the enemy had reinforced their advanced posts.

1760. January. must observe,—it has been frequently reported, but I cannot take upon me to affirm it as matter of fact, that, if we meet with any annoyance or inter- [250] ruption in this business, during the course of the winter, every house in the town, not actually occupied by troops and British merchants, shall be dilapidated, not sparing convents, or other public buildings; their timber cut up for the use of the garrison, and the inhabitants driven into the country. Moreover, that, in consequence of a letter, or message, to this purpose, to M. de Levis, he has promised that our detachments, cutting and drawing wood for fuel, shall not be molested; and that immediate orders, to this effect, have been circulated throughout the country, and among the regular Canadian and Indian forces.[1] All that I shall offer upon this subject is, that, though confidently and repeatedly this has been spoken of, it was not universally believed; nor did it ever gain credit with me: for, I am persuaded, the judicious precautions that hitherto have been, and still continue to be taken, are the principal causes of our not being interrupted or attacked, through the whole progress of this indispensable service. A deserter, from one of the enemy's advanced posts, informs us, that the French troops are so inconceivably distressed, for all kinds of provisions and liquors, that their perseverance is astonishing; he adds, that their numbers may amount to about twelve thousand, including savages, &c. who are all so dispersed, and at their liberty to shift for themselves, that they scarcely deserve the name of an army.[2] When this fellow was brought before the Governor, there was a French Officer present, who is a prisoner on his parole: he seemed disconcerted at the admission of the

[1] There does not appear to have been any arrangement between the two commanders.

[2] Murray seems to have received different information every day as to the intentions of the enemy, but he evidently did not place much reliance upon it. It is doubtful whether there was a scarcity of provisions in the French camp at this time, although the *habitants* were not eager to part with their produce for the paper money of the colony.

deserter, and swaggered about the apartment in great wrath; after the Governor had examined him, he gave him a dollar, and, as soon as he got it into his hand, looking attentively on it, he cried out, '*ça, ça, l'argent blanc!*'[1]—This is no French 'money! Indeed, please your Excellency, it is a long, long 'time since I was master of so many livres; a few of these, 'properly applied, would induce even the Officers, as well as 'soldiers of the miserable French army, to follow my example.' —This speech enraged the Officer to such [251] a degree, that he exceeded all bounds of decorum, till at length being told, in a very peremptory tone of voice, 'that, if he did not 'behave himself as he ought to do, he should be confined under 'the same roof with this deserter, but not in such good com-'pany;' Monsieur thought it advisable to alter his haughty deportment, and apologise for his indiscretion. This garrison, it is now pretended, is to be stormed, in three different places, by three divisions, of five thousand men each, who are to be sustained by a corps of six thousand chosen men, including five hundred Indians. 1760. January.

One Captain, three Subalterns, &c. and three hundred men, are employed, within the walls, in throwing up traverses in 28th to the 31st.

[1] Silver was certainly scarce in the colony, the French making use of card money.

In 1685 the Intendant Jacques de Meulles issued what seems to have been the first paper money used in western countries. As there was neither printing-press nor paper-mill in the colony, he used the only suitable paper available, playing cards, and wrote on the plain backs, stamping them with his seal. The card money came to be issued in such large quantities as to be a nuisance, and was suppressed in 1717: but the need of currency compelled its restoration in 1729. It was henceforth royal money, made from plain cardboard, and bearing the arms of France. The amount of the issue was finally raised to 1,000,000 livres, more than ample for the business of the country. But the Intendant Bigot saw in paper money another opportunity for peculation. It had been the custom occasionally to make payments by giving *ordonnances*, orders on the Treasury at Quebec. This was the form he adopted, and from 1750 to 1760 he issued over 80,000,000 livres of such unauthorised currency. The *ordonnance* was printed in blank form on ordinary writing paper in France, and filled in by the Intendant in Canada.

See note on "The Canadian Card Money," in Appendix.

1760. January. different places, particularly from Cape Diamond to St. John's Gate, and, upon all eminences commanding the avenues and communications between the upper and lower town. Every species of ammunition round the line is removed into the stores, except ten rounds of powder and grape, and the like number of shot, per gun. Lieutenant Butler, of the rangers, with a few men, accompanied by an Engineer, are detached express to General Amherst.[1] The inhabitants assure us, that the French troops are retiring from the neighbourhood of our advanced posts towards Montreal, in consequence of intelligence received by M. Vaudreuil, of a large body of the main army, under General Gage and Sir William Johnson, being in motion on the side of l'Isle au Noix. The parole of the day, on the 30th, was *Clarendon*.—Our weather in general, for some days past, has been perfectly clear, with sun-shine; but the severity of the cold is indeed inconceivable; the wood-sleighing, and other fatiguing parties, as usual.

Feb. 1st. to the 6th. As fast as the provisions in the Jesuits' college are expended, they are replaced from other magazines in the suburb of St. Rocque; three sleighs per regiment are employed for this purpose. Spirituous liquors, wine, and vegetables, that have remained in vaulted cellars, and hitherto bade defiance to the severity of the weather, are now frozen; and we have at length got a free com- [252] munication with the south shore, by the channel also being frozen up, which, until this time, has been open for about a third of the distance a-cross the river. An Officer of this garrison, who is a prisoner to the enemy, is

[1] This statement does not appear to be correct. Lieutenant Butler and a few Rangers were sent with despatches to Amherst on December 26. The party returned on January 6, being unable to proceed further on account of the Indians. On January 26, Murray made a note in his *Journal* as follows: "As it is of the greatest Importance to let General Amherst Know our Situation here, and what preparations would be most necessary to be made for the Ensuing Campaign, I Detached this Day Lieut. Montresor and 12 Rangers, who Crossed the River this very afternoon to communicate with Genl. Amherst." Butler in the meantime had been detained at Point Levi.

arrived from Montreal, on his parole; he has been everywhere treated with great respect and politeness; and informs us that the Canadians and Indians, which composed the bulk of their army, are dispersed, but can easily be reassembled on very short notice; and that their regular and colony troops are cantoned in and about the different posts established between Cape Rouge and the capital of the upper country. He adds, that the fortress of Jacques Cartier, by reason of its elevated situation, appears very difficult of access; but, by all he could perceive, the works of the place consist only of a rampart of earth and fascines, with a ditch to the country side, and some picquet-work; that they have a large battery next the river, to command the channel, with flank-fires to scour the shore, both above and below the garrison; and that it underwent great repairs immediately after the defeat of their army on the memorable 13th of September, and had several guns mounted on the faces next the country, as they apprehended we would endeavour to become masters of that place, either to serve as a barrier to Quebec, or to demolish it. This gentleman likewise acquaints us, that the people at Montreal are as gay, and in as good spirits, as if they were in a more desirable situation, and had never encountered any difficulties, or sustained any losses; that he saw no signs of scarcity among them, but, by what he could learn, their troops are at a very short allowance, and all the necessaries of life are most immoderately advanced in price. 1760. Feb.

The light infantry are shortly to be sent on some important service; for this purpose they are now kept off guard and other duties, and are ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning, with their arms and ammunition complete, and their snow-shoes in good order. A report prevails, that an express [253] from General Amherst, with dispatches to our Governor, has fallen into the hands of the enemy, about fourteen leagues above this garrison.[1] M. de Levis, in order

[1] Murray makes no mention of this in his *Journal*.

1760. Feb. to display a little French humour, and to raise the drooping spirits of his army, has proposed to lay a wager of five hundred louis-d'ors, with General Murray, 'that a French 'fleet will arrive here, before a British one.' To this he received the following spirited answer:—'I have not the least 'inclination to win your money; for, I am very certain, I shall 'have the honour to embark your Excellency, and the remains 'of your half-starved army, for Europe, in British bottoms, 'before the expiration of the ensuing summer.' A regimental order, of the 5th, positively commands all Officers' servants to go on sleighing parties, with the rest of the men, in their proper turn, on account of the weakness of the regiment, through sickness, and the great severity of duty. The troops are desired to complete their ammunition; and their flints to three per man. Their arms to be hung up in such manner and regularity, as to be come at, on the shortest notice, without confusion. A regimental order says,—'in case of an alarm, 'lanthorns and candles will be given to each company by the 'Quarter-Master.' All the sleighs in the garrison have been some days confined to the removal of provisions, from the Intendant's palace, up to the Jesuits' college.[1] Several Canadians crossed the river from Point Levi, with their horses and sleighing carriages;[2] they report that the enemy daily appear, in small straggling parties, in their neighbourhood, under pretence of levying provisions; but they are inclined to think, by their numbers, they have a more considerable object in view. In consequence of this intelligence a large detachment will be made to beat up some of their advanced posts, while the light infantry are to be engaged in routing these enterprisers from the south country. A blockhouse, with cannon, is to be erected at Point Levi, opposite to Cape

[1] This precaution was taken by Murray to ensure the safety of provisions in case an attack was made on the lower town.

[2] On February 2 the river froze opposite the town, or, as the French say, "the bridge took," and thereafter the garrison was liable to surprise, as troops could cross from the south shore at many points.

Diamond. A six and a twelve pounder were mounted on distinct sleighs, when trial was made of them, and the invention answered [254] to our most sanguine wishes, being drawn and worked with as great facility, as upon wheel carriages.[1] 1760. Feb.

We have received further accounts this day, that a strong body of the enemy are assembled near the church at Point Levi, and have the modesty to declare they are now resolved to attack Quebec, and are in daily expectation of being reinforced with a more powerful corps, who are upon their march, escorting a formidable detachment of artillery.[2] Last 6th.

[1] Had Lévis appeared before Quebec a few weeks earlier than he did, no doubt the gun-carriages would have proved useful, but in April the snow had disappeared in many places, and the guns stuck fast.

[2] Towards the end of December, Murray had sent a despatch to Amherst giving him an account of the situation. A copy of this despatch is here inserted:

"Quebec, 24th Decr. 1759.

"Dr. Sir,—I send to you the Bearer Lieut[t]. Butl[er] that you may know how well we are here; we [have experienced] some difficulties, but they are now removed, and [we now] wish for nothing more than the Visit Monsr. de [Lévis] has threatened to pay us; if he really intends it, . . .

"I suppose he will think proper to put it off till [next] Spring, which does not begin till the month of [April]. I am told he may then bring all the force[s now in] Canada against us, as it will be impossible [for] your army to advance upon them till July; [you] must know they look upon the Isle aux Noix [as] impregnable, and the Approaches to Montreal [by any] other way impracticable till the Sun has had . . . influence—At present their regular troops [and] Cantonments in the Government of Montre[al are far] from them, and twelve Hundred of the Troupe[s de la] Colonie, are at Jacques Cartier, ten leagues [from here, and] they have made a fort there, have some Cann[on], and are daily bringing more—in the Cours[e of] the Winter when the Rivers are all Frose over, there may be a possibility of Surprising it, but if I attempt it, I will be sure of my Blow, a little Patience, and the Game is sure, this Post is of no Consequence—in the Operations of next Campaign, it will be out of the Question. Be Master of the River St. Lawrence, and the passage is Open to Montreal—I am sorry to tell you, I can do little to make you so; By an unhappy imprudence we have lost all our Ship Carpenters—of the 12 French Ships which attempted to pass us the 18th ultimo, five run ashore; Capt. Miller of the Seahorse with a Lieutenant all the Carpenters and almost all the petty Officers of the Navy left with us, without my knowledge, Eager for Plunder, I suppose, went on board one of the Wrecks, lighted a Fire in her Cabin, which by Carelessness communicated to some powder, & blew her and them to

1760. Feb. night they made a chain of fires upon the hills opposite to the garrison, by way of amusing us; and, lest it should be their design to make an attempt upon the contrary side of the town, the guards at the fortified house, and the other posts in the suburbs of St. Rocque, received orders to be as alert and vigilant as possible. Our two Governors visited all the guards

Atoms, two out of Six and Forty are only Saved—You must not therefore depend on me for the Craft I formerly promised to provide; my Boats are in very bad order, but I flatter myself I shall be able to fit out as many as will embark Eighteen Hundred or two thousand men; I have only five floating batteries of one Gun each, they shall be in order, but further I cannot promise —for this Reason chiefly I send Mr. Butler that you may have time enough to provide what Craft may be necessary for the River next Summer—Monsieur Vaudreuil has kept four frigates in Canada, they winter in the River Sorel, and as I am informed, are to be placed advantageously in the Spring to obstruct our Passage from this to Montreal—Every Body will have informed you, that last summer we never could call ourselves Masters of the St. Lawrence, on which River our Frigates have little command of the Shore; besides their Progress in it is very uncertain; Flat Bottomed Vessells are the Things, and a Number of them will make all very easy—Butler will tell you of the villainy of our English Merchants, and of the Methods I have taken to prevent the effects of it—He will inform yo[u] of the sobriety and good behaviour of the Tro[ops,] who will wait patiently till Cash arrives from [England]. I have taken an oath of Fidelity from every i[nhabitant] of the lower Canada, and their Arms are lodg[ed] with us; they have behaved well, and as they h[ave] reason to be pleased with us, I am satisfied th[at they are] Glad of the Change—and that their Country[men] above will not take up arms, nor desert their Ha[bita-]tions next summer as they did the last—I nee[d] not tell you how impatient we shall be to see [you] here, and I hope Lord Colvill will take care to b[e in] the Bason of Quebec, before the Enemy—Nothing ca[n] hurt us, but a French Squadron getting the Start [of] him; in Case of this Event I shall take my Precau[tions], and as soon as the weather will admitt, encamp a[nd] fortify myself on the Heigths of Abraham, where I flatter myself I can defy them, as long as my Prov[isions] hold out—This Measure will prevent me perha[ps] from making the necessary Amas of Facines, [yet] facilitate and quicken our Operations above, b[ut] you may depend on all imaginable diligence [on] my part, and that I am with great truth & Grati[tude,] Dr. Sr.

"Your's J: M:

"To His Excellency Genl. Amherst."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

(Butler failed to deliver this despatch, and it was probably conveyed to General Amherst by Lieutenant Montresor. At that time relief could not be sent to Quebec, but Amherst does not seem ever to have had a just appreciation of Murray's difficulties.)

and centries in the night, and were highly pleased with the watchfulness and diligence of both men and Officers. A Butcher of the army, and some of the citizens, who were intrusted with a considerable sum of money, a quantity of spirituous liquors, and salt provisions, belonging to the different messes of Officers, in order to change them with the people of the conquered country for sheep, pigs, poultry, beavers, hares, &c. &c. and some beef, have unluckily fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they were about to return from the south shore to the garrison with their stock. Our soldiers grow more sickly, and many of them are daily carried off by the inveteracy of their disorders, notwithstanding all imaginable care is taken of them. Every man who is able, and not upon duty, is employed on some service or other, both within and without the walls; and the poor fellows subsist under their incessant toils with astonishing alacrity.[1] 1760. Feb.

The light infantry companies are now incorporated under the command of Major Dalling, of the twenty-eighth regiment; and are ordered to be completed with firelocks instead of short carbines, at their own request. When it is necessary to make a large detachment from the garrison, the duty will be done by corps, beginning [255] with the eldest and youngest, and, in like manner, alternately; the first five regiments, for duty, with the light troops; a detachment of two Captains, six Subalterns, sixteen Non-commissioned, of equal rank, [f]our Drummers, and two hundred privates; and a smaller party of one Subaltern, two Serjeants, two Corporals, one Drummer, and forty privates; are all under orders of readiness to parade at a moment's warning, with their arms in exceeding good repair, fifty rounds of ammunition and three flints per man. The General has ordered that the number of women allowed to be victualled, according to the establishment of the several regiments, may receive full allowance for the future; on this 7th to the 12th.

[1] The amount of work accomplished by the soldiers under most trying conditions seems almost incredible.

1760. Feb. occasion a return was demanded of the females in each corps, a copy of which I beg to lay before the reader: and it is remarkable, that we have not lost one of them in the whole course of this severe winter, nor have they even been sickly.

Regiments.	Women *.
Fifteenth,	37
Twenty-eighth,	65
Thirty-fifth,	73
Forty-third,	63
Forty-seventh,	42
Forty-eighth,	82
Fifty-eighth,	53
Sixtieth, second battalion,	35
Ditto, third battalion,	38
Seventy-eighth,	58
Artillery,	20
Rangers,	3
In all	569

[256] The body of the enemy, on the south shore, are said to consist of five hundred regulars, three hundred Canadians, and two hundred savages; they are commanded by a Captain of the grenadiers,[1] who is a volunteer on this occasion; and their object,[2] say they, is to establish a post at the church of Point Levi, and to plunder the country; hoping thereby to distress this garrison. They sent a written message to the Officers of the British troops, which the peasant had orders to deliver to our Governor, on pain of having his house burned

* The Serjeant, who brought me this return, reported them all well, able to eat their allowance, and *fit for duty both by day and night.—Note by author.*

[1] Captain St. Martin.

[2] The object of the expedition, according to the Chevalier de Lévis, was principally to secure provisions in the vicinity of Quebec. (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 238.)

down, and was to this effect:—'If we wanted to have our hair 1760. Feb.
'dressed, and would honour them with our company, upon their
'ground, they had a chosen corps of expert frizzlers, (*friseurs*;
'alluding to their barbarians) at our service.' His Excellency desired the bearer to acquaint these enterprising heroes, that we would shortly have the honour to answer their polite billet, from the muzzles of our pieces.

The weather has been so uncommonly mild, inclining to a thaw, for some days, that our troops have been prevented from crossing the river. Our wood-cutters, at the forest of St. Foy, are called home. A detachment of French Grenadiers are sculking in the neighbourhood of our post at Lorette;[1] Captain Hazen, with twenty-five rangers only, surprised a large party of them, two nights ago, who were driving off some cattle: when they found they were discovered, they took to their heels, in the most precipitate manner, without firing a shot: the ranger pursued them above a mile, calling after them to stand and fight him. (For, says he, my fellows *feel bold* at the repeated success of the regulars, and wish for an opportunity to distinguish themselves in like manner;) but the Captain perceiving they retired towards a strong *defilé*, and apprehending a snare might there have been laid for him, thought proper to discontinue the pursuit, and contented himself with recovering the cattle, which were returned to their respective owners. On the 11th, some snow fell, and it froze hard; at night Captain M'Donald, and forty light infantry,[2] of the seventy-

[1] This detachment was under M. Dumas.

[2] Murray says under date of the 12th: "Detached early this morning Capt. Donald McDonald [McDonell] with a party to find out whether the Ice was practicable, and to draw out the Enemy in order to ascertain their numbers; this answered my Design, for the Enemy drew out of their Houses, and shewed themselves; As they appeared pretty much what the best Intelligence I could procure made them—between four or five Hundred men, I Determined to Dislodge them.

"13th.—Accordingly I ordered out a party with two Field Pieces to march directly over the ice, to the Church at Point Levi, while the Light Infantry crossed above the Town, in order to cut off the Retreat of the Enemy. There

1760. Feb. eighth regi- [257] ment, were sent down the river upon the ice, with orders to take a town,[1] and reconnoitre the situation and strength of the enemy on the south side; they would have surrounded a number of them who were in a detached house, but, unluckily, while the Captain was making the necessary disposition, an old woman came out upon private business, as is supposed, and ran back terrified, which caused an alarm. This active Officer, finding he was discovered, called off his men, and retired, agreeable to his instructions, the enemy firing, for near half an hour, at random, but did not venture upon a pursuit; there was not any blood drawn upon this occasion. The Subaltern and forty men, under orders of readiness, are to serve as an escort to two six-pounders, which, with an artillery Officer, and a proper number of Gunners, are to attend the light troops, who are to march this night, or to-morrow at day-break.

From the 13th to the 20th. This morning, a little before day, the light infantry crossed the river, and, upon gaining *terra firma*, Major Dalling caused a rocket to be thrown up, as a signal for the cannon to follow; a detachment of two hundred men marched at the same time, and inclined downwards, in order to divide the enemy's attention, while the Major was to gain the church and eminences of Point Levi: the enemy, alarmed at the rocket, began immediately to fire and yell, according to custom; but, perceiving, as the day dawned, that we had got possession, and were marching towards the church, they made a disposition as if they intended to maintain their ground, hoping their snow-shoes would give them a great superiority over us. The field-

was a good deal of Difficulty at first, as the Landings are always bad, upon account of the Rising and falling of the Tides; but the Enemy perceiving the movement of the light infantry, after a faint Resistance gave way, betaking themselves mostly to the Woods. Our loss was very trifling, and of the enemy we took one Officer and Eleven men. I immediately resolved to preserve the post, and left Two Hundred men in the Church and Curé's house."

[1] "tour": see Errata.

pieces being, by this time, arrived, the Major drew up one of them in front, which was so briskly served, that a few discharges of round and grape shot threw them into confusion, and dispersed them: our people then advanced, and, approaching the church and the Priest's house on the other side of the road, they received a furious fire, which, as usual, only served to animate our men, who instantly surrounded those buildings, and pelted them through the windows, until they dispossessed them; (for the light [258] infantry, having their snow-rackets,[1] were inabled, by means of the snow, to command the windows of the church, which were otherwise too high for them;) the enemy then betook themselves to the heights, whence they were soon routed, and, at length, retired to a post we formerly had there, called the lesser rock-guard: here they hoped to make a stand, as that place, by its singular situation, overlooks all the circumjacent ground, where our forces were last year incamped; but, perceiving, by some excellent movements made by our troops, that they were in danger of being surrounded, after first firing a few irregular shots, they retired with precipitation, leaving us in possession of the church and its environs; our intrepid soldiers pursued them for several miles with great eagerness, killing and wounding them in their flight: of the latter we think there must be many among them, as great quantities of blood everywhere appeared on the snow in their rear.[2] In this morning's rencounter a Lieutenant and fifteen men were made prisoners, seven were found dead in the church and the Priest's house, and five on the road to the westward of them; we also recovered a great stock of provisions they had collected, consisting of beef, mutton, bread, flour, and pease. On our side, a Serjeant was killed, an Officer and twenty men wounded; which was our whole loss. We cannot ascertain the number of the enemy that were engaged, for they had detached several parties down the river, to lay the country

1760. Feb.

[1] Snow-shoes.

[2] The French report that they lost fifteen men in this encounter.

1760. Feb. under contributions; but we compute them at about six hundred: one of the savages was killed at the first discharge made by the six-pounder, which so discouraged the rest of his painted fraternity, that they thought it advisable to keep at a greater distance, and wait the issue of the day; for they have an invincible dread of artillery. Carpenters were immediately sent over to barricade the windows of the church and the Priest's house, and a detachment will relieve the light infantry there to-morrow, being now resolved to keep that post, in like manner as the others at St. Foy and Lorette. Some deserters came over to us this morning, the [259] 14th; and inform us, that we killed an Officer, a Cadet, a Serjeant, and thirteen privates, including the savage;—the wounded, they say, they cannot ascertain, their people having instantly dispersed, so that an exact report of them could not be made; but they believe they were numerous,—*for it was as devil of a brush as ever they experienced;* this, with other circumstances, makes us conclude the enemy have suffered considerably: these fellows add, that their whole force did not exceed a thousand, but they had not above two thirds of that number, including about forty Indians, when we attacked them; the remainder being detached to different parts of the country for *vivres;* that, upon their being alarmed, on the night of the 11th, by our reconnoitring party, the rest of their barbarians and some Canadians, who are allied to them by marriage, and were dressed and painted *à la sauvage*, went off with discontent, carrying away great quantities of provisions with them. Between nine and ten this night we were alarmed by some rockets at a distance up the river, and, in less than two hours, we received advice from the Commanding Officer at Lorette, that some of his centinels had also seen them,—and, by their information, he thinks it was about Cape Rouge; but, before the arrival of this express, half of the troops in garrison were ordered to accoutre, and to remain in readiness to turn out at a moment's warning: an Officer and fifty men were likewise detached to reinforce that post, and

patroles were instantly sent from each regiment through their respective districts, to examine all the French houses, and inquire whether any strangers were among them. A citizen, who was employed by the Officers to purvey for them in the country, being charged with a considerable sum of money and several bushels of salt, was made prisoner by a straggling party of the enemy; whereupon a remonstrance was made to Monsieur Vaudreuil, with a menace to this effect:—'As 'the man is no soldier, or person bearing arms, if he is not 'restored, with every thing that was taken from him, the 'convents shall be laid under contribution, and such other re- '[260] prisals made as shall seem necessary, &c.' which was attended with success, the man being returned, with all his money and salt: the Governor-General, in some measure, apologised for this violence, by pretending the fellow was taken up on suspicion of his being a spy.[1] Our advanced posts at Lorette, St. Foy, and Point Levi, were this day, the 15th, relieved by three Captains, eight Subalterns, with Non-commissioned in proportion, and four hundred privates; the two former parties were escorted by two companies of light infantry; and, in consequence of orders to reconnoitre the country, they advanced within sight of the nearest post of the enemy, which is at St. Augustine, and made one prisoner, from whom we have the following intelligence: 'That a body 'of four thousand men had been, some time ago, assembled in 'the neighbourhood of Montreal, and marched down to St. 'Augustine, to preserve the name and spirit of an army in the 'colony, and to levy contributions on the conquered parishes; 'for this last purpose one fourth of their numbers were de- 'tached a-cross the river, but that, being defeated and driven 'from Point Levi, the rest of their forces retired immediately

1760. Feb.

[1] There are several references in this *Journal* to the arrest and detention of Frenchmen on suspicion. The author, however, makes no comment, believing, no doubt, that every act of the British officers was justified, and that similar proceedings on the part of the French were unwarrantable.

1760. Feb. 'towards their capital, except about three hundred, which still 'remain in the vicinity of St. Augustine and Cape Rouge, 'whereof one hundred only are regulars;' he adds, 'that their 'Officers affected to alledge, as the motive of their returning to 'Montreal, that the light troops of General Amherst's army 'were in motion upon their frontiers.' Being examined with respect to the rockets, he says, 'they had debates among 'themselves, whether they were so in reality, and played off by 'our people; or motions in the stars, which, with lights and 'flashes in the firmament, are usual at this season of the year.' This man confirms the repeated accounts we have, from time to time, received of the wretched condition of the French army, who, he says, are almost totally destitute of the ordinary necessaries of life. The orders for half the garrison to continue accoutred and in readiness is countermanded, and the light infantry are directed to do duty with their respective regiments. [261] Here follows an extract of the orders of the 18th instant: "As nothing is better for the scurvy, which is the "cause of the disorders in this army, than vinegar, the Governor "has ordered double the quantity that has hitherto been received "to be issued out to the soldiers, and the Quarter-Masters will "receive a whole cask each this day: and are to be answerable "that it is thawed, before they deliver it out to the men. The "light infantry, for the future, are to take the citadel and Cape "Diamond guards, that they may be ready to be detached, "whenever opportunity offers; for this purpose they must here-"after bring their snow-shoes with them, when they parade for "guards. One Captain, two Subalterns, &c. and two hundred "privates, to parade, to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, with "their arms and cartouch-boxes; these men are to cut fascines, "each man to make three per day, and he will receive two pence "for each fascine; such men as are expert in making them to be "sent on this duty. The covering party, to the wood-sleighers, "will remain out to-morrow, long enough for the regiments, "that chuse it, to make two turns." We have had pleasant

weather for some days past, and, wherever the sun shone, it was very agreeable, this season and climate duly considered. The enemy have lately contracted for several thousand quarters of beef in the south country; but the inhabitants, like the good old Vicar of Bray, seeing we have got possession of the church of Point Levi, and established a post there, wisely sided with the strongest party, turned upon their late friends, after their cattle had been slaughtered; and positively refused to supply them, or to grant any of their demands; the militia Captains, of the different districts, having informed the Governor of these matters, the beef is ordered to be collected, and brought over to the garrison, for the use of the sick and convalescents, who are very numerous; and the country people are to be supplied with store provisions in exchange.[1] 1760. Feb.

This morning the Commanding Officer at the church of Point Levi, pursuant to his orders, detached two Serjeants and twenty [262] men to scour the country as far as the river Etchemin; as they proceeded through a dangerous *defilé*, which is a hollow road environed with dark woods and eminences, leading to a narrow foot-bridge,[2] they were fired upon by a body of French and Indians, who killed two men, and made a Serjeant and six others prisoners: this unexpected salute threw the rest into some confusion, but the remaining Serjeant boldly rallied his men, made a stand, and returned the fire into the cover, though they could not discern their enemy; at length a peasant luckily came up at that instant, by a cross road, with a green bough in his hat, and advised the Serjeant to retire to the church as fast as possible, otherwise he must inevitably be surrounded by above ten times his numbers; the Serjeant accordingly retreated in a very orderly manner, keeping his companions well together, lest the enemy should pursue them; which, however, they did not attempt. This is From the 21st to the 25th.

[1] Murray says that he ordered these provisions to be brought in and paid for at a reasonable rate.

[2] See plan.

1760. Feb. the identical pass where the Surgeon's Mate,[1] with his escort, were way-laid, on the 26th of July last, as has been mentioned in its proper place. A Serjeant and three privates, of the seventy-eighth regiment, were killed by the falling of an old house. Our weather changed to a liquid rain last night and this morning, the 22d; which is remarkable at this season, and is the first we have seen since the setting in of the frost.[2] The troops are ordered to contrive ways and means to draw off the great quantities of snow from the tops and sides of their houses, before it begins to melt, to prevent the Officers and soldiers from being wet in their quarters;[3] this precaution is extremely necessary, and is recommended to be put in practice without loss of time. The wind having shifted to the north-west on the 23d, it froze immoderately hard; and the enemy, taking the advantage of it, marched down to the ground on the south side, that was occupied by the forty-eighth regiment last campaign, known by the name of Burton's redoubt; and threw up some traverses with logs and felled trees, intending to establish a post there, in case of being repulsed in their farther enterprises. On the morning of the 24th they advanced [263] towards the church to reconnoitre our situation, and met with a very warm reception; the garrison being alarmed, the light infantry were immediately detached, and the General marched in person with four regiments, and as many pieces of cannon, six-pounders, in order to sustain the others, in case it should be requisite: his Excellency drew up this brigade with

[1] Surgeon's Mate Rigby.

[2] There are usually two or three days of mild weather in February, however severe the winter may be generally.

[3] The removal of ice and snow from dwellings is often attended with difficulty and danger. Frequently the whole surface of the roof becomes a solid piece of ice six or eight inches in thickness. A sudden rise of temperature will cause the ice to slip forward in a solid mass. To prevent accidents, the overhanging portion has to be broken off with an axe or mallet, or with poles from the upper windows. When these methods are unsuccessful, men ascend the roof, and with a rope attached to the waist, held by companions, venture towards the edge of the roof to dislodge the ice.

his artillery on the river, and, the relief of the guards being postponed until the evening, the rest of the troops in garrison remained under arms, on the grand parade, for several hours. The enemy made a faint attempt at the church, but, upon the appearance of Major Dalling's corps on the hills above them, they sheered off, with great precipitation, to their breast-works, whence our people soon routed them: at their first giving way, the Governor faced the brigade that was on the river to the right, and marched, with all possible speed, to the mouth of the river Etchemin, hoping to cut off their retreat; here a warm contest ensued, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, when they at length gave way, with great loss, having forced a road over the hills to the southward, a-cross the country, before our light infantry could possibly get round to intercept them.[1] We made several prisoners, who, with some deserters that afterwards came in, informed us, that their whole force amounted to near eight hundred men, consisting, for the most part, of regulars and *troupes de colonie*, except about forty savages; that they were commanded by M. St. Martin, a Captain of grenadiers, who came fully determined

1760. Feb.

[1] Murray says: "At six in the morning was Informed that a large Body of the Enemy was seen moving on the opposite shore, towards the Church of Point Levi. Having received Intelligence they were not above a Thousand or Twelve Hundred strong, after Detaching the 28th and 63rd Regiments to draw up opposite two Different Roads on my Right, I Determined to cross over upon that which led nearest to the Church, with the Light Infantry, 15th Regiment, Four Hundred Highlanders, and four pieces of Cannon; Capt. Hazzen with his Rangers who had seized some of the Heigths, covering our landing very properly. As soon as the Enemy perceived some of our Troops had got a Footing, they gave way. When I perceived this, I ordered Colonel Fraser to march upon the Ice with his utmost Diligence, in order to cut them off Between the Treschemin and the Chaudière; but their precipitate Flight saved them, and he Could Come up only with a Rear of their Column, where he made fifteen or Twenty prisoners; some few were Killed and wounded. From these Prisoners we were informed the Party consisted of about Five Hundred Regulars, five Hundred Inhabitants, and some Indians. They had Volunteers selected for the Attack of the Church, but prudently declined approaching it too Near; the Troops which had marched out Returned the same day into Town." (*Journal*, February 24.)

1760. Feb. to strike a *coup de main*, and get a decisive possession of the church. We are told that they suffered very considerably, which we conjectured, by the quantities of blood that every-where appeared, they must have done; and we could perceive them dragging off many of their lifeless companions, and others who were wounded: the post at the church was immediately reinforced. On the morning of the 25th four other deserters came in, by whom we learn, that the enemy had seven men killed at the church, and nineteen wounded; that their whole loss there, in the pursuit, and at the point by the [264] river Etchemin, amounted to near sixty, killed, wounded, and prisoners; that M. St. Martin hoped to have retrieved his honour yesterday, for his miscarriage on the 13th instant; and had actually eight hundred men, many of whom were volunteers and chosen veterans, besides savages, and forty hatchet-men, provided with hatchets, wood, and pickaxes, who were to have forced the doors of the church and parsonage-house, rushed in upon our people like a torrent, and put every man to the sword; it is added, that the Indians could not have been prevailed on to imbark in this enterprise, until they were assured that they should be rewarded with the scalps of all the killed and wounded. Our loss, yesterday, was one man killed; a Serjeant, Corporal, and four privates wounded; all that suffered on the part of the enemy were carried off on sleighs, which, with horses and drivers, they brought from St. Michel for that purpose, where their forces rendezvoused, previous to their attempt on Point Levi. The women belonging to the troops are now ordered to be victualled, at four full rations for six;—which is the number that each company, throughout the whole, are to return and draw for. A detachment of one Major, three Captains, six Subalterns, twenty-four Non-commissioned of each rank, six Drummers, and three hundred men, are to parade, to-morrow, at day-break, with arms, three flints, fifty rounds of ammunition, and one day's provision per

man; such of the light infantry as are, in their turn, to go with this command, are directed to take their snow-shoes with them; it is said, that two naval Officers, and a party of seamen, are to march with the foregoing detachment to-morrow. 1760. Feb.

We have now got milder weather, and, though it freezes hard at night, the sun grows comfortably warm for the greatest part of the day; we have excellent skaiting from the garrison to the south shore, where a block-house will shortly be erected, which the Carpenters are framing for that purpose. Major Elliot, of the forty-third regiment, with the above-mentioned detachment of three hundred, &c. and a body of sailors, crossed the river, this morning, to the [265] village of St. Michel, on the west side of Etchemin; and consumed every house throughout that parish, as far as the Chaudiere; they returned in the afternoon, without meeting with any annoyance.[1] Though melancholy and disagreeable a procedure of this kind may be, and undoubtedly is, to every upright and generous mind, yet the wretched inhabitants certainly incurred this punishment by their late revolt; for their young active men not only took up arms and joined the enemy, but they also endeavoured to inveigle the neighbouring parishes into the same breach of allegiance, contrary to their respective engagements; and they moreover neglected, in contempt of the Governor's From the 26th to the 29th.

[1] General Murray thus refers to the affair: "As I was Informed the French Detachment had Concealed itself for two Nights in Houses at point Levi, within about six miles of our Post, without any of the Inhabitants giving the least Notice, I thought it a proper Punishment to Burn these Houses, at the same time, that it put it out of the Enemy's power to make use of them a second time. Published my Reasons for so doing, as the Enemy's Endeavours to Dispossess us of the Post, more than ever pointed out to us the Utility of it. I Reconnoitred the Ground in order to fix some spot, on which to Erect a Fort the Ensuing Campaign, and in the meantime Resolved to Erect two Blockhouses in order to Command the High-Road and Landing places—one of them to be a large one and two pieces of Cannon to be put into it." (*Journal*, February 26.)

1760. Feb. repeated orders, to acquaint his Excellency with the arrival of M. St. Martin's corps in their district; vainly flattering themselves, if that Officer should succeed, which they did not doubt, in the recovery of the post at Point Levi, he would be able to protect them, and the south country, at least, until a farther reinforcement might arrive, to put their future situation decisively beyond dispute. The General immediately published a placart, wherein he set forth his reasons for proceeding to such grievous extremities, so very repugnant, (as he justly observes) to the humane sentiments of a British army and Commander: requesting, at the same time, that the Canadians in general of the conquered countries will, hereafter, take warning by this dreadful example, &c. &c.

A Lieutenant of the French Rousillon, who has been our prisoner since last September, and was every day hospitably entertained at the Governor's table, is put in arrest for some mal-practices. Two Ensigns are ordered for interment, who died of the malignant disorders which have raged this winter among our men, and still continue to diminish our numbers. A detachment of two hundred privates, with three Subalterns, &c. are sent down to the isle of Orleans to make fascines, and are to remain there till farther Orders. A deserter from one of the battalions of the sixtieth regiment, who left us last campaign, arrived late at night on the 27th, [266] being intrusted with a letter to the Governor, from a Captain of Rangers, who is a prisoner at Montreal; he set out from thence two days before the French army were to move off, who are at length coming down to execute their long projected undertaking for the recovery of this garrison; their forces are said to consist of three thousand regulars, eight thousand select Canadians, and three hundred savages, with a respectable train of artillery. Our intelligencer has also sent off an express to General Amherst with these particulars, and likewise to inform him, that two hundred men only are to be left at Montreal. Through the same channel we learn, that

a small squadron sailed from New-York, for the river St. Lawrence, near six weeks ago; this, however, does not gain credit, the navigation being intirely shut up with ice, a circumstance of which our friends to the southward cannot possibly be ignorant. The light infantry are reserved from duty, being under orders of readiness to take a hunt, as we now phrase it, at a moment's warning. A flag of truce came to the church of Lorette on the 28th at night, with proposals for an exchange of prisoners;[1] a complimentary letter was also sent to the Governor, with others on business to merchants of this city, inclosed in the same packet, for his Excellency's inspection. The French army are arrived at Jacques Cartier *;[2] it is pretended that Monsieur de Levis will form his forces into three divisions, and make a rapid attack on our detached posts, *tout d'un coup*, which is to be executed by a signal of three rockets; and, after cutting off such a number of healthy and effective men, they flatter themselves, from the weakness of our garrison by sickness and mortality, we shall be reduced to the necessity of surrendering to their superior army. Captain M'Donald, of the seventy-eighth [267] regiment, was sent out with an answer to the French General; and, as the enemy expected it, they detached a Serjeant's party to a certain distance from their most advanced post to meet our flag, that we might not gain any intelligence of their strength or situation; but M'Donald, instead of delivering his dispatches to the Serjeant, told him he was a Captain, and spiritedly ordered 1760. Feb.

[1] General Murray says under date of the 27th: "A French officer brought a packet to the advanced post of Lorrett . . . 29th . . . Answered Monsieur de Vaudreuil's letter and sent it with Captain Donald McDonald of the Highlanders, that He might have an opportunity to take a view of the Posts." (*Journal.*)

* A settlement so called from the name of a man who is said to have commanded a fleet in the first discovery of this river and colony, and was shipwrecked against that part of the coast overlooked by the eminence whereon the fort of Jacques Cartier now stands.—*Note by author.*

[2] This river was named by Jacques Cartier during his voyage in 1535.

1760. Feb. him back to his commander, with this message, 'that, if he would not send out an Officer of equal rank, by a certain time limited, he would return to Quebec, without imparting the purport of his errand;' Monsieur was too polite to be refractory on this occasion, a Captain and Drummer being immediately sent out to receive his express. I am credibly informed, that the proposal, on the part of the enemy, for an exchange of prisoners, was only *finesse*, to procure an opportunity of reconnoitring our post at Lorette; for which, and other reasons, our Governor acquainted M. de Levis, 'if he 'will return the Serjeant who was taken the 21st instant, he 'will release to him the Ensign whom we took at Point Levi 'on the 13th preceding.' A Field-Officer is ordered, for the future, to visit our out-posts twice in every eight days. The duty of this garrison is now so severe, by reason of our immense numbers of sick and weak men, that the General has been pleased to ease the corps of their regimental guards; in this case, all prisoners are to be sent to the guards most contiguous to each regiment's district, together with their crimes specified in writing, signed by an Officer; and must be immediately reported to the Commander of that battalion to which such delinquents may belong. Ginger being esteemed a most specific corrective in scorbutic cases, a quantity of that spice is issued out to the troops, for which, as is mentioned in the orders, "they will pay the Government's price."

March, from the 1st to the 12th, inclusive. The effective strength of our garrison, on the 29th of October last, was seven thousand three hundred and thirteen, all ranks included:[1] at this period I am concerned to observe, comprehending every degree, we are reduced to four thousand eight hundred fight- [268] ing men; fevers, dysenteries, and most obstinate scorbutic disorders have been the cause of this great decrease; and our various hospitals are, at this instant,

[1] See note 3, p. 246.

overcrowded with patients.[1] Five thousand pounds weight of brown sugar is ordered to be issued out to the troops, at the same prices as before; and the Pay-Masters of regiments are desired to give in bills on their Agents in London, to the Treasurer, for their respective proportions. 1760. March.

Some accidents having happened in the streets by the men slipping and falling, it is again ordered that they parade with their creepers for all duties within the town. Commanding Officers are desired to have all the wells in their respective districts shut up, that their men may be obliged to use the river water. As there are flying parties of the enemy on every side the town, our soldiers are once more injoined not to stray to the south shore, or to any other place, without the walls, except when sent upon duty. We are informed that M. Bois Hibert is arrived in this country from Nova Scotia, and has brought the greatest part of the natives to reinforce the French army; it must be through this channel that we have received intelligence of the different tribes of Indians in that province,

[1] The monthly return signed by Brigadier-General Murray, February 24, 1760, gives the following statistics:

General and Staff Officers		11
Engineers (7 present, 1 absent)		8
Regiments of the Line:		
Officers Present: Commissioned, Staff, and Non-Commissioned		861
Rank and File:		
Fit for duty	4012	
Sick present	1307	
Sick and wounded sent to New York	669	
On command in Canada	539	
On command at Halifax and New York	538	
On furlough	36	
		7101
Artillery:		
Effectives present	184	
Sick present	12	
Absent by leave	3	
		199

There were, in addition, 25 carpenters from Massachusetts. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

1760. March. and its dependencies, having buried the hatchet, and concluded a peace with Governor Lawrence. The orders of the 5th are to the following effect: "Perhaps there is not a garrison that "has, for so long a time, been so healthy as this; the sobriety "of the soldier, and the vigilance of the Officer, have greatly "contributed towards it; but, lest too great a confidence in our "own strength, inabling us to bear the severity of the approach-"ing season, should lead us to omit any aid we have in our "power, it is particularly recommended that all regard be had "to cleanliness, both in barracks and hospitals, especially the "former: Serjeants and Corporals are ordered, every morning "when the men get up, to see that their bedding be well shook, "the births and rooms well cleaned; the vinegar well thawed, "and given to their respective messes, in the proportions allowed "to each; and, as the companies are [269] provided with "a quantity of ginger, they are also to see the men mix it with "the water they have occasion to drink,[1] which water must be "always taken from the river; this is to be read to the men, "and a copy of it fixed up in every barrack-room."

With respect to the former part of these salutary orders, they were thought to be the effects of good policy, that the men may not become too depressed, or dispirited, under their afflictive maladies, or at seeing such immense numbers continually in the hospitals, and funerals so frequent throughout the garrison. It was said, upon this occasion, that perhaps his

[1] Under March 3, Murray makes the following entry in his *Journal:* "Ordered the Wells to be shut up, as the water was Reported to be unwholesome; this day two young New-Englanders, who had been taken up by the Indians some years ago, were in consequence of my orders brought to this Town by the Acadian Woman who had Redeemed them, for which I gave her a handsome reward. As I was Determined to Fortify the Heigths of Abraham, ordered a Detachment under proper officers to be selected, in order to cut Facines and piquets for that Purpose; likewise sent an order to the adjacent parishes to make 10,000 Facines, and 40,000 Piquets, in order to be Ready to fall to work as soon as the Season would permit us to fortify; began also to send over the Timber for the two Blockhouses at Point Levi; began also to Repair the flat Bottom'd Boats."

Excellency's superior experience, particularly in the beginning of the then late war at Porto Bello and Carthagena, where he had an opportunity of seeing both Officers and soldiers buried, not by dozens or scores, but by hundreds, might influence him to think less of the daily decrease of our most able duty-men here, by inveterate diseases, and their fatal consequences; at the same time it has manifestly appeared to every man in this army, that—that excellent ingredient in the composition of an able observant General, *the preservation of the health of the soldiery*, has been peculiarly prevalent in the Governor, and seemingly as if actuated thereto by motives of humanity and fellow-feeling, equally as by sound policy. Information has been received, that a body of six hundred regulars and militia, with two hundred Indians, under the command of M. Jotriel, are down at Beaumont, about three leagues to the eastward of Point Levi, purveying for the French army. A return is required to be made of the state of each grenadier company, specifying those fit for duty; this occasions some speculation. 1760. March.

ORDERS.

"As it is impossible to get fresh provisions for the troops, "in our present situation; for the preservation of the soldiers' "health it is absolutely necessary to give the utmost attention "to freshening and boiling pork, which ought to be done in the "[270] following manner: pork or beef to be steeped, at least, "twenty hours, changing the water three times, scraping and "washing the salt off at each time that the water is removed, "and then boil it with the pease, as usual; but the soldiers are "desired, as they value their own health, never to eat their salt "meat raw or broiled; these orders are to be fixed up in every "barrack-room, and the Commanding Officers are to be answer-"able they are put in execution."[1]

[1] Murray seems to have done everything possible, under the circumstances in which he was placed, to preserve the health of the troops.

1760. March. Three deserters are come in from the French regulars, who inform us that a resolution had actually been taken to storm this garrison, and was to have been executed on the 15th instant; but that the project is now intirely laid aside, for which they give us the following reasons: an attempt was to have been made by *escalade*, and for this purpose a considerable number of ladders, of different dimensions, were provided, and several of them reared against a church for the practice of an army; that many experiments were exhibited, and efforts used, to instruct their troops in this kind of service; but, that such was the impetuosity of the men, some ladders slipped, and others were broken, whereby great disasters have ensued, viz. legs and arms broke and strained, sculls fractured, bruises innumerable, and five Canadians were ruptured by the falls they got; that these accidents had so effectually chilled the enterprising natives, who were the first promoters of this Quixote undertaking, that they positively refused, upon the ladders being replaced, to make farther trial, concluding it would be impracticable to recover the town by insult or *escalade*. In consequence of these desponding sentiments, the General and Field-Officers returned to Montreal, leaving the Captains to march back the regulars to their cantonments, and the militia dispersed to their respective districts. These fellows add, that the *troupes de France* were very sanguine in this undertaking, in hopes, if they succeeded, of acquiring a great deal of plunder, and a larger allowance of pro- [271] visions; moreover, if their Officers had thought it advisable to persevere, their private men were well disposed to make the attempt by giving the first assault; but, that wisely foreseeing they could not depend upon the Canadians sustaining them, it was unanimously resolved, in a council of war, to decline the enterprise. A blockhouse is erected at Point Levi,[1] to secure the landing, and command the communication between the garrison and the church; three nine-pounders are mounted

[1] Three blockhouses were erected at Point Levi for this purpose.

there on ship-carriages, in like manner as at the great advanced blockhouse, in the center of the chain behind the town. Four other deserters are come in, who confirm the report of the *escalade;* and subjoin, that the Indians are threatening to break with the army, and the country would gladly surrender; but that, their general Officers flattering themselves with the arrival of a fleet and succours, as soon as the season will permit, it is instant death to talk of capitulating: they farther say, that their troops are in the greatest distress, and the Canadians are overwhelmed with despair, being in continual dread of the light troops of General Amherst's army, who, they persist in affirming, are upon their back settlements, spreading desolation throughout their frontiers; whence many wretched families are arrived to seek for refuge on the island of Montreal.—A Lieutenant, and five privates, of the forty-third regiment, died, on the morning of the 12th; this is the most unhealthy corps in the garrison.[1] 1760. March.

ORDERS.

"Tar-water being now recommended to the men, tar may "be had by applying to the Quarter-Master-General. A "Serjeant, of the forty-eighth regiment,[2] having distinguished "himself in the field, and being recommended by his Colonel "as qualified, in every respect, to act up to the dignity of an "Officer, is appointed Ensign in the same corps."

[272] All wood-sleighing parties, with other fatiguing and fighting parties, as usual; our weather variable, but in general

[1] According to Murray's return of March 24, the 43rd Regiment had in Quebec 256 rank and file fit for duty and 207 sick. The Highlanders, however, were in worse condition, with 400 sick to 483 fit for duty. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

[2] Sergeant John Fraser, appointed Ensign, 48th Regiment, March 10, 1760.

1760. March. frost and snow, with piercing high winds. We have got no less than fourteen deserters, within these last forty-eight hours, from the French regular and colony troops.[1]

From the 13th to the 20th. An intelligent[2] Serjeant of *grenadiers de France* has deserted to us, and corroborates our former intelligence, respecting the project of storming this garrison, the *escalade* of the church, the general discontents and distresses prevailing in their army, and among the upper inhabitants, &c. He adds, that an Officer and fifty men are left at St. Augustine; a Captain and one hundred, at Jacques Cartiers; four Officers and two hundred, at les Trois Rivieres; and the remainder of their army are gone back to Montreal, except the detachment which is down the river collecting provisions: and these M. Jotriel conveys secretly, through the woods, to the higher country. The Engineer[3] and ranging Officer, who were detached express to the Commander in Chief, in the latter end of January, are safe arrived at Fort Halifax;[4] this intelligence is brought by two of the rangers who were sent back to acquaint the Governor therewith.—The regiments are desired to apply to the Quarter-Master-General for tubs wherein to freshen the mens' provisions. The grenadier companies are ordered to be completed immediately to sixty-three rank and file; it is conjectured they will soon be detached on an important service. By deserters, who are newly come in, we have intelligence that a body of the light troops from General Amherst's army, with a corps of Indians, under Sir William Johnson, said to amount to upwards of seven hundred men, have possessed themselves of Fort Chamble, on the lower end of lake Champlain. A second

[1] Many of these deserters were from the Regiment of Languedoc.

[2] Soldiers who deserted from the French side were generally referred to as "intelligent," but deserters from the British are described as "ruffians" or "worthless fellows."

[3] Lieutenant Montresor.

[4] Fort Halifax was erected by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts in 1754, on the Kennebec River, below the Waterville Falls, in the present State of Maine.

blockhouse being now erected on the south shore,[1] we have evacuated the church of St. Joseph, and the parsonage-house, for the benefit of the wretched parishioners. It is surmised that the light infantry and grenadiers will be sent out together on a secret expedition. A [273] French prisoner, going to draw water for himself and comrades, went without his shoes, which he slipped into his pocket, under pretence of being more secure against falling; as soon as he got on the river, he laid down his bucket and ran off, leaving the centinel, who guarded him, to carry the water, and news of his escape, back to his post: our soldier, being armed with a bayonet only, and having strong-soled shoes on him, without creepers, could not venture to pursue the prisoner on the ice, who had the advantage of him by being barefooted; and therefore declares he never made so ridiculous a figure in his life. The ten companies of grenadiers were reviewed on the fifteenth by the Governor, and his Excellency fills up all vacant commissions. 1760. March.

A number of copper camp-kettles[2] are issued from the stores, which, the orders of the day mention, are to be paid for by each regiment. The flying troops of our main army have burned Fort Chamblé,[3] laid a large village waste, and destroyed between three and four hundred batteaus, whale-boats, canoes, floating-batteries, several pieces of artillery of different dimensions, and a considerable quantity of ammunition; moreover, in an action with the enemy in that quarter, the regiment de la Reine is said to have been cut to pieces, and the inhabitants suffered much from the wanton rage of our

[1] This blockhouse was near the site of the present Intercolonial Railway station.

[2] Camp-kettles were no doubt most welcome to the troops. When General Wolfe appeared before Quebec he reported that he had not enough money in the military chest to purchase these necessary articles. How the men managed during the campaign is not known, but probably a good many were stolen from the inhabitants.

[3] Fort Chambly. There were somewhat similar rumours among the French at Montreal at this time. (See Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, pp. 310–311.)

1760. March. Indian allies. This intelligence was doubted for some days, but I have been informed it was confirmed to the Governor by a woman of credit, who is lately come from Montreal, and said she reckoned sixteen distinct fires at a great distance, which the peasants assured her was an English camp. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of this city never betray the least concern or discomposure at any unacceptable news they may receive: on the contrary they are always *debonair*, and seldom fail, on these occasions, to reverse their accounts to our disadvantage, and impose a pompous packet on us of some fatal disaster having happened on our part, either in Europe or elsewhere, with trifling losses on the side of the French; an instance of this I shall just mention, [274] and, as it comes from M. Vaudreuil, it passes for orthodox among the credulous Canadians: 'The grand Monarch has sunk, burned, and 'destroyed the greatest fleet that ever England put to sea, had 'made an intire conquest of Ireland,[1] and put all the troops and 'natives who were in arms to the sword: so that the next ships 'will certainly bring us an account of a peace being concluded, 'Quebec will be restored, and Canada once more flourish under 'a French government.'

On the night of the 18th, two hundred light infantry were detached with three days' provisions, and, at the same time, on the 19th, the remainder of that corps, with a company of grenadiers, marched to Lorette church, being the place of rendezvous; and the whole proceeded the next morning at break of day, guided by a French deserter[2] in a British uniform. In their route they surprised an advanced post of the enemy, and made the party prisoners, consisting of a Corporal and nine privates; having secured these, they pushed forward with the greatest speed, fearing lest a straggling peasant, whom they

[1] During the siege of Quebec there were frequent rumours of the conquest of Ireland.

[2] This was a soldier named Lafleur of the colony troops, probably one of the "intelligent fellows" to whom the author frequently refers.

met, should mar their farther views, by alarming the country : the light infantry having reached the wished for object, which was a strong camp, or intrenchment of logs and timbers, with a house detached at a small distance from it, situated between our people and that post ; they first surrounded, attacked, and carried the dwelling with their accustomed bravery, killed four, and took the rest, being twenty in number ; nine of whom were wounded. The main body of the enemy had, by this time, manned their works, which were breast-high, and environed with an *abbatis de bois* to the distance of about three hundred yards, whence they fired a few random shots, and shouted, as usual. Captain M'Donnald,[1] who commanded this detachment, seeing the enemy advantageously situated, and perceiving the French Officers very active in encouraging their men, expected a warmer dispute than we have lately been habituated to, and therefore [275] made a disposition of his men to attack them in form ; as soon as our light troops advanced to the charge, and poured in a brisk fire upon them, the enemy threw down their arms, and took to flight ; but our grenadiers, who were not able to keep pace with the hunters in marching, critically came up at that instant, and cut off the retreat of near four-score, who were made prisoners ; and, what is very remarkable, there is not an Officer among them. Monsieur Herbin[2] commanded this detachment, whose watch, hat and feather, *fille de joie*, with a cask of wine, and a small trunk *de liqueurs*, fell into our hands ; these two last articles

1760. March.

[1] Captain McDonell of the 78th Regiment. See note, p. 384.

[2] Monsieur Herbin served as Ensign in the troops of the colony, and was wounded during the siege of Quebec. Later he was placed in command of a body of Indians attached to the colonial troops. He appears to have been a trustworthy officer and to have performed services for the French similar to those entrusted to the Rangers under the British.

The commander of the French advance posts at this time was M. de Repentigny, but he was not at Le Calvaire when the attack took place. (See letters of Dumas in *Report concerning Canadian Archives*, 1905, vol. i. part iv. p. 17.)

1760. March. were a most seasonable acquisition to the conquerors, who were so benummed [*sic*] with the severity of the cold, that they could scarcely draw their triggers. In this attack of the intrenchment five were killed, and thirteen wounded, on the part of the enemy : on our side six only were wounded in the whole; but unluckily we had near an hundred so disabled by the frost, that they were obliged to be brought back to the garrison on sleighs. The French soldiers talked freely of their Officers, and upon being asked, how they could behave so like poltroons in such a respectable post? replied, 'if they had not been so shamefully abandoned by their leaders, the English should have got but a sour bone for their breakfast.' The enemy had five Officers, and an hundred and fifty men, in the intrenchment and house; and the prisoners say their Commanding-Officer, and sixty grenadiers, withdrew from that place, which is called Calvaire,[1] near to Augustine, on the preceding evening, upon secret intelligence, received from the garrison, of our having a large detachment under orders of readiness to march at the shortest notice. The remainder of Captain M'Donald's instructions being to destroy that post, with three corn-mills, granaries, and other houses contiguous thereto, which the enemy had occasionally used as cantonments for their larger bodies, the same was executed in view of the prisoners and the miserable inhabitants of the country; this estate is the property of the convent de Hôtel de Dieu, which, [276] I have been told, brought them in a revenue of near three hundred pounds sterling per annum. The wounded of the enemy were left in charge of the peasants, with directions to conduct them to Jacques Cartier; and our detachment, with their prisoners, &c. returned to Quebec late on the night of the 20th : when a return was ordered to be sent in immediately of the number of frost-bitten men in each corps, that no time might be lost in recovering them. Such of the soldiers as can be spared from

[1] See plan.

the usual occupations of the garrison are daily employed in firing at marks. 1760. March.

Four Subalterns' guards are withdrawn, which is no inconsiderable relief to the troops. The Town-Major[1] was sent to the Abbess of the convent de Hôtel de Dieu, or God's house, to acquaint her with the reasons that influenced the Governor to destroy their mills and tenements at Calvaire, viz.[2] 'for 'having transmitted intelligence to the enemy, at the last de- 'tachment's being ordered in readiness to march out; for having 'actually carried on a correspondence with the French army in 'the whole course of this winter, whereby they were informed 'of all our motions, proceedings, and every other occurrence From the 21st to the 31st.

[1] Captain Cosnan. See List of Killed and Wounded Officers, given in Appendix.

[2] General Murray makes no allusion to such a reason for destroying this post. He says in his *Journal* under date of the 19th: "As I found I could attempt no considerable Enterprise at this time of the Year without Harassing the Garrison to such a degree as would Render it perhaps unfit afterwards for further Operations, I Resolved to Endeavour to surprise their two advanced posts, having for that purpose acquired a perfect Knowledge of their Situation, and the Distance being too great to make out the March in one Night. Reinforced this last Night the Posts at St. Foix and Lorette with the men destined for this Expedition.

"20th—This Morning at the Break of Day, Captain Donald McDonald surprised and attacked the Post of the Enemy at the Calvaire, and Captain Archbold at the Village Brulé with so good Success, that the former made Twenty Prisoners and the latter seventeen, without the loss of a man, only six wounded, but many were Frost-bit from the Coldness of the Night."

This explanation seems to agree very well with the account given by the Marquis de Lévis in his *Journal*, which is as follows: "Some days later they returned, and, having surprised one of our advanced posts, they captured about sixty men and so fell back on Quebec. Since this expedition we were informed by spies that they intended to seize our outposts at Point-aux-Trembles, and even to come to Jacques Cartier. Some thought they had discovered traces in the woods, some feared that they would out-flank us. The anxiety was great. Sometimes we were told that they were stopped and sometimes that they were proceeding with a train of artillery. We sent forward a party from the Government of Three Rivers and a detachment of two hundred and twenty-five men from the regiment of Languedoc." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 242.)

It seems probable that the author was merely repeating the gossip of the camp. Perhaps Murray sent to the convent to apologise for the military necessity which compelled the destruction of the property.

1760. March. 'that happened within the walls.' The Major was desired to assure the Superior and her sisters, 'that, if hereafter they 'should presume to correspond with our enemies, directly or 'indirectly, or in any respect act contrary to that good faith 'and duty which they owe to the King of Great Britain, as 'their Protector and Prince, they shall, without farther cere-'mony, be banished from Quebec, and their convent converted 'into a barrack for the troops.'—On the evening of the 22d the General received intelligence, that a strong body of the enemy, under M. du Mas,[1] were returned to Calvaire, with a resolution to re-stablish that post; the light infantry, with a detachment of five hundred men, two field-pieces, and two howitzers, were ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning. A reserve of one Captain, one Subaltern, and fifty rank and file from each regiment, are ordered to mount every evening, and be prepared [277] for immediate service within, or without, as occasion may require. By the returns that were made on the 24th instant, our forces are now reduced to three thousand fit for duty; our sick, lame, and convalescents amount to nineteen hundred.[2] A report

[1] M. Dumas: see note, vol. i. p. 418.

[2] The return signed by Murray, March 24, 1760, gives the strength of the garrison as follows:

General and Staff Officers		11
Engineers (including 1 absent)		8
Regiments of the Line and Rangers:		
Officers present: Commissioned, Staff, and Non-Commissioned		861
Rank and File:		
Fit for duty	3513	
Sick present	1856	
Sick and wounded sent to New York	669	
On command in Canada	347	
On command at Halifax and New York	538	
On furlough	36	
		6959
Artillery:		
Effectives present	178	
Sick present	16	
Absent with leave	3	
		197
Also 25 carpenters.		

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C. O. 5:64.)

prevails, that M. Herbin, and the other Officers who lately abandoned their detachment and post at Calvaire, are put under arrest;[1] that M. du Mas's corps are retired, being only sent thither to reconnoitre that place, the better to be able to judge how far these gentlemen acted consistent with their duty, and whether they might not have held out, against any number of musketry, until they could be reinforced from St. Augustine or Jacques Cartier. The French arms, taken on the 20th, are ordered to be delivered to the Commanding Officer of artillery, for which the soldiers who are possessed of them will receive a gratuity. Doctor Russel[2] having represented that wine is actually necessary for the preservation of the health of the troops, the General has ordered forty-four pipes, containing one hundred and eight gallons each, to be bought at seventeen pounds currency per pipe, and delivered to the garrison, in such proportions as are mentioned in the regulations of the day, and distributed according to the strength of each corps; the Quarter-Masters of regiments are desired to see their men served daily at half a pint each; and a regular account must be kept, as the wine will be charged at the rate of two pence halfpenny for every half-pint, 'being, by cal-'culation, says the order, the amount thereof*; for which the 'Pay-Masters will give notes, payable when the money arrives 'for the army,' &c. &c. As the King victuals the women in order to render them useful to the men, they are ordered, for the future, to attend the sick at the hospitals, instead of the healthy men hitherto employed on that service; these [278]

1760. March.

[1] This was probably a rumour, as no mention is made of the circumstance in the *Journal* of Lévis or in the Orders of the French army.

[2] Dr. Frederick Russell was appointed Surgeon of the Garrison and Officer of His Majesty's Hospital by General Murray. He had as assistants Surgeon's Mate Field and Surgeon's Mate Mabane.

* Two pence halfpenny per half-pint, or ten pence per quart, is eighteen pounds per pipe of one hundred and eight gallons; but two pence farthing would have been under the prime cost; therefore I presume it was to avoid fractions, and confusion in accounts, that it was calculated as above.—*Note by author.*

1760. March. nurses will receive full allowance of provisions, and be paid by their regiments for their trouble; such as refuse are to be struck off the victualling roll. The enemy, being astonished at the spirit and exactness of duty and discipline maintained in this garrison, have recourse to various stratagems, in hopes to make us relax therein, and to draw us into a state of supineness; for this purpose they have now confidently reported, 'that hostilities ought to cease, for that a general peace has 'actually been concluded in Europe;'[1] and, in order to gain credit to this invention, letters are arrived from Montreal to some of the citizens, acquainting them, 'that M. Bois Hibert

[1] The author was evidently misinformed as to the source of some of this information, and does not appear to have been in the confidence of the Governor. Murray says in his *Journal*, March 25 and 29:

"The Acadian Woman which had been with me before, returned and Inform'd me the Indians of Nova Scotia had made their peace with the British Government. She promised to forward a Letter to the Governor of the British Fort in the River St. John's, which I sent to him, Informing him in General terms the Garrison was well, and Desiring he would Forward the same to General Amherst, and the Governor of New England . . . Was Informed Monsieur de Boishebert, Captain of the Colony Troops, was Returned from the Lower parts of the Country where he had been some time and Reported a Peace was Talked of."

The rumour that seems to have been current in the army regarding Amherst was to the effect that he had attacked and burned Chambly. Murray states in his *Journal* under the date of April 2, 3, and 4:

"At the same time as a Report prevailed that General Amherst had Attacked and Burned Chambly, I thought it was Right to be in Readiness to second him, in case such a report was confirmed, and for that purpose ordered three of the regiments to be reviewed, and the Grenadiers and piquets to be in readiness to march. As I considered the Reports spread among the French of paquets From Europe, to be with an Intention to amuse the People and alienate them from us, I thought it might be of use to counterwork this Stratagem, by making a Serjeant and four men of the Ranging Company cross the River, and come in upon some of the outGuards, pretending to be sent Express from General Amherst, this gave great Spirits to the Garrison, and Visibly affected the French Inhabitants. Whilst the People were yet warm with this News I thought it right to publish a Manifesto to make known to them his Britannick Majesty's good Dispositions without saying positively that any such account had arrived, that at the same time I should Neither bind myself too much by the Declarations therein made, and at the same time to keep the People quiet in Case there was any stir above."

'has brought this intelligence from Nova Scotia, and was 'assured of it by the St. John's River Indians, to whom it was 'formally declared in a late treaty between them and the 'Governor of that province.' Madame de St. Claude, Abbess of the Augustine convent,[1] is reputed the industrious inventress 1760. March.

[1] Mère Marie Charlotte de Ramezay de St. Claude de la Croix, sister of M. de Ramezay, Commandant of Quebec during the last years of the French régime, was the eighth Superior of the convent. She appears to have been a woman of culture, and showed uniform kindness to the wounded British soldiers.

In the month of August, 1759, General Wolfe wrote to Madame de Ramezay thanking her for her tender care of Captain David Ochterloney. The General assured her that if fortune favoured his arms he would protect her and her community. One of the first acts of the British after the capitulation was to place a special guard round the hospital. The relations of General Murray with Madame de Ramezay seem to have been most cordial, and every means was taken to protect the property of the nuns. The soldiers also performed for the nuns during the winter, such tasks as bringing in fuel and provisions and clearing the snow. The Abbé Casgrain, in his *Histoire de l'Hotel-Dieu de Québec* (Quebec, 1878), p. 445, when referring to the siege, says: "In the midst of the extreme distress in which they were placed, the Hospitalières saw no other alternative but to apply to General Murray, to whom had been entrusted the command of the city. General Murray, who was destined to be the first British Governor of Canada, showed the greatest humanity to the nuns. He caused to be sent to them regularly during many months all the provisions necessary for their maintenance. This excellent man, to whom fell the ungrateful task of governing the country on the morrow of the conquest, succeeded nevertheless in gaining the esteem of the Canadians." In his report to Pitt, dated 1762, Murray says: "The Ladies of the General Hospital are of the best families in Canada." (Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 53.) All the communities in Quebec regarded Murray as a benefactor, and his memory is cherished by them to this day.

In *Les Ursulines de Québec*, published by that community (Quebec, 1866), we find this passage, vol. iii. p. 16: "Our illustrious General was so kind as to see to the repairs necessary to make the monastery habitable. Our conquerors have also assisted us in everything else with a kindness we did not look for, as we were not known to these gentlemen." And again on page 39: "Whatever may be the opinion generally accepted relating to General Murray's administration of Canada, we cannot but be pleased with his dealings with our community."

After his return to England in 1766, Murray corresponded with the community, and it is evident that he entertained a sincere regard for the nuns and their work.

In the convent at Quebec there are several communications of a later date

1760. March. of these and many other groundless rumours, which have been circulated among the troops, with a view to corrupt and discourage our brave soldiers; particularly that of General Amherst's army being defeated at the Isle au Noix, with an irretrievable loss of men and artillery; besides various other aggravating circumstances respecting the posture of our affairs upon the lakes, &c. for this cause, and to prevent farther practices of this kind, I am credibly informed, the Governor caused a letter to be wrote by his Secretary to this Superior, reproaching her with being the author and propagator of these absurd and inconsistent fictions; moreover, 'that it is his 'opinion a woman, who had shut herself up in a convent and 'retired from the world, has no right to intermeddle with what 'passes in it; that, as the devil is the father of lies, and she, 'according to her principles, the Spouse of JESUS CHRIST, 'his avowed opposite, she ought, if she must interfere, to en- 'deavour to suppress, rather than to propagate, falshoods: a 'crime which she could not be insensible is highly odious in the 'sight of her Maker, and cannot be absolved from it by any 'man under heaven, however she may, through extreme pre- 'judice, be [279] disposed to flatter herself to the contrary,' or words to that effect; and it is added, that the Officer, who was the bearer of this admonitory epistle, had orders to acquaint Madame St. Claude, 'if she is tired of living out of the world, 'and will change her habit for that of a man, she being of a 'proper stature, his Excellency will inroll her as a grenadier, 'and, upon her good behaviour, will duly promote, and grant 'her every farther indulgence in his power, &c.'—We have had deep snow for several days, which has mollified the air considerably, and, with the aid of the sun, renders the weather much less rigorous than for some months past; the inhabitants

which reveal the kindly and courteous disposition of the Governor in his transactions with the community. We are therefore unwilling to believe that Murray had any knowledge of the letter attributed to him by the author. Possibly it was merely gossip circulated in the camp.

are ordered to turn scavengers, our streets being exceedingly sloppy and uncomfortable.[1] The regiments are ordered to take up their dead,[2] as the snow that hitherto covered them begins to dissolve, and have them properly interred. Application is desired to be made to the Quarter-Master-General[3] for the remainder of the mogosans in store; and the order specifies, that 'the soldiers are not to be charged for any they have 'received this winter, the Governor having made a present of 'them to the men, as a recompence for the great fatigue they 'had in sleighing wood.'[4] 1760. March.

[1] Since the advent of the electric car system in Quebec the snow is constantly removed from the main thoroughfares, but in the less frequented parts of the city it is allowed to accumulate to a great depth during the winter. In the spring the occupant of a house is compelled to clear the road in front of his dwelling, and as this work is not always carried on simultaneously, many of the roads present a singular appearance for a short time.

[2] It is probable that some of the men were buried in the garden adjoining the Ursulines. In the year 1912, while excavations were being made in this garden, a number of skeletons were found. Some of the men were apparently buried in their uniforms, as fragments of coarse cloth were found in the rude coffins. The remains were collected, and are now temporarily deposited in the vault of the English cathedral. Probably there were more than one military burial ground within the walls, and no doubt numbers of the men were buried near the place where they died. The soldiers who fell upon the field of battle were buried in the swamp, the position of which is given in the plan.

[3] Colonel Paulus Æmilius Irving.

[4] Another handsome present for the poor soldier.

On March 29, the Marquis de Lévis caused this letter to be circulated in the French camp:

"To the gentlemen in command of Battalions. We have come to the moment when the army is to muster and march. I am confident that you have taken all the necessary means to have your battalion in complete readiness, as well as the militia detailed to serve with it, to set out on the first order, which I may be able to send you at any moment.

"Our start depends on the melting of the ice, in order to take immediate advantage of the opening of navigation; it being most important that the army should reach Quebec before the enemy shall have time to put up any exterior works.

"I have no need to urge on the troops the zeal which they must bring to this campaign, whereon depends:—the safety of the colony, the glory of the King's arms, and no less that of each individual.

"We are also bound to prove by a daring effort the gratitude we owe to

1760. April. From the 1st to the 5th. Some days ago, Captain Hazen, and his rangers, being advanced in a house a little way to the north-west of Lorette, he sent a spy out for intelligence; who returned soon after, and acquainted his Officer, that he saw a large party of the enemy, formed into two bodies, and filing off by two distinct roads; that, having narrowly watched their motions, he suspected their intention might be to surround his post, and that they were not then at a great distance.[1] Upon this information

the colony which has nourished us since we have been in it. The inhabitants have received our soldiers as if they were their own children, and we cannot but be gratified by the friendship and devotion shown us, alike publicly and privately, by all the Canadians.

"These are matters of sufficient weight with a generous nation, and one swayed by honour, to decide us to sacrifice ourselves, one and all, if need be, to avert the loss of religion in this colony and the cruel bondage that the English will not fail to impose upon the Canadians.

"I have the honour to inform you that the Marquis de Vaudreuil is instructing the settlement captains (*capitaines des côtes*) to supply eight days' rations, beginning with the day of starting, to all the soldiers and militia forming your battalion. I beg you will warn them to prepare for a severe campaign. A supply of bread is all that, apparently, I can count on, and, when we are before Quebec, we shall only eat the meat we can get, whether it be horseflesh or beef. Those, therefore, who can procure any extras will do well to take them.

"You will also notify the officers to provide themselves with as many extras as possible, and as useful for subsistence, since they can only expect the same allowances as the soldiers and their brandy which they will receive pure. Persuaded that the troops will do me the justice to believe that I shall do my utmost to obtain them all the comfort that may be in my power, and that circumstances will allow me, I beg of you to pay great attention to, and to instil the most exact discipline into, your battalion in advance.

"We have to contend with well-disciplined troops, and in order to defeat them we must not fail to observe the same method.

"I beg you will be good enough to ascertain whether the settlement captains carry out the orders they have received to thaw out the boats and to supply them with soldiers, should it be necessary to do so, to draw them to land. I beg that you will communicate my letters to the officers and even to the soldiers in your battalion." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 285.)

[1] The French were expecting reinforcements from France as soon as the navigation opened. In the month of March, Lévis states in his *Journal* that the date of the attack on Quebec will depend upon the condition of the ice in the river. He was also anxious to prevent Murray from completing the works on the Heights which he presumed would be carried on as soon as the snow

he left a Serjeant and fourteen men in the house, and marched with the remainder, to sollicit a reinforcement of an Officer and twenty privates at Lorette church; in his route he spied the enemy not far from them, whereupon he told his rangers, he thought they had better return to their house, as they could reach that post much sooner than the church; but his men nobly refused, saying, 'Sir, lead us on, and rely upon us: the 'regulars have [280] displayed prodigies of valour this winter 'on many occasions; we will fight and chace the enemy, as 'they have done, or die.'—Here is a notable instance of emulation and bravery in our simply honest New-England-Men, who, feeling *quite bold* or *spry*,—that morning (according to their own phrase) were, by their Captain's report, unanimous for fighting. Accordingly they advanced, very spiritedly, to the enemy, who were endeavouring to steal upon them; gave them a regular discharge of a brace of balls, besides buck-shot from each piece, and sent them flying. By this time Mr. Hazen, hearing some straggling shots in his rear, faced his men about, who were again loaded; charged and routed, in like manner, a second body of fifty men. Thus elated by this wonderful deliverance, they pursued the fugitives, who they perceived were retiring towards the house, not suspecting any people were posted there, in order to possess themselves of it; the Captain thereupon, knowing they would be well received, moved leisurely after them. The Serjeant, who expected they would pay him a visit, coolly reserved his fire until they came within fifteen or sixteen yards, and then let fly at them so expectedly [*sic*], that they turned tail with the greatest precipitation; the Captain, hearing the fire, advanced briskly to sustain his Serjeant, who, seeing his friends approaching, sallied out in pursuit of the runaways, and the whole

1760. April.

disappeared. For the purpose of obtaining information of the movements of the British, several expeditions were sent out from the French camp at Jacques Cartier, and it is probable that it was an expedition of this nature that Hazen encountered.

1760. April. company immediately pushed after them for near two miles, and took some wounded men who were not able to escape; the rangers, not chusing to run the risk of staining that honour they had so deservedly acquired, discontinued the chace, returned to their house, which they set on fire; and then, with their captives, marched back to Lorette church without any farther annoyance. The enemy had six men killed, and the prisoners, who were seven in number, were all wounded; what farther mischief was done we know not, but the rangers had only three wounded: the prisoners say, that they hoped to have surprised that small corps, and afterwards to cut off the wood-fellers from the forest of St. Foy. The detail of the guards, on the 1st instant, [281] stands thus: 'Three Captains, thirteen Subalterns, forty-one Serjeants, 'thirty-one Corporals, seventeen Drummers, and five hundred 'and twenty-six privates.' M. Bourlemacque, with four hundred regulars and a body of militia, are said to be arrived at Jacques Cartier, with a respectable field-artillery;[1] this has caused the light infantry to march out under the Adjutant-General, who is to be followed by the grenadiers and picquets, at a moment's warning; four pieces of cannon and two howitzers are drawn down to Port St. John, to be in readiness. Our weather is again changed to a settled frost, though the sun is agreeably warm for the greatest part of the forenoon. The second and third battalions of royal Americans were reviewed by the Governor. The regiments are to receive rum for such of their recovering men as their Surgeons shall certify it fit for. The detaching the light infantry, and the other warlike preparations before-mentioned, was a *finesse* to amuse the enemy,

[1] Bourlamaque had been at Jacques Cartier for a few days about the end of February, but returned to Montreal on March 3. (Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, p. 309.) He did not again set out till April 20, at the departure of the main army. (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 258.) The preparations of Murray were not to meet an expected attempt by the French, but in order to support Amherst, if the rumour of his attack on Fort Chambly should be confirmed.

the Adjutant-General having returned late on the night of the same day he marched out; nevertheless, the grenadiers and picquets still remain under orders to march at the shortest notice. The covering party, fascine-makers, and others, are ordered to parade, for the future, at six in the morning. 1760. April.

It is certain that a French frigate-built ship, laden with stores and provisions, who attempted to pass the town last November, is frozen up in the bay of Gaspée, at the mouth of this river; and that her crew, with some regular soldiers who were on board, have deserted her. A violent storm has broken up the ice in the river. M. Bourlemacque, with three regiments of regulars and a body of militia, came down lately to Cape Rouge, and had such good intelligence from hence, that, the night of that day on which our light infantry marched out, and the grenadiers, with the picquets, were ordered in readiness, the enemy lay on their arms, and advanced two companies of grenadiers to prevent a surprise; the latter were in a short space of time alarmed by the firing of their main body, who, suspecting, as the night was dark, that they were British, fired [282] upon them; the others, thinking themselves surrounded, returned the salute, whereby a general confusion and skirmish ensued: at length the main body retired, and the grenadiers pursued them; but some wounded men, who were on the ground, having begged for quarter in their own language, discovered the fatal mistake: the victors then shouted after their fugitive friends to halt for them; that they would undeceive them; and that no enemy was near them. Matters were now soon set right, and, the day beginning to dawn, they buried their dead, hired sleighs for their wounded, and returned to Jacques Cartier, much chagrined at the disaster that had happened. This would have been kept a profound secret,[2] From the 6th [1] to the 17th.

[1] On April 6, Murray ordered the schooner *Lawrence* to be brought over from the island of Orleans, and to be got ready for sea "to meet Lord Colvil, and give him some account of our Situation." (*Murray's Journal.*)

[2] We find no mention of this expedition in the French journals, and it would

1760. April. were it not for a Serjeant of their grenadiers, who, upon some disgust or ill usage from his Captain, deserted to us, and has given this information; nine men were killed, and thirteen wounded. Our weather, as in most other climates at this season, is very uncertain; we have frost, rain, snow, severe and mild, with high winds alternately. A detachment of light infantry marched to Cape Rouge, to watch the motions of the enemy. The Captain's guard at the fortified house is now reduced to the command of a Subaltern. The rangers surprised a patrole of the enemy, consisting of a Serjeant and three privates of the regiment of Languedoc, and seven Canadians in French uniforms; one of the regulars escaped; the other ten were brought in. Our sloops of war are preparing to launch, as the river is much opened, and large floats of ice are daily rolling down with the current. An Officer of the fifty-eighth regiment was interred on the 16th, who died of a pleuritic fever.[1] The parties, who have been employed in cutting and making fascines, are now dismissed that service.

ORDERS.

"The visible effects of the spruss, or hemlock-spruce, "which has been given, for some time, to the scorbutic men in "the hospitals, put it beyond doubt, that it must also be the "best preserva- [283] tive against the scurvy; and, as the lives

seem to be the same event that is mentioned by the author under the date of April 21.

The events between the 6th and the 17th are not distinguished by date in the author's *Journal*.

On the 9th, Murray in his *Journal* states that he "began to cut the Hulks out of the River St. Charles, in order, if it were Possible, and we had time to fit them up as Floating Batteries; we found the Ice fourteen feet thick round the Hulks."

[1] This was Charles Broughton, appointed Ensign in the 58th Regiment, January 26, 1758. (See Murray's Return of April 24 in *Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

"of brave soldiers are ever to be regarded with the utmost 1760. April.
"attention, it is ordered that the regiments be provided with
"a sufficient quantity of that particular spruce, which each
"corps must send for occasionally; and it is to be made into
"a liquor, according to the method with which the Surgeons
"are already acquainted; and Commanding Officers must be
"answerable that their men drink of this liquor, at least
"twice every day, mixed with their allowance of rum."

We have the happiness to see our men on the recovery, though they as yet gain ground very slowly. This is attributed to the virtues of the hemlock-spruce, which is a particular species, and an excellent antiscorbutic; it has been recommended and drank in the hospitals for some time past, and was discovered by an old Canadian Empiric, for which he was suitably rewarded. The tops of this spruce are ordered 'to be well bruised, and put into a large tub, with as much 'boiling water poured on as will cover them; they must remain 'twenty-four hours before used, in which time they must be 'frequently stirred up:' of this infusion, when strained off, the men in the hospitals were injoined to drink, at least, three pints per day, and bathe such parts of their limbs as were affected by the scurvy with some of the liquor made warm; the duty-men, and those who get rum, are obliged to drink it in such manner as is mentioned in the foregoing orders. This spruce is very different from that of which our common beverage is made, called by us spruce-beer; the leaves of it are exceeding small, dark-coloured, and crisp to the touch, not much unlike the juniper-tree; and it is more dwarfish than any other species of spruce: I tasted some of the infusion, which had a compound flavour, (I could not tell what to compare it to) and was a very strong bitter; it is esteemed one of the greatest purifiers of the blood, and I am much prepossessed in favour of it for gouty constitutions.[1]—Several

[1] On the 10th, Murray states: "The Spruce drink having been tried in the several Hospitals, and found very Beneficial to men in Scorbutish Habits, the

1760. April. of the inhabitants have informed me, that a very unusual mortality has prevailed among them this winter, having buried between fifty and sixty of [284] both sexes, since our army marched into Quebec. Fifty days' provisions are issued out to the Officers of each corps. The soldiers of each regiment, who are appointed to exercise the artillery, are, for the future, only to attend that service. The Governor has most seasonably ordered four gallons of French brandy to be delivered to each Subaltern Officer who chuses it, upon his paying the like quantity of New-England rum into the stores, whenever the ships arrive; the Quarter-Masters are to receive the brandy, and pass their receipts for it. Wood-cutting, sleighing, with other duties of fatigue, covering parties, and hunting detachments, as heretofore, without intermission. Weather variable.

18th. A report prevails to-day, that this garrison will actually, in a short time, be besieged by the whole force of Canada; that the French Generals are only waiting until the upper river is clear of ice, that their vessels and small craft may fall down by water, with artillery, stores, and other implements requisite for the occasion.[1] We are drawing some large cannon with am-

disorder at this time mostly prevailing, ordered it to be given to all the men as a Preservative against that fatal Disease. This Day the ice above the town as far as the Chaudière gave way, but it stopped there." (*Journal.*)

In connection with the treatment of scurvy, it may be interesting to observe that in 1535 the Indians brought to the notice of Jacques Cartier the curative powers of the plant called *aneda* in cases of scurvy. Champlain in his *Journal* also refers to the plant *aneda*, which is the Iroquois name for the spruce tree.

[1] On the 14th, Murray states that four floating batteries were finished by the workmen, and on the 17th we find the following entry: "The Best Intelligence was now procured, that the French had armed Six Ships, which had Remained in the River last Autumn, with two Gallies which they had Built. That they Designed to Bring Down this Squadron with a Number of Boats to Transport the Troops to the Cap Rouge, where they were to wait the arrival of their Ships, also that they were Fortifying the Three Rivers; upon this I went to Reconnoitre the Ground and thought I could not do better than to fortify the Hill, in order to Hinder the Enemy from Landing their Cannon in the River, and oblige them to bring it Round by Land, which considering the Badness of

munition, carts, carriages, and waggons, out of the arsenals; the light infantry marched to-day, and took post at the entrance of the river Cape Rouge. The Governor assembled 1760. April.

the Road, would in that case delay their Operations a Considerable time." (*Journal.*)

Murray could not have been in possession of the circular letter issued by Lévis on the 16th, a translation of which is here given:

"I send you, herewith, the order for your battalion to march, and one from the Marquis de Vaudreuil for the Canadians detailed to follow you. I beg that you will see to it that the said natives take their guns with them in good condition, any ammunition they may have, cooking pots and utensils, as instructed, also clothes, as they must not expect anything from the ware-houses, which are stripped of everything.

"It will be necessary to collect carefully for each boat the rations for eight days which are to be taken in it from the settlement by the men who are to embark in the boats, and care must be taken to place boards or bark under the provisions to keep them from being spoiled should a boat leak, and also to order them to be covered by the tents, for in no case will it be possible to obtain other food before the expiration of the eight days.

"The same care must be taken of the ammunition. Tarpaulins will be given to the Canadians with the army and covers for weapons for camping, as well as knives suitable for putting at the end of the barrel of the gun.

"I send you herewith instructions as to the disposition and order of battle which your battalion is to follow, as well as separate instructions for the formation and order in which you must dispose and make use of your militia. I rely on you to choose the captain to command the militia, as well as the lieutenants, sergeants, and others who may be required for this purpose. You will note in advance the militiamen whom you intend to employ as petty officers. I will give them a commission to perform this duty in the army.

"I beg that you will do your utmost to carry out all that is contained in these two instructions, and to convey them to the officers and even to the soldiers and militia in respect to all that affects them.

"The Marine corps has formed two companies of grenadiers; I beg you will notify yours that I should be greatly annoyed if they did not get on well together.

"I trust that you will neglect nothing to hasten your departure and remove all obstacles connected therewith, take all precautions to see that the natives and soldiers forget nothing that may be needful to them, and that no harm is done to the inhabitants on your march, and to leave no one behind.

"M. de la Pause, quartermaster-general of the army, is to proceed to Pointe aux Trembles, where he will indicate more precisely than is stated in your instructions, the spot where each battalion is to be stationed.

"All battalions are to get in readiness to start next Sunday the 20th instant. You will, therefore, take means to be able to do likewise." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 289.)

1760. April. the Field-Officers, and desired them to acquaint the Officers of their respective corps, in confidence, 'that, in the space of 'seven days, all the French inhabitants, except the religious 'orders, will be dismissed the town, of which they will have 'only forty-eight hours' notice. That the Officers are injoined 'in the strictest secrecy; this being communicated to them, that 'they may, in the interim, provide themselves as well as they 'can with fresh, or live-stock provisions.' *If farther particulars were imparted to the Field-Officers, respecting the situation of affairs at this juncture, they never transpired.* Soft open weather, inclining to rain.

19th and 20th. M. de Levis, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, with a fleet of seven frigates and sloops under M. Vaugeulin,[1] Chef d'Escarde, are actually preparing, with all expedition, to execute the impending stroke with which this garrison has been menaced [285] these six months past and upwards; we are told they have preserved sixty days' full allowance of provisions for the regulars of this army, in support of their important enterprise. At the same time it is pretended, that the Canadians have refused to serve, until they see what assistance France will send them, or which of the two fleets will first enter the river St. Lawrence; this, however, does not gain credit.[2] If it should appear requisite, some of the most insignificant houses in the lower town, and suburb of St. Rocque, are to be demolished after the departure of the citizens, and the timber applied to the use of the troops for fuel. Two large field-pieces, with a quantity of ammunition, are ordered to be drawn out to Lorette; the roads being

[1] See *Journal* of Vauquelin in Appendix.

[2] Murray, as we have seen, was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the fleet, and on the 21st the schooner *Lawrence*, commanded by Lieutenant Fortye of the 35th Regiment, fell down to the island of Orleans to take in wood, and then proceeded down the river. "By her," says Murray, "I wrote to Lord Colvil, To Inform him of the Intelligence I Had Received, and gave him an account of the State of Affairs that he might use the Greater Diligence to Joyn us." (*Journal.*)

at this time rendered impassable for horses by the mass of dissolving snow that covers them, the soldiers are under the necessity of performing that service. Two deserters are come in from the colony troops; they confirm what we heard before, respecting the saving of two months' provisions, and some brandy, for the use of the regular troops in this expedition. For these two days our weather very agreeable. 1760. April.

At ten o'clock this morning, a proclamation was fixed up at all public places, acquainting the inhabitants, that the enemy are preparing to besiege us; that they must therefore quit the town, with their families and effects; and not presume to re-enter until farther orders; for this purpose three times twenty-four hours are allowed them to remove.[1] This has caused immense confusion and discomfort among these poor people, who are, notwithstanding the urgent necessity of this procedure, greatly to be commiserated for all their sufferings. A Lieutenant of the thirty-fifth regiment,[2] who was formerly in the sea-service, is appointed to the command of a schooner, which has this day fallen down to Orleans, to undergo some repairs, and be fitted out for an express; a Master and six sailors, from one of our sloops of war, with twenty sea-bred soldiers, two pieces of cannon, and a number of swivels, &c. &c. are taken on board; this vessel is ordered to reconnoitre the river, and proceed [286] to Halifax to hasten up our fleet, in case they have not yet sailed, by acquainting the Admiral or Commodore of our precarious situation, together with the strength of the enemy's squadron in the upper river. 21st.

[1] Murray refers to this order on the 21st: "That I might not be obliged to watch within, as well as without, I this day ordered all the people to depart from the Town, giving them three days to take away the Effects they could carry. Ordered them to put what they could not take away, in the Recollets, over which I promised to set a Guard, to be under the Care of that Community, together with two Substantial Inhabitants of the Town; also, permitted the Religious Belonging to the two Nunneries to Remain in Town, as they were Extreamly usefull in taking care of our Sick." (*Journal.*)

[2] Thomas Fortye was appointed Lieutenant, November 25, 1753, and was transferred to the 35th Regiment, March 8, 1757.

1760. April. Twelve guns were heard at break of day this morning, which causes it to be surmised that there is a fleet in the river. The French begin to appear numerous in the vicinity of Cape Rouge and Lorette; they threw up a rocket last night; their motive we are unacquainted with, except it was done to amuse us, or as a signal for their ships, and the remainder of their army to follow them. There are more detachments marching out with artillery stores, which is a work of much difficulty, the roads being extremely deep and fluid. The command at St. Foy is reduced to a Subaltern's party. A return of the French Bakers in each district is ordered to be sent to the head quarters, that they may be permitted to remain in town; in the evening the inhabitants were advertised to lodge all their effects and moveables in the chapel of the Recollects, if they chuse it; where the Governor assures them they shall be taken care of. Soft gloomy weather, inclining to rain, and very cold.

22d. Part of the light infantry, who returned here yesterday, marched out again early this morning. A party of men, who were making fascines in the neighbourhood of our advanced posts, were nearly being way-laid; but, being apprised of the intentions of the enemy, detached an express to the light infantry and rangers, who were not far distant, to come to their relief: they arrived critically, and engaged M. Herbin,[1]

[1] This occurred at daybreak on the 19th, according to General Murray:

"At Break of Day Monsieur Herbin, an Officer of the Colony Troops, Crossed the River of Cap Rouge over the Ice, with Sixty men and five or six Indians, with an Intention to Surprise our Party, but being upon their Guard, they Obliged them to Return in a great Hurry, having one Sergeant Killed, three or four of the men wounded, and one of the Colony Troops taken prisoner; a large party drawn up on the other side to favour their Retreat, also run for it, our Light Infantry pursuing them; they were Dispersed before Major Irwin, who had marched with some Piquets, could arrive; the same day the Chief Engineer marked the Ground for a Redoubt, on a Rising Ground advanced beyond the Heigths, where I Designed to Establish my Lines." (*Journal.*)

It is probable that this is the attack which is referred to by the author on page 373.

who commanded a large advanced-guard, with such vigour, 1760. April.
that, after a smart rencounter, the enemy were once more routed, with much loss, having dragged off two sleighs with killed and wounded;—among the former were a Serjeant and an Indian, which, with five prisoners, they left behind them; we had one man killed and three wounded. Our light troops, having pursued them, and drove them from a post they occupied, had the good fortune to intercept some black cattle, and a number of pigs, besides [287] a sword and silver goblet, or drinking-cup, of the Officers, which also fell into the hands of the victors. Two field-pieces are ordered out to our detachments in that quarter, escorted by half the picquets of the army. It is reported, with some confidence, either by ourselves, or by the citizens on the part of the enemy, that a fleet of ships are at l'Isle de Bic; but, as they have not yet displayed any colours, it is not known whether they are French or British: the absurdity of such a rumour is too evident, as every man in this army knows full well, that the Canadians of the north and south shores, opposite to that island, may, as matters are circumstanced, go on board the ships of either nation, without the smallest apprehensions of being detained or molested. We have the happiness to see our troops daily gaining ground of their disorders. Various schemes are now talked of being speedily executed; particularly, that half of the garrison are to be intrenched on the plains, where we fought and drubbed the enemy on the memorable 13th of September.[1]

[1] According to *Murray's Journal*, which is here quoted, the intention was to establish the camp at Ste. Foy:

"23rd.—The Ice gave way everywhere in the Great River, that in the Cap Rouge also went off; in Consequence ordered the 15th Regmt., 28th, 47th, 58th, and 2nd Battalion, together with the grenadiers companies of the whole, to hold themselves in Readiness to Incamp on the first Notice; my Design was, if the weather had permitted, to have Incamped with this Body at St. Foix, to be at Hand to sustain any of my advanced posts and prevent the Enemy's Landing, but it Froze so hard Every Night, that I could not venture on this measure yet, considering the sickly state of the men."

1760. April. 23d. The armed schooner, being completely equipped, sailed this day from Orleans, with a fair wind. Cold rainy weather. The grenadiers of the army, with the following regiments, are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field, viz. the fifteenth, twenty-eighth, forty-seventh, fifty-eighth, and third battalion of the sixtieth; these corps are made choice of, being the strongest and most healthy. The fleet said to be in the river, it is now pretended, had worked up as high as Coudre, but, by the quantities of floating ice, were obliged to fall down again to the isles of Bic and Barnaby;[1] it is added, that they have hoisted red, white, blue, yellow, and chequered colours. Various fires are made upon the eminences of the north shore below Orleans, which were the signals observed by the natives upon the arrival of our armament last year in this river.

From the 24th to the 26th inclusive. The wretched citizens have evacuated the town: it is impossible to avoid sympathising with them in their distress. The men prudently restrained their sentiments on this occasion, but the women were not so discreet; they charged us with a breach of the capitu- [288] lation; said 'they had 'often heard, *que les Anglois sont des gens sans foi* *; and that we 'have now convinced them of the propriety of that character.' They pretend, that there is not the smallest room to apprehend any disturbance on the part of M. de Levis, and that, if the Governor would rely on them, he should have the earliest intelligence of the motions of the enemy; and would submit to any restrictions whatever, if he would permit them to remain in their habitations; moreover, if they, or any among them, shall presume to betray us, they would answer it with the forfeiture, not only of all their effects, but also of their lives. Overtures to this purpose, we are informed, have been made to the General; but his Excellency is not to be imposed upon by

[1] Barnaby Island—an island about 20 miles below Bic, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence.

* That the English, or British, are a faithless people.—*Note by author.*

any such *bagatelles* arguments, or *Gallic* rhethoric.[1] We have demolished the bridges over the river St. Michael, near Cape Rouge; our light infantry continue in that neighbourhood, to watch the motions of the enemy.[2] M. Herbin is said to be dismissed the French service, for his repeated miscarriages in the different attacks and skirmishes that happened between him and us in the course of this winter; we are told he voluntarily commanded the advanced guard of their army in the neighbourhood of Cape Rouge, with a view to retrieve his character, for the shameful part he acted at Calvaire.[3] We have also razed our post at Lorette, and the detachment that kept it are fallen back to St. Foy. A number of Caulkers are demanded from the regiments, to repair our sloops of war and small craft, for which the order says, "they shall be well paid."[4] All the different fatiguing parties are to work from nine o'clock until noon, and from two till six in the evening. A Serjeant,

1760. April.

[1] Probably the French would have remained neutral, but Murray was in a peculiar situation and could not afford to run the risk of communication with the enemy. The gates were closed by order of Murray on the 26th, who says that "in the Evening had a Report from Major Dalling that he heard a good deal of firing of Musquets on the other side of the Cap Rouge."

[2] The movements of the enemy on the 25th may be gathered from the entry in the *Journal* of Lévis on that date, which is here given:

"The Sieur de la Pause was sent forward to ascertain how far we could go by boat, and the enemy's position, whom we knew to be throwing up entrenchments and guarding the mouth of the Cap Rouge river. He counted on being able to defend all the passes between Cap Rouge and Quebec, a distance of three leagues; it did not seem possible to attempt to pass below the said river, following the *high road from Montreal to Quebec*, nor to attempt to make a landing between Cap Rouge to Quebec; we accordingly determined to endeavour to make ourselves masters of the heights by passing through the back country, crossing the Cap Rouge river two leagues above its mouth, passing thence by Old Lorette, and crossing the marshes of the la Suette river to seize the heights of Sainte Foi, and regain the aforesaid high road." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 258.)

[3] There is no mention of this circumstance in the French journals. Monsieur Herbin rendered good service after this date, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant.

[4] It will be observed that the author quotes the words "they shall be well paid." By this time the soldiers must have been weary of promises unfulfilled.

1760. April. expert in fascine-laying, is appointed to attend Major M'Kellar, our Chief Engineer.[1] The regiments are desired to give in immediately, to the Quarter-Master-General, a return of the camp-equipage wanting for their present numbers who are able and fit for duty. A company of volunteers are ordered to be formed instantly,[2] to consist of one of [*sic*] Captain, [289] four Subalterns, six Serjeants, six Corporals, four Drummers, and one hundred privates; (the Officers are Captain D. M'Donald of the seventy-eighth, Lieutenant Grant of the third battalion of the sixtieth,[3] Lieutenant Farquar of the forty-seventh,[4] Lieutenant Crofton of the forty-eighth,[5] and Ensign Maw of the forty-third regiment[6]). We had violent thunder and lightning this evening, surpassing any thing of the kind that has been known in this country for many years; and was succeeded by a most tremendous storm of wind and rain, threatening desolation to trees, houses, &c. the river was so agitated by this uncommon storm, which came from the south-east quarter, as effectually to tear up and disperse all the remaining ice: 'It 'being represented by the Officers, that the men drink snow-'water, which must be very prejudicial to their health, the 'Governor has judiciously ordered the regiments to be com-

[1] This work was carried out under Major Mackellar, on the Heights of Abraham, about half a mile from the walls of the city. See plan.

[2] On the 24th, General Murray makes this entry in his *Journal*: "Captain Donald McDonald, a Brave and Experienced Officer, who had been on several little Parties this Winter, Having asked to have the Command of a Company of Volunteers, I formed one for him this day, consisting of Picked men. Such a Corps might be of use, and I thought it necessary to give officers who were willing an opportunity to Distinguish Themselves." Captain Donald McDonell (as the name is given in the *Army Lists*) was appointed Captain in the 78th Regiment, January 1757.

[3] Lieutenant Allan Grant, appointed Lieutenant of the 60th Regiment, March 1758.

[4] Lieutenant William Farquhar, appointed Ensign of the 47th Regiment, March 1758, and Lieutenant in the same regiment, September 1759.

[5] Lieutenant John Crofton, appointed Lieutenant of the 48th Regiment, January 1758.

[6] Ensign Crank Maw, appointed Ensign of the 43rd Regiment, November 1756.

'pleted with canteens from the stores; and the men for work 1760. April.
'to have an extraordinary jill of rum, which the Adjutants are
'injoined to see mixed in a canteen of sweet water, that each
'man is to be provided with, when he parades for fatigue.'[1]

About two o'clock this morning the watch on board the 27th.
Racehorse sloop of war in the dock, hearing a distressful noise on the river, acquainted Captain M'Cartny therewith, who in-

[1] On the 25th, Murray refers to this order in the following words: "To Encourage the men and endeavour to put a stop to the spreading sickness, Two Hundred men having fallen ill this last week, I ordered the working parties a Gill of Rum each, to be mixed with their water in their Canteens, before they went out, as it was observed they often made use of Snow Water, which was Pernicious." (*Journal.*)

It may prove of interest to reproduce here the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis of the 26th:

"We went down the river by boats as far as Saint Augustin, where we worked at dragging them over the ice, to bring them to shore, where they were left with a guard; we took away only the provisions and three guns.

"While we were busy with these arrangements, M. de Bourlamaque was sent with some Indians, the grenadiers and a detachment of artillery, to reconnoitre the places where we were to cross the Cap Rouge River, and to build bridges there, the enemy having broken down those that were there; and he was to send word when it was time for the army to start.

"He sent word to the Chevalier de Lévis at two o'clock that he might start, as two passes were made for the Infantry, and asked for his orders for his detachment. He was instructed, in reply, to cross the river and to seize the houses and posts commanding this crossing, and the army started. At the same time we learned that the enemy had quitted their positions at the church of Old Lorette, and had fallen back on the one at Sainte Foi, where they were stated to be in force. We were able before night to send across a brigade, which occupied the grenadiers' position, and M. de Bourlamaque was ordered to advance as far as possible, without, however, taking any risks until he should receive word that the army was on the move. He accordingly crossed the la Suette marshes, where the enemy might easily have delayed our passage, and took up a position in some houses at a quarter league from the heights of Sainte Foi, where the enemy were. The Chevalier de Lévis pushed forward the brigades, as they successively crossed, in order to support him, proceeded thither in person and spent the night there, having instructed the Sieur de la Pause to come and notify him so soon as the whole army should have crossed the marshes. It was a most awful night, with terrible storm and cold, which caused the army great suffering, as it was not able to finish crossing till far into the night. The bridges having broken down, the soldiers crossed in the water. The workmen had much difficulty in effecting repairs in the dark, and, but for the lightning, we should have been forced to halt." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 259.)

1760. April. stantly ordered out his boat, which shortly after returned with a man whom they found almost famished on a float of ice; notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken of him, it was above two hours before he was able to give an account of himself; when the terrors of his mind had subsided, and he could speak, he gave his deliverer the following intelligence: 'That 'he is a Serjeant of the French artillery, who, with six other 'men, were put into a floating battery of one eighteen-pounder; 'that his batteau overset in the great storm above-mentioned, 'and his companions he supposes are drowned; that he swam 'and scrambled, alternately, through numberless floats of ice, 'until he fortunately met with a large one, on which, though 'with great difficulty, he fixed himself; that he lay [290] on it 'for several hours; passed the town with the tide of ebb, which 'carried him near to St. Lawrence's church on the island of 'Orleans; and was driving up again with the tide of flood, at 'the time that our boat happily came to his relief.'[1] He added, 'that the French squadron, consisting of several frigates, armed

[1] This dramatic incident is referred to by the Chevalier de Lévis in these words:

"One of our boats laden with artillery having been caught and crushed by the ice the previous evening, a gunner who escaped on a small sheet of ice was carried down to the height of Quebec, where the enemy having caught sight of him, on the morning of the 27th, drew him in [to shore]. Being, however, at the last gasp, he had only time to tell them of our march by Old Lorette and of the strength of our army, which led the commandant to send a strong detachment at once in order to withdraw all those whom he had at Sainte Foi or at Cap Rouge, which he carried out an hour after noon, after setting fire to the church of Sainte Foi, where there was a store of arms and some ammunitions.

"As soon as we saw the fire, the guards, the grenadier's companies and the cavalry were ordered to advance; the army followed; the advance guard [of the enemy] only met them at nightfall near a fortified house, whence they fell back after having fired several cannon shot. We had an officer and several volunteers wounded; they left a detachment at this house, and at a redoubt on a height; the rest re-entered the town.

"As for us, our army took quarters in the houses, from that held by the enemy to within a quarter league of the church of Sainte Foi, in order to rest, the land being, moreover, still covered with snow in several places." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 262.)

'sloops, and other craft, such as *galiotes*, floating batteries, and 1760. April.
'batteaus innumerable, laden with ammunition, artillery, pro-
'visions, intrenching-tools, and stores of all kinds, were coming
'down to the Foulon, at Sillery; where they were to meet the
'army under M. de Levis and M. Bourlemacque,[1] amounting to
'twelve thousand men at least, though many people computed
'them at fifteen.—That their fleet, particularly the small craft,
'were separated by the storm, and he believes many of them are
'lost, by the number of different articles which he saw floating
'down with him, and several guns he heard, and supposes may
'be signals of distress from their larger vessels.' He says farther, 'that they are made to believe they will be reinforced
'by a powerful fleet and army from France, before an English
'ship can enter the river; and they are in daily expectation of a
'frigate laden with ammunition and stores, that has wintered at
'Gaspée.'[2]—His story being told, Captain M'Cartney immediately conducted him in a sailor's hammock up to the Governor,[3]

[1] See note, p. 385.

[2] See reference to this frigate by the author, p. 373.

[3] Murray makes no mention of the means through which he received this important intelligence; he simply says: "27th.—Being Sunday, very rainy weather, and it Having blown Hard the Night before, I had Intelligence at three o'clock in the Morning that the Enemy had Landed the Night before at Pointe-au-Tremble, and had marched on to Lorette, that they had with them seven Vessels of all sorts, on Board of which they had their Provisions and Artillery; on this Information I marched Immediately with the Grenadiers, Piquets, Amherst's, and two Field pieces to St. Foix, ordering three other Regiments commanded by Colonel Walsh to march out to Cover my Retreat and Major Morriss with Otway's to Sillery. The enemy I found in possession of all the Woods from Lorette to St. Foix, and Just Entering the Plain; However they Declined attacking me in the advantagious Position I had taken, but finding that their Numbers were Increasing and Endeavouring to get round me by the Woods, the weather very Bad and having Received Intelligence while I was out, of a Report that two French Ships were at the Traverse, I thought it proper to Retreat to Town; which was Accomplished in a very Regular Manner, having withdrawn all my posts, with the loss of only two men. Knock't off the Trunnions of two Eighteen Pounders I could not Bring off, upon account of the Badness of the Roads; the Enemy followed us with their Irregulars, but could make no Impression on our Rear. Blew up a small Magazine of Provisions and Ammunition in the Church, which I could not remove for want of Carriages. As my Numbers were so small I could not

1760. April. to whom he recounted all the foregoing particulars; whereupon his Excellency gave the command in the town to Colonel Fraser, and he, with the Lieutenant-Governor, marched out at the head of the grenadiers of the army, the five regiments under orders of readiness for the field, and the picquets for the garrison, to sustain the light infantry and rangers, who are already advanced. This large detachment, which composed the greatest part of our forces, took ten six-pounders and a proportionable quantity of ammunition with them. The remainder of the troops were instantly paraded, and marched down to St. John's Gate, prepared to push out, in case circumstances should require it.

[291] Moderate weather, with a thick and cold misting rain. The light troops exchanged several shot with the enemy, but they kept at so great a distance that it availed nothing: the Governor formed the line of battle on an advantageous piece of ground beyond St. Foy, and endeavoured to invite them to action; in which they seemed as if inclined to indulge him, and afterwards retired to the woods behind them, hoping, by various stratagems to decoy our troops to follow them. Their cavalry and savages made frequent ostentatious displays by repeated countermarches.

Within the skirts of their cover, [*sic*] sometimes in large and at other times in small divisions to appear more numerous, yet they would not advance, though within the distance of our artillery, which galled them immensely; for they were frequently thrown into confusion, and seen to drag off many killed and disabled men. At length the Governor, perceiving they were only trifling and protracting time, gave order for the demolition of our post at the church, and, after the performance thereof, marched back his forces to the garrison, without any other accident, in the course of the day, than

think of Keeping Post at Point Levi any longer, I ordered the Officers commanding there to Burn the Blockhouses, spike the Guns, Destroy the Provisions, and come off with the first Tide, which was Effected." (*Journal.*)

having two men slightly wounded; the enemy affected to pursue them in their march, but our field-pieces obliged them to keep aloof; and the flanks of the line were so well covered by the light troops, that they could not make the least impression: so that they contented themselves with firing and shouting at a great distance. The army, being extremely harrassed, and wet with a constant soaking rain, were allowed an extraordinary jill of rum per man; and some old houses at St. Rocque were pulled down to provide them with fire-wood, in order to dry their clothes. We have also withdrawn our posts from Point Levi, and burned the two blockhouses that had been erected there.[1] All the British Merchants were reviewed, and, at their own request, formed into an independent company of volunteers, to be commanded by Lieutenant Grant, of the fifty-eighth regiment; this gentleman they particularly made choice of, and they, including their ser- [292] vants, are about one hundred in number.[2] The sick and wounded of our garrison, who are capable of using their arms,[3] are to have their

1760. April.

[1] As long as the river remained frozen, communication with the posts at Point Levi was a simple matter, but with the small number of boats at the disposal of the Governor, it would have been difficult for the garrison to render efficient support in an emergency.

[2] The British merchants at this time in Quebec were following the example of the French merchants of the year before, who formed themselves into a company and with a number of students made an attack on Point Levi. See vol. i. p. 418.

[3] According to a statement of General Murray issued on April 24, the sick in the garrison at this time were as follows:

Amherst's Regiment	109
Bragg's „	205
Otway's „	285
Kennedy's „	194
Lascelle's „	169
Webb's „	214
Anstruther's „	158
Monckton's „	163
Lawrence's „	215
Frazer's „	573
Hazen's Rangers	14
Total	2299

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5 :64.)

1760. April. firelocks, bayonets, and ammunition near them in readiness, and all the troops are to be quite alert and prepared to turn out, or march out, at a moment's warning. The naval armament of the enemy are fallen down to Cape Rouge; and they pretend that there are four French topsail vessels below at the Traverse.[1]

BATTLE of SILLERY.

Monsieur de Levis, and his army, occupied the village and neighbourhood of St. Foy last night, and his advanced posts possessed the coppice contiguous to the general hospital;[2] early this morning our light troops pushed out, and, with little difficulty, drove them to a greater distance:

'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more,——we'll deserve it.

28th. About seven o'clock our army marched out to the heights of Abraham, with a respectable artillery, consisting of eighteen pieces of cannon, viz. two twelve-pounders, with sixteen six-pounders, and two howitzers; we also carried out our tools,

[1] The French fleet consisted of the frigates *Atalante* and *La Pomone*, the sloops *Le Pie* and *La Marie*, four boats, and two private schooners, which arrived at the Foulon on the 28th.

The movements of the French on the 27th are given in this extract from the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis:

"The army was scattered among the houses for shelter from the rain and to mend their weapons, so as to be fit to march at day-break, the Chevalier de Lévis having determined to attack. The artillery, however, not having been able to cross during the night, and the bad weather continuing, he waited until ten o'clock, since he needed the artillery for the attack on the church and the fortified houses. He went with M. de Bourlamaque to reconnoitre the enemy and their position, pushed guards forward as far as the opening of the wood which, in some places, is within gunshot and musketshot of the heights. The enemy fired heavily, with guns and musketry, on the posts and on all who showed themselves outside the wood. He also ordered the Sieur de la Pause to go and push forward the army and the artillery across the Suette, and to form thence in four columns." The difficulty of attack was such that, in the end, Lévis decided "to wait for nightfall in order to march for the purpose of turning the enemy on their left." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 261.)

[2] See plan in Appendix.

as if intending to intrench ourselves, and cover the town; which seemed to be the sole resolution taken by the Governors, previous to our march.[1] Upon coming to our ground, we 1760. April.

[1] General Murray describes the events of this day in these words: "As I considered the Enemy, so near at Hand, would never suffer us to Fortify the Heigths of Abraham, that even unmolested the Chief Engineer was of opinion it would take up ten Days to Execute the Plan Proposed, that the Garrison was so sickly, it could Hardly be supposed equal to the Task of guarding both Town and Lines, having also Had a strong confidence in Troops who had hitherto been Successful, I Resolved to give the Enemy Battle before they could Establish themselves; in Consequence having given my orders, this morning at seven o'clock I marched out with all the Force I could muster in two Columns, and as soon as I arrived upon the Heigths, form'd this Little Army in the manner Following: The right wing, consisting of Amherst's, Anstruther's, 2nd Battalion Royal Americans and Webb's, was commanded by Colonel Burton; Kennedy's, Lascelle's Highlanders and Bragg's form'd the Left, commanded by Colonel Fraser; Otway's and the 3rd Battalion of Americans, Commanded by Colonel Young, Formed a *Corps de Réserve;* Major Dalling with a Corps of Light Infantry Covered the Right Flank; Hazzen's Rangers and a Company of Volunteers, commanded by Captain Donald McDonald, a brave and Experienced officer, covered the Left. The battalions had each two Field pieces. While the Line was Forming, I Reconnoitred the Enemy and perceived their Van busy throwing up Redoubts, while their Main Body was yet on the march. I thought this the Lucky Minute, moved the whole in Great order to attack them before they could have time to Form; they were beat from their works, and Major Dalling, with great spirit, Forced their Corps of Grenadiers from a House they occupied to cover their Left; here he and several of his Officers were wounded; his men however pursued the fugitives to the second line which chequed our Light Infantry, who Immediately Dispersed along the Front of our Right, which Prevented Col. Burton from taking the advantage of the first Impression made on that Left Flank; the Light Infantry was immediately ordered to clear the Front and Regain the Right, but in Attempting this they were charged, thrown into Confusion, retired to the Rear, and never again could be brought up during the Action; as soon as I perceived this, I ordered Major Morriss with Otway's Battalion to wheel up and cover the Right Flank; this Recovered Everything there, but a very little while after the left gave way, tho' they had early made themselves masters of two Redoubts; I ordered Kennedy's from the centre, and the 3rd Battalion to sustain them, but they were too late, the Disorder spread from the Left to the Right, and the Whole Retired under the Musketry of our Blockhouses, Abandoning their Cannon to the Enemy. Nothing more could now be done but to give the Troops time to Rest, and Endeavour to keep the Enemy out of the Town. The Chief Engineer being wounded, I ordered Captain Holland to visit the works, and all the officers and men to parade for work at five next morning. This evening the French Fleet anchored off the Foulon." (*Journal.*)

1760. April. descried the enemy's van on the eminences of the woods of Sillery, and the bulk of their army to the right marching along the road of St. Foy, inclining, as they advanced, in order to conceal themselves. Upon this discovery, and our line being already formed, the troops were ordered to throw down their intrenching-tools and march forward, this being deemed the decisive moment to attack them, in hopes of reaping [293] every advantage that could be expected over an army not yet thoroughly arranged. In consequence of this resolution, our forces advanced with great alacrity; the forty-eighth regiment, the fifteenth, and second battalion of the sixtieth, forming the right brigade, under Colonel Burton; the twenty-eighth, seventy-eighth, and forty-seventh, the left under Colonel Fraser; the fifty-eighth was the right center corps, and the forty-third the left center, commanded by Colonel James. The second line was composed of the thirty-fifth, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, drawn up, to appear more numerous, two deep.—Our right flank was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry, and our left by the company of volunteers and rangers, under their respective Commandants, Captains M'Donald and Hazen. The artillery were placed occasionally, in front, in the intervals, or on the flanks, as circumstances might require, commanded by Major Godwin, and assisted by Major M'Kellar, our chief Engineer. Thus did our little army advance, weak, in point of numbers, when compared with that of the French, but powerful in every other respect; and having an enemy to encounter, who, by frequent experience and repeated trials, were unaccustomed to stand long before us. Our field-pieces were exceedingly well served, and did amazing execution; as soon as we came within the range of musketry, the light infantry attacked the French grenadiers on the left of their army, and routed them: at the same instant the volunteers and rangers engaged their right, repulsed them in like manner, and possessed themselves of a redoubt occupied before by the enemy; the center posts,

seeing their right and left give way, fled without firing a shot. 1760. April. Whilst we gained this small advantage over their van, the main body of their army advanced with great expedition, completely formed in columns, in spite of the utmost efforts exerted on our part to prevent them; one of these columns came, without loss of time, to sustain their flying grenadiers, now pursued by our light infantry, who, being overpowered with great loss, retired to the rear, and [294] were of little service afterwards; the enemy, profiting thereby, instantly wheeled round some rising grounds, and charged our right wing vigorously in flank,[1] while M. de Levis, with another division, made the like movement on our left, and then the

[1] It is perhaps somewhat strange that neither the author nor General Murray refer to the windmill, although the principal part of the action was in that direction. It may therefore be of interest to give an account of the battle in the words of Patrick Mackellar, the chief engineer under Murray. He says: "The British came out in two Columns, one by St. John's gate, the other by St. Lewis's gate; the French came along the road from St. Fois, and would have been attacked before they could form, if the difficulty's of the Snow and ground had not retarded the advancing of our Cannon, which deprived us of a great advantage. . . . The action which lasted full three hours was chiefly upon the Flanks, there the Enemy made all their Efforts without making scarce any attempt towards the centre, tho' their numbers were sufficient to make a push there likewise; But even upon the Flanks we for some time gained considerable advantages. Upon the right our light infantry beat back their grenadiers from the house and windmill, but they unluckily pursued too far to be Sustained, and suffered accordingly, they were beat back in their turn and with such a loss as to appear no more in action. Upon our left we gained a good deal of ground, the volunteers and grenadiers of the 28th drove the enemy out of the two redoubts, Y & Z [see plan], they kept possession of them for some time, but being at length Surrounded, they were obliged to force their way back.

"The Enemy had now overpowered our flanks with such superior numbers as left us no more hopes of success, a retreat began of its own accord in which it must be observed that the Redoubt W was of great service and kept the Enemy at bay for above ten minutes, which saved our rear and many of our wounded from being cut off from the Town; this was raised only a few Facines high on account of the frosts, but there being two pickets left there during the action, it deceived the enemy as a compleat work; we brought off only two pieces of Artillery, it was impracticable to bring off the rest on account of the snow." (See plan in *Report concerning Canadian Archives*, 1905, vol. i. part iv. p. 4.)

1760. April. action became obstinate on both sides. The General immediately ordered the thirty-fifth from the second line, to support our right wing; and the third battalion of the sixtieth the left, who acquitted themselves with great honour. Quebec being the grand object, the enemy seemed regardless of our center, hoping, if they could out-flank us, they would be able to get between us and our garrison; and this it was that attracted their greatest attention. They sustained their right and left wings with fresh reinforcements; and Fortune, who appeared for some time undetermined on whom to confer her laurel, at length inclined to the more numerous army. The enemy possessed themselves of two redoubts upon our left, which gave them a great advantage; but, by an excellent movement of the forty-third regiment, ordered by Colonel James, from the center, to support the third battalion of Americans on the left, both these corps made a vigorous effort to recover those works, and succeeded; they maintained them for some time with admirable firmness, but, at length being reduced to a handful, they were compelled to yield to superior numbers. In the course of the action we were insensibly drawn from our advantageous situation into low swampy ground, where our troops fought almost knee-deep in dissolving wreaths of snow and water, whence it was utterly impracticable to draw off our artillery under those unhappy circumstances, after this infeebled army had performed prodigies of valour, exceeding all description; having the whole force of the country to contend with, and our communication with the town in danger of being intercepted, we were obliged to give up the contest. The troops being ordered to fall back, a command they were hitherto unacquainted with, as if sensible of the critical posture of our affairs, they drew a natural conclusion; and, growing impatient, some of them [295] cried out, *Damn it, what is falling back but retreating?* The inference was immediately communicated to the whole, and accordingly put in execution. This discomfit was however so regularly conducted, that the

enemy did not pursue with that spirit which the vast import- 1760. April.
ance of their victory required; the truth was, they were very roughly handled; and from their losses, which fell mostly upon the flower of their army, they were heartily sick of it.[1]

[1] Murray's course on April 28 in attacking Lévis is thus defended by himself:

"Letter from Brigadier-General the Hon. James Murray, son of Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank, to his brother, Rear-Admiral the Hon. George Murray.

"QUEBEC, *October 19th*, 1760.

"MY DEAR GEORGE,

". . . I foúght a battle: I lost it. What then? Is every day of battle a day of victory? Did it be asked any soldier if, in my situation, it was right to fight. He will answer without hesitation, 'To be sure.' Examine the disposition, compare it with the ground which must determine the propriety of it, and I flatter myself it will be allow'd a good one. Was not the critical moment of attack made use of? Did it succeed? Was not the victory gain'd, had the right wing been as active and as vigorous the 28th of April, 1760, as the left was the 13th of September, 1759? Was not aid instantly given during the action where it was wanted? Were not the cannon judiciously placed? Does not all this denote a presence of mind, and a *coup d'oile?* Where was the General in this battle?—Betwixt his own line and that of the enemy—everywhere, where the enemy made a push, animating his men by his presence. He had two horses shot under him, and his clothes riddled by the enemy's musketry. Where was he when the right wing faulter'd? He was placing the cannon on the hights, in the centre, but rode instantly to the right, and there recover'd the confusion. How did the troops retreat into town? In tolerable order by the means of the corps the General himself posted in the two unfinished redoubts, and on an eminence. Did he stay with the corps himself to the last? He did, he was the last man that enter'd the gates. The defence of the place, as it was successful, in England (where everything is right or wrong agreeable to the decision of Dame Fortune) will answer for its self. You are to ask the French Generals what share had this campaign in the total reduction of Canada. I am persuaded Mr. Amherst is too just to be silent on that head. He certainly has told that I left him nothing to do, and that the Marquis de Vaudreuil insinuated terms of surrender to me, before Mr. Amherst's army appear'd, which I would not listen to, as I had intelligence of the commander-in-chief's being within six days' march of me, and I was posted at Longviel, by which the junction of the three armys was infallible.

"This much I have open'd myself to my brother: it is very wrong for a man to speak of himself, but he that praises himself is unpardonable. I therefore conjure you not to show this letter to any body but Elibank: he and you may make what use of the contents you please, provided you do not let it be known that I have trumpeted my own fame.

"I think myself accountable to my family in a very particular manner for my actions, especially as the sphere I have lately acted in has been eminent. It

1760. April. The action was immensely warm for near two hours, and we had eleven hundred, of all ranks, killed, wounded, and prisoners; the enemy, by their own acknowledgement, lost considerably above that number; and I am induced to think, if the invalids of our garrison had been able, or one thousand fresh men only could have been brought up to sustain us, we should not have quartered within the town this night, nor permitted our antagonists to incamp so near us; for they lost no time in intrenching themselves, within nine hundred yards of our walls. The strength of our army in the morning was three thousand one hundred and forty; and that of the enemy amounted to fifteen thousand, as we have been informed [by] prisoners and deserters; though by a state which I saw, and was copied from a return in the possession of M. Vaugeulin, the French Commodore, they made eighteen thousand, viz. *troupes de France*, five thousand; *de la colonie*, three thousand; *milice*, eight thousand five hundred; Acadians and savages, thirteen hundred; cannoniers, &c. two hundred *.[1]

will be your business to dive into the truth of every sentence of this letter, but not to expose me to the reproach of vain glory. I offer my very affectionate compliments to all my relations round you, and am, my dear George,

"Your most affectionate brother and sincere friend,

"JAMES MURRAY."

(From *The Scot in New France*, by J. M. Le Moine, in *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 1880.)

* I cannot think but this return must be exaggerated; the copy I received from Captain David Maitland, of the forty-third regiment, who was made prisoner on the 28th, and, on the 29th, was, with others, sent on board the Commodore to be transmitted to Montreal. This worthy Officer is since dead, and most deservedly regretted by all his acquaintances.—*Note by author.*

[1] The Chevalier de Lévis on April 17 gives this statement of the forces appointed to take part in the expedition against Quebec:

Officers	279	
Soldiers	3610	
Militiamen and Indians . .	3021	
		6910
Non-combatants		352
		7262

Lévis says that a considerable number of the troops were not engaged on the 28th. See Appendix. He expected to obtain some assistance from the

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MURRAY

From a painting in the possession of Mrs. Murray of Bath

In the evening returns were called for of the effectives we had taken into the field, and those who were killed and wounded, &c.[1] The guards are reduced to one Captain, seven 1760. April.

inhabitants of the Government of Quebec, but as they had been disarmed intended to use them as workmen for the siege. His statement of losses is as follows:

In the battle of April 28:

	Killed or Died of Wounds	Wounded.
Officers	28	68
Men	165	572
	193	640
In the siege of Quebec:		
Officers	5	6
Men	68	127
	73	133

(*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. pp. 257, 269.)

[1] Murray in a Return enclosed in his despatch to Pitt of May 25, 1760, gives the strength of his army as it marched into the field:

Regiments of the Line, Light Infantry, and Rangers:	
Officers	261
Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	3476
Artillery	129
Total	3866

In his despatch to Amherst of April 30 he gives a return of the losses on the 28th:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Missing.
Officers	6	89	13	2
Regiments, &c.	253	730	...	...
Artillery	...	10	...	1
	259	829	13	3

This, evidently, is not complete. In the Return sent to Pitt the losses from April 27 to May 21 are given:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
Regiments, &c.:			
Officers	13	73	13
Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	279	743	40
Artillery:			
Officers	...	5	...
Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	...	16	...
	292	837	53

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

1760, April. Subalterns, with the like number of Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers, and one [296] hundred and fifty privates; those who mounted yesterday were not relieved until night-fall; we annoy the enemy as much as possible with shot and shell, and our advanced blockhouse has great command of their works. Our weather, in the whole course of this unlucky day, has been exceedingly mild and pleasant. All the men, and Officers off duty, are ordered to parade for fatigue at five o'clock to-morrow morning. Late this night the Governor issued out the following orders:

ORDERS.

"The 28th of April has been unfortunate to the British "arms, but affairs are not so desperate as to be irretrievable; "the General often experienced the bravery of the troops he "now commands, and is very sensible they will endeavour to "regain what they have lost; the fleet may be hourly expected, "reinforcements are at hand; and shall we lose, in one moment, "the fruits of so much blood and treasure? Both Officers "and men are exhorted patiently to undergo the fatigues they "must suffer, and to expose themselves chearfully to some "dangers; a duty they owe to their KING, their COUNTRY, and "THEMSELVES." [1]

The BRITISH GARRISON of QUEBEC besieged.

29th. The enemy's fleet have fallen down to the Foulon by Sillery, and their boats are continually employed in landing their stores, artillery, and provisions. The army have thrown up a line of countervallation this night: [2] their right extending

[1] Lévis gives an account of the battle, too long to quote here. See Appendix.

[2] See plan.

to the Foulon, and their left towards St. Charles's river, beyond our chain of blockhouses; by their attention to one particular spot, opposite to St. Lewis's bastion, we suspect they are erecting a battery, having provided a quantity of fascines and gabions for that purpose. We are opening embrasures in the curtains for cannon, revesting the [297] parapet wall with fascine-work; and our Carpenters are employed in preparing and laying platforms for guns.[1] The enemy have brought up a piece of ordnance to bear upon our large advanced blockhouse, being much annoyed at their work by the fire of its artillery. Soft, open weather, with little wind and variable.— The women are all ordered to cook for, and attend, the men at work with their victuals; also to nurse the sick and wounded. The Officers are desired to be very circumspect in keeping the men sober; their rum to be continually mixed with water, in the presence of an Officer.[2] The men for duty are directed to parade with their canteens of rumbo, and always twenty-four hours' provisions ready dressed. In case the enemy should beat a parley, the Officer, commanding the nearest guard, is injoined to send out an Officer, with a drum, to meet him, as far as possible from the place. Two hundred men are appointed to do duty with the artillery, to receive their orders from that corps, and to parade at one o'clock at the Jesuits' College; the guards are also to parade, at the same hour, in the usual place. Three men are slightly wounded by splinters at the advanced blockhouse, which the enemy have much insulted by double-headed shot. The Officers of guards are ordered to be very attentive, and send the General early

1760. April.

[1] The works to the land side had been strengthened by a barricade of snow barrels, but the action of the sun by this time must have weakened this defence.

[2] Even the small comforts of the men were "diluted." The soldiers evidently resented this order, and, a few days later, there was open rebellion, as related by the author below; the stores of liquor were broken into and drunkenness prevailed. One man was hanged without trial as an example, and the rum "was spilled" at the instance of the Governor. (*Murray's Journal*, April 30.)

1760. April. notice, when they observe any of the enemy appproaching, or any thing else extraordinary that may happen. The regiments are desired to remove their sick from the convents,[1] and settle them in houses appointed for them by the Quarter-Master-General. The Adjutants are directed to send in, as soon as possible, a return of their present strength, fit for duty, of Subalterns, Serjeants, Drummers, rank and file, comprehending volunteers and light infantry. All the Officers and men off duty to parade again, at three o'clock this afternoon, on the grand parade for work. By a subsequent order the volunteers and light infantry are to do duty with, and join, their respective corps. Both men and women are to have a larger allowance of provisions issued to them. Two Surgeons and five Mates, belonging to the regiments, are appointed to the hospitals. [298] The guards are to mount, for the future, at six o'clock in the evening; and new alarm-posts are made choice of for the regiments. Eight Captains' guards mounted this day. Smart firing between the blockhouse and the enemy.

30th. Ensign Maw, of the forty-third regiment, with two non-commissioned and twenty volunteers, sallied out last night, hoping to get a prisoner for intelligence;[2] but unfortunately, his sight not being equal in goodness to his spirit and ability, he fell into the enemy's hands, and six of his men were killed

[1] The convents were no doubt overcrowded at this time.

[2] Murray's position was desperate. Intelligence of the movements of the enemy was desirable; but with a formidable army encamped within six hundred yards of the walls, it seems rashness to have given the command of an expedition in search of prisoners to a man who could not see. This was not the time for a game of "blindman's buff."

Ensign Crank Maw was an enthusiast whose intentions were good. A few days before he had joined the company of Donald McDonell and was no doubt eager to distinguish himself. On this occasion perhaps it would have been prudent to have restrained his enthusiasm. There seems to have been some feeling in the camp over the circumstance, as, a few days later, when an order was issued inviting men to volunteer for similar service, there was little response. The officers, while not volunteering, expressed their willingness to carry out any positive commands of the Governor.

and wounded. The French are forwarding their works with great diligence, notwithstanding the warm salutations they receive from our cannon and mortars; we shall shortly be able to open a continual line of fire from Cape Diamond down to the hangman's redoubt. The advanced blockhouse blew up this morning, by a spark falling on some loose powder, which communicated with their magazine: the Officers and men suffered considerably, but no lives were lost.[1] The troops fit for duty, by the returns made to the head quarters, amount to two thousand and one hundred, and no more: they incamped this evening at the alarm-posts. Frequent flags of truce pass and repass between us and the enemy, for necessaries for our Officers who are prisoners; they are treated with great politeness, and are to be sent to Montreal for their better accommodation. Immense irregularities are hourly committed by the soldiery, in break-open store and dwelling houses to get at liquor: this is seemingly the result of panic and despair, heightened by drunkenness; one man was hanged this evening *in terrorem*, without any trial, which it is hoped will effectually prevent farther disorders, and influence the soldiers to a lively sense of their duty. Fine weather, wind at S. E. but scanty. Returns are called for of the names of such Officers as were killed and wounded on the unfortunate twenty-eighth; and a report is ordered to be made by each regiment, to the Adjutant-General, of any casualties that may happen in the course [299] of the siege, among the commissioned, non-commissioned Officers, and private men; wherein the names of the former are to be specified. Eight Captains' guards mounted this night, and the orderly hours are at nine in the morning, and immediately after guard-mounting in the evening.

1760. April.

[1] This blockhouse was the most advanced on the Heights, and, according to General Murray's *Journal*, it was shot through by a twelve-pounder which the enemy had brought up at eleven o'clock on the morning of April 29. The gun was dismounted owing to some accident in firing, but a spark had caught in the powder magazine of the blockhouse, which blew up and injured one officer and about twenty-five men.

1760. May 1st. The Racehorse frigate sailed this morning with a fair wind and pleasant weather, for Louisbourg and Halifax, in order to hasten up a fleet and succours to our relief. A soldier, who was made prisoner last campaign, escaped from Montreal, and came into town this night; he says that country is left almost desolate, the whole force of Canada being engaged in this enterprise; and he has been informed, that the enemy lost some of their best artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition and other stores, by the late storm; which dispersed their fleet, overset some of their store-vessels, and staved others to pieces. (This is a most remarkable instance of the kind interposition of Providence, in behalf of the troops of this garrison and the British arms in America.)[1] It being of the utmost consequence at present, the Governor injoins all Officers to attend the men on every kind of fatigue, and keep them close to their work. Any Officers who chuse to go volunteers upon *sorties* *, are desired to give in their names at the head quarters, and his Excellency promises to recommend them to his Majesty; any Serjeant who chuses to go volunteer upon the like service, and can find twelve men, also volunteers, will be well rewarded. In consequence of this intimation, two or three Serjeants only, and a few privates, did offer themselves; but not one commissioned Officer shewed any inclination to go out of his own

[1] The author is here giving expression to sentiments similar to those of the Reverend Mr. Price of Boston:

> "O Lord! we would not advise:
> But if, in Thy providence,
> A tempest should arise,
> To drive the French fleet hence,
> And scatter it far and wide,
> Or sink it in the sea,
> We would be satisfied;
> And Thine the glory be."

(*The Logs of the Conquest of Canada*, edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, p. 60.)

* A party that sallies out of a town secretly, to annoy the besiegers and retard their operations.—*Note by author.*

proper turn: the sense of the gentlemen upon the publication of this order was, that, if the General should think proper to commend a corps, large detachment, or a small party, from any particular regiment, to sally out, they were ready and willing chearfully to [300] execute his Excellency's orders, to the utmost of their power, in their regular tour of duty. We maintain a brisk fire on the enemy's works, which are nevertheless in great forwardness. 1760. May.

ORDERS.

"In order to ease the troops as much as possible, the "General is pleased to order that only one half of the men off "duty shall work at a time, with the same proportion of Officers "to oversee and forward whatever may be necessary for the "honour of our King and Country, and to be relieved every "six hours; the men coming off work are not to quit until "the relief comes. The working-parties to be dismissed this "day at half after one for dinner; and half of the men, with "their proportion of Officers, to parade at half past two for "work, and continue till relieved; the mens' victuals to be "always ready dressed for them about the time of relief, that "they may get their proper rest; but those men, when off duty "or fatigue, are never to stray from camp: any women who "are detected giving liquor to soldiers, upon any account, "will be most severely punished.

AFTER ORDERS.

"The women are commanded to remain in the barracks, "and there to cook the mens' victuals; men must work day "and night; the Commanding Officer of each working party "is to stand half an hour in relieving: a Corporal to conduct "the relief to the place he works at, and is to deliver over "to the relieving Officer the directions he receives from the

1760. May. "Engineer; the working-parties to be relieved this night at "ten o'clock. Captain Addison[1] is appointed to act as Major "to this garrison."

2d. [301] We are exerting our most strenuous efforts towards a vigorous defence both in the high and low town;[2]

[1] Thomas Addison, appointed Captain in the 28th Regiment, June 24, 1744.

[2] Murray's *Journal* of May 1, 2, and 3 furnishes interesting particulars of the situation at this time:

"1st.—Observed in the Morning that the Enemy had begun to raise a Battery on a rising Ground to their Right, and in the front of their Line intended for La Glasière and Cape Diamond Bastions—Ordered our Fire to be Directed to that place. The Regiments Quartered in the Lower Town were ordered to the Upper one—the men off duty were divided into two parts, to work Night and Day alternately Six Hours, and to have allways their arms by them. The Commanding Officer of Artillery this day Reported that several of the French Guns were very bad, and several of the shells unserviceable. Dispatched Captain Macartney in the *Race Horse* Bomb to General Amherst, to Acquaint him of the situation of affairs Here, that he might take his measures accordingly. Seven Guns mounted this day, great Difficulty in fitting the Merlons, part Fascines and part Earth and Rubbish, as it could be scraped together; Cut out five more Embrasures between the Bastions St. Louis and St. Ursula.

"2nd.—As we had neither news nor Instructions, and being thoroughly Resolved to maintain the place as long as possible, ordered in a Return of the Artillery, by which it appeared we Expended to this time, 1473 Shot, and 962 Shells of different sizes, and that if we continued to fire in the same proportion as hitherto, our Ammunition would not Hold above fifteen days, I Recommended Economy, that we should not by too Early a profusion disable ourselves from giving them a warmer fire, when they should approach closer. Appointed Alarum posts for the Convalescents, that they might be ready to give assistance, If the Enemy should attempt a storm; I raised all the most Accessible places from the Lower Town—Mounted 12 more Guns on the Rampart, finished all the platforms between La Glasière and St. Louis Bastion. A small party was ordered to lie out every Night, along the High Bank of Cape Diamond, to watch the Enemy's Motions, and prevent any Surprise on that side.

"3rd. W.—Our fire retards the Enemy, who seems to advance slowly. This day about 11 o'clock the Fortified House was set on fire, a main avenue to the land side to the Lower Town, which was mostly Burned: Great Difficulty we had to prevent the Intendant's House from being burned, or its spreading to the Upper Town. The Guns brought yesterday on the Rampart were now mounted, and platforms laid for three Howitzers. Begun to fill up the Parapet between St. John's and St. Ursula's Bastions, and likewise the left face of the Potace, this day, cut out embrasures for three more Guns; at night a Soldier of Webb's Deserted."

and our men are thoroughly recovered from their late irregularities and despondent state of mind. If the enemy have, or do still entertain, thoughts of storming the place, it seems now too late, and they have let slip a golden opportunity: had they followed their blow on the 28th, 29th, or 30th, before the soldiers recollected themselves, I am strongly inclined to think, notwithstanding the active zeal and spirit of the Governors and Officers in general, Quebec would have reverted to its old masters. We no longer harbour a thought of visiting France or England, or of falling a sacrifice to a merciless scalping knife. We are roused from our lethargy; we have recovered our good humour, our sentiments for glory; and we seem, one and all, determined to defend our dearly purchased garrison to the last extremity. Batteries are erecting to enfilade the road leading to the lower town; two noble cavaliers are begun upon the commanding rocky eminence between the citadel of Cape Diamond and Port St. Louis, which is a work of labour, the earth being borrowed from other places; and we are throwing up traverses in different parts of the city. Fine weather to-day, the wind fluctuating between the S. W. and N. W. points, which is as perverse as it can blow. We have opened more batteries, and maintain a heavy fire on the enemy's works; the General and Lieutenant-Governor visit the guards and working parties frequently, to encourage the men, and influence them to diligence and alertness.—All the troops off duty are ordered to be at their alarm-posts this day at one o'clock, and the convalescents, at the same hour, at the posts allotted for them, with their arms and accoutrements. In case of an alarm, the guard which first observes the enemy approaching, is to beat to arms; and the Drummers of the other guards are to do the same, that it may be communicated through the whole garrison. Each regiment is immediately to send an Officer to Citadel-hill to receive orders for the regiment; and all the [302] fatigue-parties are instantly to join their corps. The alarm-posts assigned to the

1760. May.

1760. May. troops are as follow: the fifteenth regiment, at St. John's bastion; the twenty-eighth, at St. Louis's bastion; and the lower flank within the casmate; the thirty-fifth between Otway's grenadier guard and Palace-gate; the forty-third, stockades by the citadel next Cape Diamond; the forty-seventh, Cape Diamond; the forty-eighth, lower —— bastion, and the lower flank of the upper casmate; the fifty-eighth, the —— bastion, and the loop-holes behind their own regiments' barrack; the second battalion of Royal Americans, Ursuline bastion; the third battalion of Royal Americans, stockades about the citadel; the seventy-eighth, Citadel-hill; the grenadiers of the ten regiments upon Citadel-hill, who are to separate from their regiments, and incamp there to-morrow, under the command of Major Addison. The alarm-posts of the convalescents are the fifteenth, twenty-eighth, and fifty-eighth, between Palace-gate and Otway's grenadier guard; the thirty-fifth, and third battalion, between Otway's and the Bishop's palace; the forty-third, Vaudreuil-house;[1] the second battalion, the nine-gun battery, and the stockade-work adjoining; the seventy-eighth, Barrier-hill[2] guard, by the nine-gun battery, and the stockade-work adjoining; the forty-seventh and forty-eighth, the Bishop's palace. The rangers are advanced every night between the town and the enemy's works, and return in the morning.

3d. Some of my readers, especially those who are unacquainted with military affairs, may be desirous to know the necessity for the troops incamping within the walls of a town when besieged; for their information, therefore, I shall only offer what naturally occurs to me upon this occasion: it is impossible to have troops altogether so alert in quarters as in tents;[3] for soldiers

[1] The Governor resided at the Château. This probably refers to some other house owned or occupied by Vaudreuil.

[2] This was probably near the barrier erected on Mountain Hill.

[3] Some of the men might possibly have been put under canvas at this time, as there were a few vacant places suitable within the walls; but a month before it would have been impossible owing to the severity of the weather.

cannot take those indulgences in camp which they may be too much induced to do in their barracks, where their bedding, &c. lie convenient for them. In the next place, by the extensiveness of the garrison, men could not be so soon as- [303] sembled upon any sudden emergency, as in a compact incampment, contiguous to their alarm-posts, which will not admit of the least confusion or delay in turning out for service; and, moreover, (a consideration not unworthy of the greatest General, and deserved particular attention in our circumstances) the troops are less exposed to accidents and danger in tents than in houses of stone, brick, or wood, as it is well known, that soldiers are subject to a greater number of casualties from splinters than from shot or shell. Lastly, the practice is neither unprecedented nor uncommon, where there is vacant ground, and the town is extensive enough to admit of incamping; though there were some among us who affected to be of a different opinion, and that has partly induced me to offer my sentiments, and to express my approbation of this procedure. The fortified house was accidently fired to-day by a wad from one of our own guns, which, communicating, by the freshness of the wind, with the stockades and adjoining houses, swept away almost that whole quarter of the town; luckily the Intendant's palace escaped the fury of the flames, though all his out-offices, with one of our blockhouses which stood opposite to the *jettée*, the picquet-work contiguous thereto, together with some of our boats and naval stores, were destroyed; all the guards immediately turned out and beat to arms, the troops manned their alarm-posts, and remained there for some hours *.[1] As it was apprehended the enemy might 1760. May.

* I never saw men so attentive to their duty, or more determined to make a vigorous defence, than our soldiers were at the time of this conflagration, in case the enemy had thought proper to attack us; we had not the least noise or confusion among us.—*Note by author.*

[1] Had the regulations in force under the French regime regarding fires been carried out at this time, probably this disaster would have been avoided.

1760. May. seize this opportunity to storm the place, and the centries seeing some motions in their camp, our batteries played incessantly upon them, obliging them to abandon their works, and retire from the range of our guns; at length two boats came down under a flag of truce, and the French, taking the advantage of the cessation, re- [304] turned to their trenches, as did our troops, in like manner, to their respective occupations. Fine weather, though cool for the season; wind unfavourable for ships to work up.

4th. A return of the grenadiers was called for to-day, specifying those only fit for duty. The women are not to be allowed to light fires in any of the barracks, or other buildings in their districts, as houses will be allotted for them near to each regiment's incampment for washing and cooking. The working parties, for the future, are always to carry their arms, and each corps a bell-tent, wherein to lodge them; the grenadiers are to do duty with their regiments, but fatigue by themselves. Commanding Officers of regiments are to take care that the chimnies of cooking-houses and the quarters of their convalescents are regularly swept, as they see the bad consequences that may arise from a neglect of it; and, in case fire happens by such neglect, the persons occupying such house are threatened with severe punishment. The Provost[1] has received orders to hang all stragglers and marauders; it is once more injoined, that neither Officer nor soldier stir out of camp, except when upon duty; any man guilty of a breach of this order will be punished in an examplary [*sic*] manner : it is again repeated, that half of the Officers off duty do attend the working parties, and keep their men close to their business. The flag of truce, that came down yesterday by water, was, on account of the Officers who are prisoners, to procure farther refreshments and necessaries for them. Another was sent today from the general hospital by the lower road; the purport

[1] Zachariah Filtner, appointed Provost Marshal by General Murray. The official hangman was Benjamin Gable.

of it was to convey some branches of the spruce-tree into town, to make beverage for the Governor's table: application was made for this favour before, and it was positively refused, from a notion that it was wanted for the use of the garrison; as the spruce was accompanied with many polite compliments, his Excellency sent M. de Levis a Cheshire cheese in return.[1] The troops are indefatigable in forwarding their work; and our batteries fire vigorously on the enemy, who remain very quiet in their camp and trenches; [305] this inclines us to think that no measures will be taken on their part, until the arrival of a fleet. Wind still perverse, blowing fresh at W. N. W. 1760. May.

A French sloop, from Sillery, passed our batteries last night undiscovered, until she was almost out of reach of our artillery, and sailed down the river. M. Bourlemacque was wounded in the thigh on the 28th ultimo.[2] An unlucky accident happened at one of our batteries, by some sparks of fire having reached one of the chests of ammunition, which instantly blew up, and, communicating with the men's arms, discharged some of them, whereby three soldiers received shot wounds; a Lieutenant and several others of the forty-third regiment were most severely scorched; very fortunately the fire did not reach to another chest adjoining, which lay also open, and was full of loaded shells, ready for embassy; had the flash reached these infernal messengers, we should probably have had a large breach made in the rampart, and lost many lives.[3] We had a smart frost last night, and the air was extremely cold; the wind continues 5th.

[1] The exchange of presents between the commanders seems to have been frequent during the campaign.

[2] See list of wounded officers drawn up by the Chevalier de Lévis, in Appendix.

[3] "The enemy was observed this day to run out a Boyau to the left of their work and toward St. Ursula's Bastion or St. John's Gate; mounted four Guns on the left of St. Ursula's Bastion; Palace Gate was shut up all but the Wicket; firing a Gun by accident a Box of Hand Grenades took fire, Blew up and wounded an officer and four men; one twenty-four pounder this day Rendered unserviceable; the enemy sent down a Vessel which passed the Town this Night." (*Murray's Journal*, May 4.)

1760. May. to blow down the river. The enemy have got another frigate at the Foulon, and their approaches were advanced this night within seven hundred yards of the Ursuline bastion, under cover of a small coppice opposite to that quarter; they are drawing cannon to-day from their camp to the trenches, so that we may soon expect to hear from them. We have mounted only five Captains' guards for some days; ten women per regiment are ordered immediately to join the artillery; they will be employed in sowing up sand-bags, and making wads from old junk for the guns; their names are to be sent to the head quarters, as they will be paid for their labour. The guards are not to pay any compliments, during the siege, except to the rounds; and the Officers commanding guards are ordered to be extremely punctual in having their men under arms every morning, one hour at least before day-light; and remain so until it is thoroughly clear and light abroad. The Governor has made many promotions in the room of those that became vacant on [306] the disastrous 28th of April.[1] The wind is variable this evening, which we hope will be productive of a British gale. Such convalescents as are able are to repair to Port St. Louis every morning at seven o'clock, to make and fill sand-bags; the rest are to remain and make wads in their quarters.

6th. We shall very soon have a most formidable line of fire against the enemy of near one hundred and forty pieces of cannon: for this purpose we are stripping all our batteries next the river of their guns, planks, and platforms. The parapet wall, surrounding the country side of the town, is now strengthened considerably, being revested with fascines, and a quantity of earth rammed down between the lining and masonry work; this has been executed with astonishing diligence and

[1] Unfortunately this list of promotions has not been preserved, and it is impossible to determine from the *Army Lists* with any degree of accuracy whether the promotions therein mentioned were made by Murray at this time or at a subsequent date.

perseverance, by day and night, from Cape Diamond to the hangman's redoubt. We have likewise added to the miserable defences eastward of Palace-gate,[1] and round that quarter which over-looks the *jettée* and river St. Charles; the enemy are also very diligent, yet perfectly quiet. Many signals are made on both sides of the country downward, whence we conjecture there must be a fleet in the river. Our rangers sallied out last night, went up to the enemy's trenches unperceived, poured in a smart volley, and returned immediately, without having a single shot fired at them; they are advanced every evening about half-way between the town and our chain of blockhouses, where they remain on their arms until day-break. A soldier of the Royal Americans deserted last night from one of those timber fortresses,[2] which occasioned the countersign's being changed. The General has received some partridges, as a present, from M. de Levis. Our weather is very favourable; wind unsettled. The names of the Officers who command the invalids of each corps are to be sent, every evening, to the head quarters; they are ordered to continue all night with their men: these convalescents are to be reviewed on their alarm-posts at sun-set. 1760. May.

[307] Two soldiers, who deserted from this army last campaign, returned to us early this morning: by them we are informed, that the enemy say they will not fire a gun at us, until they open a battery of forty pieces of cannon together; but where they will procure them, these men say, they cannot conceive; for, after having stripped their ships of their best and heaviest metal, they did not see above twenty-six pieces, of different dimensions, in their park. That they are in the greatest distress for provisions, each man having only one quarter of a pound of fresh meat, and half a pound of bread, per day; that a detachment of five thousand men are thrown 7th.

[1] For position of these defences, see plan in Appendix.

[2] This man met with a tragic end a few minutes later when approaching the enemy's lines.

1760. May. into the trenches every night, each of whom is served with a jill of brandy, but the rest of their army do not receive any; and that their savages, who amount to three hundred and fifty, are very clamorous for liquor.[1] These deserters add, that, on the 28th of April, we repulsed the French army at two different times with immense loss, and that, if M. Bourlemacque, who is the life and spirit of the troops, had been wounded earlier in the day, we should have gained a complete victory.[2] The enemy, say they, compute their loss in the action at eighteen hundred killed and wounded, and near five hundred since that day by our shot and shells; but that they heard an Aid-Major, or Adjutant, acquaint some of their Officers, that they had considerably above two thousand killed and disabled in the engagement.[3] The deserters assure us moreover, that there is a fleet in the river, but whether English or French is yet uncertain; and that the soldier, who deserted from one of our blockhouses on the 5th instant, was shot to death by the French centinels, as he was creeping over their intrenchments, from a suspicion that he belonged to a *sortie*, and was sent forward to reconnoitre their situation. The enemy had some respite from our batteries to-day, our firing being less frequent than heretofore. Towards evening the wind changed to the S. S. E. and blew fresh.

8th. The enemy remain very quiet, and we have maintained an incessant fire upon their trenches all this night; some deserters, who [308] came in to us this morning, say, that it is incredible the execution made among them by our shot and shells; that their Officers are lavish in their encomiums on our Gunners, and the admirable service of our artillery: (*Have they never experienced this before?*) Fine weather to-day, and a British wind blows at E. S. E. Our troops are in great spirits, and

[1] As these soldiers brought welcome news they were probably spared the lash, as we find no record of their punishment.

[2] As a matter of fact Bourlamaque was wounded early in the engagement.

[3] See statement of killed and wounded in note, p. 397.

work with the utmost diligence: we are drawing up heavy cannon to our new batteries from those next the river; as these guns are dragged up a continual ascent, it renders this work immensely laborious to our brave fellows, and the Officers generously assist them as much as in their power, when they meet with any difficulty. Intelligence has been received from our Officers at the general hospital, that the enemy propose to storm the town this night; but our gallant soldiers actually say, *they had better desist, lest they catch a tartar;* concluding their sentiments with the speech of an honest Briton at the memorable battle of Agincourt: Damn them, if they do come, *there is enough of them to fight, enough to be killed, and enough to run away.* It is recommended to the Officers to send all their useless linen to Dr. Russel, for the service of the hospitals. The Doctor having represented, that there is a root growing in different parts of this garrison, which cannot be distinguished from a parsnip, and is poisonous; the soldiers are ordered not to eat any roots they find any-where: some men suffered to-day by those wild spontaneous plants, and their recovery is doubtful. The Officers are injoined not to interfere with the Gunners, except those who are appointed for that service. As there is no wine to be had at present even for money, the General has very seasonably ordered two gallons of brandy to be delivered out to every Officer, which the Quarter-Masters of regiments are ordered to receive immediately from the Commissary; nothing can be more acceptable to us in our present situation, except a supply of fresh provisions, those issued from the stores being so inconceivably hard and salt, as to become disgustful. Great movements towards evening in the enemy's camp. 1760. May.

[309] M. de Levis has agreeably disappointed us; we never ceased firing all this last night: our line must have appeared immensely tremendous to the enemy, and such as perhaps the most experienced among them never beheld before, for we have not a mortar or gun mounted that was not employed, 9th.

1760. May. and without the smallest intermission; one half of the garrison stood to arms, at our alarm-posts, from sun-set in the evening until one o'clock this morning, when they were relieved by the other half, who continued, until five, prepared to give the enemy a warm reception, if they had been disposed to strike their *coup;* from which we are inclined to think they were deterred by the uncommon weight of our numerous artillery. The French sloop, that whisked by the town on the 4th instant, returned about midnight, and worked up to the Foulon: by this we flatter ourselves that a fleet is at hand; we hailed the sloop, without firing at her; but she took no notice of us, and an Officer, from the citadel of Cape Diamond, inquired, *why she did not stay below to pilot up the French armada?* It blows fresh to-day, with a delightful gale at east-south-east.[1]

[1] Under this date, Murray writes as follows: "Observed that the last night's fire had prevented the enemy's working, and had almost ruined their batteries; the cavaliers finished, all to the merlons; the artillery, being very weak, was obliged to complete their additionals to 450. This morning, between ten and eleven, we had the joyful sight of a ship which hoisted British colours in return to those we showed at the citadel; she proved to be the *Lowstaff* frigate commanded by Capt. Deane, who left Europe with Commodore Swanton the 9th of March. I acquainted him with our situation, and desired he might remain here to co-operate with us in anything that might be for His Majesty's service. Received intelligence the enemy intended storming us this night or the next. Ordered one-half of the men off duty to remain with their arms upon the ramparts all night; the other half to be ready to turn out. Resolved, with Capt. Deane, to send a schooner down the river to hasten up any of our ships he might meet. I put a serjeant and 12 men on board, and Capt. Deane sent a midshipman in her; she sailed this night." (*Journal.*)

The *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis for the 9th is here quoted: "The 9th.—About nine in the morning a frigate hove in sight at Point Lévis, which made signals; having sent her boat to the town, she at once came to anchor. The enemy had sent off a frigate at the beginning of the siege with the deserters they had had from us and a few invalids. We assumed that it was the same [ship], but, towards the end of the day, we learned otherwise. The night was very cold, our troops suffered greatly in the trench; the sieur d'Hers, adjutant of La Reine, was wounded." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 277.)

ARRIVAL of the LEOSTOFF FRIGATE.

About eleven o'clock this forenoon we had the inconceivable satisfaction to behold the Leostoff frigate sail up into the bason, and come to an anchor; for a little time we were in suspence, and all our perspectives were employed in viewing her; but we were soon convinced of her being British, though some among us, who had found means to enrich themselves by the American war, and were afraid of losing their acquisitions, were cunningly wise; they endeavoured to ally the joy of the troops, thinking it too premature; and strenuously insisted she was a French ship: at length, Captain Deane, having saluted the garrison with twenty-one guns, and put off in his barge to come a-shore, dissipated all apprehensions. The gladness of the troops is not to be expressed: both Officers and soldiers mounted the parapets in the face of the enemy, and huzzaed, with their hats in the air, for [310] almost an hour; the garrison, the enemy's camp, the bay, and circumjacent country for several miles, resounded with our shouts and the thunder of our artillery; for the Gunners were so elated, that they did nothing but fire and load for a considerable time: in short, the general satisfaction is not to be conceived, and to form a lively idea of it is impossible, except by a person who had suffered the extremities of a siege, and been destined, with his brave friends and valiant countrymen, to the scalping knives of a faithless conqueror and his barbarous allies. I believe I may venture to advance, that the garrison of Vienna, when closely besieged, and hard pressed, above fourscore years ago, by the Turks, were not more rejoiced on sight of the Christian army, under the famous Sobieski, marching to their relief, than we of Quebec were upon the arrival of the Leostoff, with the agreeable intelligence of a British fleet being masters of the river St. Lawrence, and nigh at hand to sustain us. Captain Deane left England in March last, with some ships of the

1760. May.

1760. May. line and other frigates, under the command of Commodore Swanton, from whom he parted at sea, and, not being able to rejoin them, he kept his course, knowing his ship to be a good sailor, and made the best of his way hither; he spoke with Lord Colville's fleet from Halifax, who were cruising off Newfoundland seven days ago; and was told they received orders to rendezvous at the island of Bic.[1] The London news-papers, fraught with the defeat of Conflans, Thurot, and many other interesting events, were sent to the French Generals, early in the evening, by a flag of truce.[2] We have not only the pleasure to be ascertained of the promotion of General Monckton to

[1] Lord Colville was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the North American Squadron, by Admiral Saunders, on September 22, 1759, and on the 28th of the same month sailed down the river with the *Northumberland*, *Trident*, *Alcide*, *Prince of Orange*, *Eurus*, *Richmond*, and *Hunter*, and docked for the winter at Halifax. The Admiral, having taken a house, lay ashore until April 1, when he gave up his house, and, after making several appointments, sailed on the 15th with his squadron and six sail of vessel under convoy for the river St. Lawrence. "May 16th anchored with the Squadron at the Isle of Bic, after a most tedious and troublesome passage, being almost continually impeded, by running among great Quantities of loose Ice, and confused by thick Fogs. Notwithstanding our greatest care all the Convoy lost company, more from their own bad conduct, than on account of the Ice, or Weather. Upon anchoring at Bic, I received a Letter from Governour Murray of Quebec, dated the 9 Instant, which he sent by a small Vessel on purpose to wait the arrival of King's Ships at that Place. He acquainted me that the Enemy having collected the whole Force of Canada, were then laying Siege to Quebec, before which they had opened Trenches ever since the 29 of the preceding month." (From the original *Journal* of Lord Colville, in the possession of the editor.)

[2] Mention is made of the courtesy of the English General in the *Journal* of Lévis of the 10th, here quoted:

"Our batteries were not yet ready to fire. The Chevalier de Lévis received a letter from Mr. Murray, asking him to send him back the sick whom he had in hospital and who were fit for service. To which the Chevalier de Lévis replied that this did not seem possible, notwithstanding the article in the cartel; but that he would write to M. de Vaudreuil to ascertain his views on this point; he thanked Mr. Murray for the European newspapers he had sent. The night was very rainy: we worked at repairing the batteries. We expected to be ready to fire in the morning; but the supply of guns was not complete, and we wished to wait until the two first batteries could fire." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 278.)

VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLVILLE, 8th BARON COLVILLE OF CULROSS

In Command of the Northumberland

From a painting in the possession of Lord Colville

the command of the seventeenth regiment, and of General Townshend to the twenty-eighth; but likewise the satisfaction of being assured, that General Murray succeeds the former in the second battalion of Royal Americans, and is confirmed in his government of Quebec: we also learn, that the reduction of Montreal, with the remainder of the colony, is the plan laid down [311] for this summer, and is to be prosecuted by General Amherst, in concert with the greatest part of this garrison, and a reinforcement from Louisbourg. A sculking party of the enemy came near Blockhouse, number two, last night, in hopes of taking a prisoner; but the Serjeant was not to be surprised, for, as soon as they came within pistol-shot, they were fired upon, and immediately turned tail: this morning we found one Frenchman who had been killed; and, as a quantity of blood lay on the ground as far as our men could venture to trace it, we conclude that several were wounded. The boats of the squadron at Sillery have been in constant motion since the arrival of the Leostoff, and two brigs have made their appearance there, which we never perceived before. The parole of the day is *Deane*,[1] and the countersign is *Swanton*. A Serjeant of one of our advanced guards reported to me this day, that he saw six of the enemy carried off from a particular place where they had been at work, being killed by a single shot from one of our guns. The Governor acquainted the garrison, in public orders, with the success of his Majesty's arms and the superiority of the British fleets over those of the enemy in Europe; afterwards his Excellency proceeds thus: 'A strong squadron is at hand, and the General does not doubt 'but both Officers and men will exert their utmost vigour and 'spirit on the present occasion, in order to put a final period to 'the war in this part of the world.' One hundred and fifty

1760. May.

[1] The parole on this day was in honour of Captain Deane of the *Leostoffe* and of Captain Swanton of the *Vanguard*. The timely arrival of these two vessels caused great rejoicing in the British camp. The *Vanguard* was in the river at this time, but did not reach Quebec until the 15th.

1760. May. additional Gunners from the regiments are sent to join the artillery, and are to remain with them until farther orders. One man per regiment, who has been used to the sea, is to be sent to the head quarters immediately with all their necessaries, arms, and ammunition; these men are to be put on board a schooner, who is to be dispatched down the river express. The troops are desired to desist from work, and return to camp; and the Officers are desired to inspect their arms and ammunition: they are to keep one half of their men always under arms on the ramparts and at their alarm-posts; the remainder are to be ready to turn out, with their arms, in an in- [312] stant; the situation of affairs, and the circumstances of the enemy, now grown desperate, render it necessary to take every precaution that human prudence and foresight can dictate, to prevent a surprise. Repeated assurances have been received that the French Generals are meditating a *dernier effort* for the recovery of this fortress; but herein they have verified the old adage, *L'occasion perdue ne se retrouve pas toujours:* For our forces, instead of slackening or growing supine at the prospect of being soon relieved by a fleet, exert themselves to the utmost of their power, for the defence of the garrison, and the honour of his Majesty's arms. The convalescents are under orders to be ready to turn at their alarm-posts on the shortest notice, with their firelocks and accoutrements. It blows cold this night, with the wind at east.

10th. The garrison were under arms this night, as on the preceding; and we kept a constant fire on the enemy's works. A schooner sailed this day to hasten up the fleet, but was obliged to return with the evening's tide, having lost her rudder.[1] The enemy unmasked their batteries to-day. Two of our guns burst on the line, whereby two men were killed, and the like number wounded. Captain Deane took a French

[1] According to *Murray's Journal*, "the Schooner Return'd, having touched as she went down, and lost her Rudder, Shifted everything from on Board to a Sloop which was sent down this Night on the same Errand."

letter of marque off Gaspée bay, laden with stores and provisions, and sent her into Halifax: she mounted twenty-six guns. All the troops, including the convalescents, are to take watch and watch this night, at their respective alarm-posts, as before. Fell some rain this afternoon, which lulled the wind: in the evening came on thick hazy weather. 1760. May.

ENEMY'S BATTERIES FIRST OPENED.

This morning the enemy opened their batteries; one was opposed to Cape Diamond, a second against the citadel, and the third the Ursuline bastion; their shot are twenty-four, eighteen, and twelve-pounders. They likewise bombarded us with three nine-inch mortars, and we returned this salute with great vigour; a few of our [313] men were wounded by their shot, but their shells have not as yet done any execution *.[1] We have most agreeable weather to-day, and the wind favourable for the fleet. 11th.

The troops have completed all our works; and, including

* As four Officers of the forty-third regiment were sitting on the ground in a soldier's tent, eating a dish of pease-porridge, a shell pitched within a yard of the door of the tent, and they had barely time to stretch themselves at their length, when the shell burst; but, by being extented flat on the ground, they happily received no other damage than losing their mess, which was overset in the bustle.—*Note by author.*

[1] *Murray's Journal* reads: "Monsieur de Lévis answer'd me in Polite terms, that he could not allow the Recovered men to Return into a Town that was Besieged. To this I Replied by quoting the 27th Article of the *Cartel*, which Included all the possible Cases of War. About ten o'clock this morning the Enemy opened two Batteries, one of six guns and the other of four, and seven Mortars, none larger than 18 Pounders; several 12, 8, and 4 pound shots were picked up. Had the Coehorns laid in Readiness, in Case the Enemy should attempt to Advance their Boyau under Favour of the Batteries they had opened. Gave particular Directions to the artillery to be carefull in the management of that Branch; to keep always a Superiority of Fire over the Enemy, but not to Squander away the Ammunition unnecessarily; in short to be cautious and sure. The Enemy Dismounted three of our Guns, two twenty-four and one Twelve pounder; this Night about 9 or 10 o'clock a Schooner of the Enemy's passed the Town, Notwithstanding the Cannon of our Batteries and of the Frigate."

1760. May. flank-fires, we have got near *an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon* on the ramparts, between Cape Diamond and the hangman's redoubt. We now take it alternately to stand to our arms, both day and night, at our alarm-posts, one half relieving the other. A sloop sailed this morning in quest of the fleet. One of our guns burst on the line, without any disaster happening. The garrison have received the same orders, with respect to their remaining alert, as before; with this difference, that, as the General will have no man exposed to the enemy's fire but when necessity requires it, he directs, that, instead of being drawn up on the ramparts, they are to keep under cover below, leaving a sufficient number of centinels to give them intelligence of the enemy's approach; the regiments are then instantly, as well the resting men as the others, to be disposed of upon the ramparts, according to the former directions they have received on this head: every soldier, not on duty, is commanded to have his arms and ammunition close by him in his tent; but they are not to load until called upon to man their alarm-posts. Brisk firing between us and the enemy this evening; by their shells flying over the town, they seem to be intended against the Leostoff riding at anchor in the channel off Cape Diamond: they have nearly got her direction. Wind variable towards evening.[1]

11th and 12th. A return of the killed and wounded of each corps is to be given in every evening at orderly time, specifying only the casualties of [314] the preceding twenty-four hours. It is

[1] The Chevalier de Lévis makes the following entry in his *Journal* under date of the 11th:

"We were only able to begin firing at noon; the fire was very brisk on both sides, and, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, ours was very well kept up untile vening. The Sieurs Pradel and la Justonne, lieutenants of the Languedoc, were dangerously wounded.

"The night was very quiet; the enemy did not fire much; both sides repaired their batteries. We sent a schooner and two batteries below the town, which were going to Beauport to load a mortar. The enemy had a sharp alarm, and thought the Lower Town was being attacked." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 278.)

expected that every convalescent will make one hundred wads per day; the Officers appointed to command them are to report, in writing, in the evening, the number of men who worked, and the number of wads made that day: these Officers are injoined to continue with their men, and see that they do their utmost; every soldier must assist, as far as he is able. Some cohorns are preparing to play into the Boyaux *,[1] which the enemy are advancing upon their left.[2] All the guns bearing on the enemy's batteries are ordered to be chalked, that they may be distinguished from the rest; and the Gunners are desired to regulate their fire by that of the

1760. May.

* Works or branches advanced from a trench in fortification.—*Note by author.*

[1] See plan of advanced works of the French on the plan of the siege.

[2] Murray says: "The Enemy did not appear to have made any great progress this Morning, only the Battery upon their Right was observ'd to be more forward, and opened at eight o'clock, consisting of two twenty-fours and one Twelve pounder; their fire was Directed to the Right face of the Bastion of La Glasière, under which lies a Counter-guard, or false Bray. One of these guns was soon Silenced, one of the Cannon of the Enemy's Six Gun Battery plaid in the same Direction, and on the same face. The Chief Acting Engineer Reported to me at four this after Noon, that having observed the Enemy Direct their fire very Briskly to the above mentioned part, he had been out to observe the Effect, and was surprised to find it so great, owing as he supposed to the Rottenness and Badness of the Wall; I went myself to Examine it, and found it in the Condition Reported; this was matter of astonishment, the Enemy having fired but a short time and at such a Distance as Rendered the Effect very surprising—Ordered a party of men to clear the Rubbish as soon as it was Dark. The men have been chiefly employed this day in Bringing up Ammunition to the Artillery. Finished however the Traverses in the Flank of La Glasière Bastion and carried on the Piqueting in Front of it and Cape Diamond Bastion. Finished this day the works from Palace Gate and along Otway's Camp up to the Grand Battery, which are now in a good posture of Defence; from the opening of the Batteries Yesterday till six this Evening four men Killed and nine Wounded; to save the men as much as possible, ordered this Evening only one third of the men to stand to their Arms during the Night; it is observable both shot and shells appear new, which Tallies with the Intelligence received During the Winter, that they were Casting them at Trois Riviere; this day they threw Carcases; a party Employ'd at Night to make Merlons to the Cavaliers, to Repair the Embrasures which had Suffered and to complete the Traverses. We silenced four of the Enemy's Cannon, and hurt their Batterys much, one of our Eighteens and one Twelve pounder Rendered Unserviceable." (*Journal*, May 12.)

1760. May. French, taking care that the guns are well pointed, and rammed home; which will prevent the like accidents that have already happened by the bursting of cannon. A French shot will not fit British guns; the Governor recommends it to the Artillery Officers to be very attentive to that particular, and to fire slow and sure. The additional Gunners' arms are to be inspected, that we may be certain they are in good order; and care must be taken to lay them and their ammunition in such places on the ramparts, where they will be secured from wet or other accidents. We are throwing up a ravelin on the outside of Port St. Louis;[1] one Captain, four Subalterns, four Serjeants, and two hundred rank and file, are employed on this service, from nine at night until break of day. We have had fierce cannonading and bombarding, between the town and the enemy, for these last thirty-six hours; but with little loss on our side, except a few men being wounded; and we perceive this evening, that we have dismounted some of their guns, though they are still extremely lavish of their shells.[2] The troops have continued under arms both day and night, one half relieving the other, as before; and the soldiers, seeing there is a necessity for our being thus harrassed, are amazingly alert, and take pleasure in doing their duty. On the night of the 11th

[1] See plan.

[2] The following particulars are furnished by the Chevalier de Lévis in his *Journal* for the 12th:

"We began firing again in the morning, but not much. Our artillery was of a poor kind; it consisted of iron guns, mostly 18 or 12 pounders, except one 24, which burst, as did several others the following days. The lack of powder and the slight effect which we could expect from this artillery, which was too far off in any case, compelled the Chevalier de Lévis . . . to give orders that only twenty shots should be fired from each gun in the twenty-four hours. . . . Neither side doubted that the town would rest with the side which should be the first to receive reinforcements. The enemy had equipped the newly arrived frigate to fit her for fighting. They had also fitted out one of the two which had wintered at Quebec. . . . Mr. Murray wrote a long letter, insisting on the return of his convalescents. The enemy kept up a heavy fire. We worked at night at repairing the batteries. The enemy fired as much at night as by day." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 279.)

we were [315] alarmed, and the whole garrison stood to their arms until morning; this was occasioned by the enemy's sending down a brig for intelligence, and the Leostoff's firing at her, as she passed. During this time the French, who before had been quiet for some hours, renewed their thunder, but the superiority of ours soon put them to silence. Cold, cloudy weather, with a brisk easterly wind. 1760. May.

We did not molest our neighbours much last night, but we have renewed our fire this morning, and continue it with our usual vigour; they amused us, about midnight, with two rockets, one from their fleet, and the other from Point Levi; which obliged us to beat to arms, man our defences, and remain there until it was clear day-light: as these are the customary signals for military achievements, we expected, every moment, to see the enemy's columns advance to the charge;[1] the troops were well prepared, and the soldiers orderly and in good spirits: about five o'clock half of the garrison returned to their tents. We are now distributing our powder and provisions in different places for safety, the enemy having directed their shells at our magazines, and particularly at the Jesuits' college, knowing the use we have converted it to. The Porcupine sloop of war is thoroughly repaired, and has taken her guns on board. The French fire very briskly this afternoon, which we return ten fold: a notion prevails among us, that they have burst one of their mortars.[2] Fine 13th.

[1] The enemy did not seem to meditate any particular attack on this day, as the single entry in the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis for that date is: "The 13th.—Their fire redoubled in the morning; our batteries suffered somewhat. We repaired them in the evening." (*Op. cit.*, p. 280.)

[2] There was great activity in the British camp, however, as may be seen by the *Journal* of General Murray, which is as follows: "Last night 200 were Employed to repair the Embrasures and Clear the Rubbish in the Ditch below the face and Counterguard of the La Glasière Bastion, which had been knocked down yesterday by the Enemy's Cannon, some also were employed about the Cavalier. At Break of Day Signals were made along both shores, a Rocket was thrown up on the Beauport side and another at Point Levi, answered by a Gun from the Frigate. Monsr. de Lévis this day Informed me by Letter that he was sending a Courier to Monsieur de Vaudreuil about my Demand,

1760. May. weather, wind easterly until the evening, when it became variable, and died away; (the safety of this garrison depending on the arrival of a British fleet induces me to be thus particular with respect to the winds.)

14th. The enemy were perfectly quiet all last night; this morning they gave us a few shot, and at noon some shells, but we soon silenced them; and, to prevent any accident happening by their fire, we have dispersed all our provisions and ammunition into various stores. The ravelin, on the outside of Port St. Louis, is nearly finished; the Carpenters and fascine-layers are ordered to incamp on the right of St. John's gate, to be the more readily at [316] hand for any service required. That our men may be as little exposed as possible to the enemy's fire, they are ordered, in passing to or from camp to the batteries, to go along St. Louis-street, and under cover of the ramparts. Moderate weather this day, with a dropping rain and wind westerly: at noon it was variable, but in the evening it sprang up easterly, and blew a steady gale.

The troops on the watch, both day and night, as before. The enemy have been very sparing of their ammunition these last twenty-four hours, in which time we have had only two

as he could not pretend to take upon him to settle that point. The Enemy's Ships were observed to have moved more into the Stream as the Enemy directed several Shells and Carcases to the Jesuits College. Ordered provisions of every species to be put on board the Porcupine Sloop and Schooner, as much as they could conveniently stow; this tho' indeed is rather a Pretence, as I Intend to provide for a Retreat, in case it Become absolutely Necessary. Some of the Enemy's Cannon which had been silenced last Night, Fired again this Morning, but were in a short time silenced a second time, the Wall has not been Damaged near as much this Day as the Last. Notwithstanding the Enemy has fired a good deal at the Cavaliers, that Designed for two Guns has been entirely Finished, and the Guns Mounted. We have been employed also in finishing the Palisades before Cape Diamond, and continuing the Traverses. This afternoon we Removed three Howitzers and mounted three Cannon. the French have made no Visible progress During the last Twenty four Hours. Within that time one man has been Killed and two wounded. a 13 Inch Mortar Bursted this day."

shells from them :[1] we seem to regulate our fire by theirs, being at present equally quiet. The new works, on the outside of Port St. Louis, are completed, all the men off duty having been employed thereat since four o'clock ; an Officer's guard is posted in the ravelin, and, as the greatest vigilance and alertness is expected from them, they are to be excused fatigue during the day.[2] 1760. May.

VAN-GUARD and DIANA ARRIVED.[3]

At night-fall came to an anchor in the bason, to the unspeakable joy of this harrassed garrison, the Van-guard ship of

[1] The following entry is from the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis: "The 14th.—The enemy fired at intervals ; there was little firing during the night." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 280.)

[2] "14th.—This Morning the Wind Southerly and Rain, at Break of Day the Enemy play'd Ten Guns from their Different Batteries, which were partly silenced by us at Noon. From this time their Fire has been very slack the whole Day, and Little or no Damage has been done to the Wall, the Workmen have been employed making Banquets to the Left face of La Glasière Bastion, and Raising Merelons to the four Gun Cavalier, no apparent alteration in the Enemies Works, No man Killed or Wounded these last Twenty-four Hours." (*Murray's Journal.*)

[3] The *Vanguard* and the *Diana* arrived before Quebec on May 15, according to *Murray's Journal*, which is here quoted. Accompanying these vessels was the schooner *Lawrence*, which had been sent by Murray on April 21 to meet Lord Colville : "15th.—This morning sprung up a very strong Breese at North East. The French very silent this Day, and do not seem to have made any nearer Approaches, the men Employed in raising Banquets for musketry, behind the Merlons of La Glasière's Right Flank, and along the Stockades between Cape Diamond and the Citadel, the four Gun Cavalier finished. Began a Ravelin between St. Louis's and St. Ursula's Bastions to cover Port St. Louis and the Curtain. The Damage Done to the Blockhouse by the Enemy's Cannon quite Repaired. This Evening about 9 o'clock a strong North Easter blowing, anchored in the bason the Vanguard, Commodore Swanton, with the Diana, Captain Schomberg, and the schooner Lawrence, Lieut. Fortye; this last Vessel I had sent down the 20th of April to acquaint Lord Colville of the Intelligence I had Received of the Enemy's preparations. The Schooner I sent the Eleventh met them at Bic, and Informed the Commodore of our Situation ; he lost not an Instant, and the Wind seconding his good Intentions, in one day he got up to this place. We was certainly much indebted to his Diligence. This night about Ten o'clock Intercepted a Courier

1760. May. war, Commodore Swanton,[1] with the Diana frigate, Captain Schomberg,[2] and the armed schooner, which was sent down the river on the 23d ultimo; our Gunners immediately gave the enemy a general discharge of all our artillery, three times repeated, without any return; and Captain Deane repaired instantly on board the Commodore to acquaint him with our situation, and to concert measures for our relief.[3]

from the officer commanding on the Beauport side Carrying his Information to Monsieur de Lévis of the Arrival of the Ships which he took to be French, upon which it was concerted between Commodore Swanton and myself, That he should attack the Frigates with the first of the Tide in the morning, and to persuade the Enemy that the ships that came up were not our Friends, that I shoud Beat to Arms about one in the morning, as if much alarmed. The party at Beauport consisted of their Light Horse, Canadians and some Indians, who were raising a Battery there. No Man killed or wounded."

[1] Commodore Robert Swanton was detached to the West Indies in the following year, and served with distinction under Rodney in the naval campaign of 1761–62 in those waters.

[2] Alexander Schomberg, son of Dr. Meyer Low Schomberg, a Jewish physician who removed from Germany to London and obtained a leading practice there, was born in 1720. He entered the navy in 1743; on December 11, 1747, was appointed Lieutenant on the *Hornet*. On April 5, 1757, he was promoted to be Captain of the *Richmond*, from which he was removed to the *Diana*. On the *Diana* he took part in the siege of Louisbourg and in the St. Lawrence campaigns of 1759 and 1760. In command of the *Essex*, a 64-gun ship, he served in the reduction of Belleisle in 1761. He took command of the yacht attached to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1771, was knighted in 1777, and died in Dublin, March 19, 1804.

[3] The Chevalier de Lévis records the events of the 15th and 16th in these words:

"The enemy fired as on the previous day. The Chevalier de Lévis learned, at night-fall, that two large ships, which could not be made out, had just come to an anchor between the Island of Orleans and Point de Lévy. He concluded that they were English, as they had landed no one on the south shore to give notice. He accordingly sent instructions to all our boats with provisions and artillery to withdraw, and to the two frigates to hold themselves in readiness to do likewise. He also caused the artillery in the trench to fall back, and gave orders for the withdrawal of the army.

"He learned, during the night, from a prisoner taken by our Indians, that the two ships which had appeared were English. He gave fresh orders for the clearing of the trench and the removal of the marines as well as the two frigates. The weather was, however, so bad that the officer in charge of the orders could not arrive in the night to deliver them. At five in the morning, messengers came to tell him that our ships were getting under way, that the

We had an Officer and twelve men advanced last night, 1760. May. 16th. under cover of a rising ground, beyond the blockhouse No. two; fifty French grenadiers, with a Captain and two Officers, crept upon them unperceived, and gave them a brisk fire; which our little party spiritedly returned, and then fell back to the blockhouse, lest they should be surrounded: our Officer lost three men, two of whom were scalped, and otherwise barbarously butchered; the third [317] was wounded, and made prisoner, as we suppose. This affair caused an alarm throughout the garrison; our drums beat to arms, and the troops stood upon their defence until it was clear day-light. This act of cruelty, perpetrated by men, who are the flower and boast of the French armies (*les grenadiers de France*) and under the eyes of their Officers, obliges me to digress a little in this place:—that the natural troops of France, namely, the regulars, did give quarter, on the 28th of April, to several of our Officers, *I confess;* but that they did refuse protection to others *is equally certain.* Four of my particular acquaintance, one of whom was slightly wounded, were among the prisoners, and, being conducted to some Officers of the regiment *de la Sarre*, their uniforms faced with scarlet, they, one and all, waved their hands, and cried aloud,—*Allez vous en*,—*Allez vous en;* but, the fellows having already got some booty from their

English were close to them. A frigate hove in sight followed closely by another, and at a distance of three-eights of a league could be seen a ship of sixty guns.

"All our ships cut their cables. The Pomone, in getting under way, fell off too much towards the north shore and went aground. The enemy's two frigates kept in chase of the Atalante. She came up with the transport ships at the height of Cap Rouge, and, seeing that the enemy would overhaul them, ordered them to run aground. She was compelled to do likewise five leagues higher up, opposite Point-aux-Trembles, where she sustained the fire of the two frigates for two hours. The commander [Vauquelin], after exhausting all his ammunition, and doing much damage to the enemy's ships, was taken prisoner, without having hauled down his flag; and the enemy, seeing that he had ceased firing, sent a boat to which he surrendered. He had sent off as many of the crew as were fit for service and lost a great many men, and had a great many wounded, including several officers." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 281.)

1760. May. captives, and being promised more, if they would escort them to the general hospital, they accordingly took them there, and delivered them up safe; for which they were better rewarded than they knew they could expect to have been, in the present situation of affairs, for their scalps. It is no less true, that, when our army began to give way, several Officers, who, by slight wounds, were rendered incapable of retreating with the rest, were never more heard of; though, as I observed before, others were more humanely treated, for which they may thank their own money, the avarice of their captors, and the sinking state of the French finances, now no longer able to reward scalping, as heretofore; moreover, it has been always the practice of the French to preserve some prisoners, to save their own credit, and keep up an appearance of generosity and christianity.—As a farther proof of this charge, I have to add, that, of the immense number of wounded men, who were unavoidably left on the field of battle, twenty-eight only were sent to the hospital, the rest being given up as victims to glut the rage of their savage allies, and to prevent their forsaking them.[1] But to return to the occurrences of the memorable 16th of May: A ranging Officer [318] and twelve men, being advanced, last night, close by the river St. Charles, not far from the general hospital, surprised a Courier, who swam that river with his horse, and was returning with dispatches for M. de Levis from the lower country, where he was detached for intelligence; by him we learn, that there are some straggling ships in the river, and that he saw a fleet enter the gulph, which we suppose to be Lord Colville's. The wind continues easterly.

[1] The author's statement is exaggerated, but it is certain that the Indians were at their bloody work after Ste. Foy as elsewhere. Count de Malartic, who was himself wounded in the engagement, says: "The Indians, who were of no use to us during the action, but had been pillaging the baggage and haversacks, returned as soon as they saw us masters of the field, to gather scalps. They took them from several Frenchmen." (*Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, p. 319.)

Jem: Wolfe.

JAMES WOLFE

From a photograph in Wright's "Life of Wolfe," taken from the original painting in the possession of Admiral Warde, K.H.

FRENCH FLEET above QUEBEC taken and destroyed.

Early this morning the Van-guard and frigates worked up with the tide of flood, and attacked the French squadron; at first M. Vaugeulin shewed an appearance of engaging, but soon made off: our ships forced the Pomona a-shore, and burned her; then pursued the others; drove the Atalanta also a-shore near Point au Tremble, and set her on fire; took and destroyed all the rest, except la Marie, a small sloop of war, who, to avoid being taken, threw her guns overboard, and escaped to St. Peter's lake, above the Three Rivers:[1] After the Commodore, *eminent for his valour, great abilities in naval affairs, faithful services, and long experience*, had performed this morning's notable business, he fell down to the channel off Sillery, laid his broadside to the right flank of the enemy's trenches, and infiladed them for several hours so warmly, that, between his fire and that of the garrison, they were intirely driven from their works. M. de Levis sent two field-pieces to play upon the Van-guard, but without any effect; for, by the ship's sheering in the current, she brought some of her guns to bear upon those of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. Friday afternoon. We have the pleasure to see several large bodies of Canadians filing off towards Charlebourg and Beauport, and others down the south country, that have found means to get a-cross the river; hence we flatter ourselves, that M. de Levis is going to raise the siege. Some deserters, who are just arrived, confirm us in our conjecture, by assuring us, that the militia [319] are ordered to return to their respective parishes, and the regular and colony troops to march back to Jacques Cartier;[2] 1760. May.

[1] See *Journal of Vauquelin*, printed in the Appendix.

[2] The Chevalier de Lévis was beginning to realize that his efforts to recover Quebec would prove fruitless and, as a prudent general, he made preparations to retire. With the British fleet in possession of the river there was no longer any hope of reinforcements from France, and he therefore decided to fall back on Montreal. On the 16th instructions were given for retreat on the morrow.

1750. May. they add, that our artillery has done amazing execution in the enemy's camp; that the regiment de Guienne lost five hundred men in the late engagement,[1] and near three hundred, since that day, by our shot and shells; this corps consisted of two battalions.[2]

The SIEGE of QUEBEC RAISED.

Other deserters are coming in to us, who inform us, that the enemy have abandoned their camp and works, except the grenadiers and picquets, who are intrenched up to their necks, to cover the retreat of the army. In consequence of this intelligence, the Governor has sent an order to the batteries to fire *à ricochet* *, hoping our shot may overtake them in their

[1] See note, p. 397.

[2] "This morning about one o'clock the Enemy, probably to gain Intelligence, broke in upon our advanced chain of Sentrys, Killed one and carried off another. Beat to arms as Concerted above. Commodore Swanton in the Vanguard, with the Lowestoff and Diana, got under sail as soon as the tide served, and went up the River to attack the Enemy's Frigates; they ran for it, but six of them got on shore, the Pomone in particular, on Board of which was great part of the Enemy's Ammunition; this day we continued the Ravelin, which was near finished, Except the Ditch and Glacis. The parapets that wanted filling were this day compleated, the Enemy Fired only four Shells and a few Shott. Four Deserters came in this Evening who Reported that the Enemy was making the Necessary preparations to Retreat; that However they had Reinforced the Trenches and Posted the Grenadiers there. Ordered the Artillery to Fire in the Trenches this Night, till about one or two in the Morning, when it might be Naturally supposed they would begin to Retreat, at which time they were to fire into the Country entirely." (*Murray's Journal*, May 16.)

* By elevating their guns, at least, ten degrees above the level, that the shot may bound and roll after they strike. Mortars and howitzers are likewise frequently served in this manner with great success, their shells doing the execution of shot and shell. The surprising effect our artillery had upon this fortress, when we cannonaded and bombarded it a-cross the river, is to be imputed to this method of firing; and shot will extend considerably farther than when discharged *point blank*. It is a very advantageous invention, and is ascribed to the celebrated Marshal de Vauban; for guns are loaded with a smaller quantity of powder than usual, and are consequently less damaged.—*Note by author.*

flight, and scour the circumjacent country to a great extent; after the Gunners had prepared to execute these directions, I believe I may venture to advance, that there never was such tremendous firing heard (even at Bergen op Zoam, when it was besieged, or elsewhere) as our artillery displayed this evening for near two hours. The light infantry are ordered to be immediately completed to five hundred rank and file, and they, with the grenadiers, are injoined to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. This favourable prospect makes no alteration in the usual fatigues and duty of the garrison. Half the troops are to take the [320] watch this night, and the remainder are likewise under orders of readiness to march at the shortest notice. When Commodore Swanton got off Gaspée, in his passage hither, he looked into that bay, and there discovered the French store-ship, which had been obliged to put in there last November, where she has since remained: the greatest part of her crew were Spaniards and Italians, with about fourscore French regular soldiers, and twenty sailors of the same nation; this ship, which is frigate-built, was unrigged, and hauled up into a creek for the winter: she is between four and five hundred tons burden, was formerly British, called the King George, but now the Two Brothers, and commanded by M. de Busie; she came from Bourdeaux, was pierced for twenty-six, but mounts only twenty-two guns, nine-pounders: her cargo, besides the soldiers, consists of twenty-four guns and carriages of twenty-four pounders, three hundred barrels of powder, a quantity of provisions, wine and brandy, a large parcel of blankets, small arms, lead and cannon-shot, with two iron mortars and beds, a great number of shells, and a variety of other stores; this valuable prize is now in charge with the Eurus[1] sloop of war, and is expected up to-day. She was the chief of M. de Levis's hopes, as they had intelligence of her being at Gaspée soon after she arrived there; 1760. May.

[1] The *Eurus* was one of the ships under Lord Colville. (See extract from his *Journal*, p. 416.)

1760 May. but, fortunately for us, the winter then setting in, it was not possible for her to prosecute her voyage; the greatest part of her crew deserted her at Gaspée, and wandered through the woods until they reach fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, where they made loud complaints of the ill usage they received, and declared, if it had not been for the regular soldiers, they would have cut off the Frenchmen, and bore away for Halifax.

17th. The enemy discharged a volley of musketry from their intrenchments towards the garrison, which, as we supposed, was *prendre leur derniere congé;* for a Lieutenant *, with a small reconnoitring party, being sent out, found the trenches abandoned, marched into [321] them, and immediately transmitted notice thereof to the Governor; whereupon the light infantry and grenadiers instantly pushed out, and early this morning his Excellency followed with a detachment from the ten regiments, and the whole proceeded to Lorette; eagerly hoping to come up with the cream of the French army, and pay them off for all our suffering since the 27th ultimo. Unfortunately they had crossed the river Cape Rouge, before we reached Lorette: some stragglers however fell into our hands, and we had nearly surprised a body of Indians in the hamlet of St. Foy, who, upon sight of our van, threw down their arms and packs, set up a hideous shout, dispersed themselves, and got instantaneously clear of us. All the sick and wounded of the enemy, among whom were many Officers, who had been distributed among the neighbouring houses and parishes, were made prisoners: and the General, perceiving it to no purpose to continue the pursuit any farther, refreshed his troops, and marched back to his garrison, where he found a polite billet from M. de Levis, recommending the prisoners and the wounded in the general hospital to his Excellency's care, and

* Lieutenant M'Alpin, of the Royal Americans, a brisk, active Officer.[1]—*Note by author.*

[1] Daniel McAlpin, appointed Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, February 10, 1756; Captain, August 7, 1771.

assuring him he was so tender of the people who had taken the oath to his Britannic Majesty, that he did not insist on their taking up arms, though he had compelled them to work for his army, which, he said, he had a right to do, in this or any other country, by the rules of war.[1] Our loss, during the siege, by every accident, men and Officers included, did not exceed thirty, killed and wounded[2]; and, now that our affairs have re-assumed their former successful complexion, to take a retrospective view of the different works performed here within these twenty days by a handful of men, who have been continually harrassed with labour and watching, both day and 1760. May.

[1] The proceedings of the French on the 17th are thus recorded in the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis:

"The 17th.—The Chevalier de Lévis thought it best not to make his retreat during the day. He had his iron guns thrown down the cliff near l'Anse-au-Foulon, had rations served to the troops, and made all necessary arrangements for falling back at night. He had no means of taking his artillery with him. The troops remained in the same position all day. At ten in the evening we began to march. . . . We crossed the Cap Rouge river on the morning of the 17th, remained all day on the bank of this river, in order to unload, above the stranded ships, the food, ammunition, and everything available for defence. It was all placed in boats and returned up river in spite of the enemy's frigates, under cover of night. We secured as well the King's sloop, called the *Marie*, which we managed to get afloat. Later, on the morning of the 18th before starting, we burned the others. The La Sarre regiment had been sent to Saint Augustin the evening before, to save the supplies of a schooner which had gone aground there." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 282.)

General Murray refers to the events of the 17th in these words:

"17th.—This morning I intended a strong Sortie, and for that purpose had ordered the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, Amherst's, Townsend's, Lascelles', Anstruther's, and Fraser's under arms. Lieut. McAlpin, whom I had sent before to make Small Sallies and amuse the Enemy, returned and reported that the Trenches were abandoned. I instantly pushed out with these corps, in hopes to come up with their Rear, but they were too expeditious—their Rear crossed the Caprouge before we could reach them. We took several Prisoners, stragglers and much Baggage, which otherwise would have escaped. We took their Camp standing, great part of their stores, ammunition, 34 pieces of Cannon, four of them Brass 12 pounders, six of our own Brass Field Pieces, six Mortars, four Petards, a large Provision of scaling ladders, and intrenching tools beyond number. Monsieur de Lévis wrote me a Letter, requesting I should take care of the sick and wounded he left behind." (*Journal.*)

[2] See p. 397.

1760. May. night, is indeed stupendous, beyond conception; however they at length find themselves well recompensed for all their toils, and are so happy, and in such high spirits, that it is impossible, even at this time, to express their ardent desire for new enterprises, to which they are encouraged by their confidence in [322] our two Governors, the greatest dependence on the Officers their fellow-labourers, and their own strength, far surpassing, till now, their most sanguine ideas. The enemy certainly abandoned their camp, and retired in the most precipitate manner, leaving their tents, cannon, mortars, *petards* *, scaling-ladders,[1] and intrenching-tools almost innumerable, fire-arms in great abundance, ammunition, baggage, and some provisions behind them; we are at a loss to what cause to impute this shameful flight of an army so superior in numbers, so well provided beyond what we could have expected, and, in short, with so many other advantages over us, except to a suspicion, as we surmised, and were afterwards confirmed in by the prisoners and deserters, of our frigates landing some fresh troops above to charge them in the rear, while the garrison should sally out, and thereby take them between two fires; this wise conjecture struck them with such a panic, that they instantly forsook every other consideration, except their safety, by a hasty and inglorious retreat. The loss of the enemy, from the 27th of April, inclusive, has fallen mostly on their regular and colony troops, having one hundred and fifty-two Officers killed and wounded;[2] of the latter twenty-two are since dead. The Indians committed great disorders in their camp by getting drunk, plundering the Officers' baggage, and

* An engine filled with combustibles, and fixed by screws with a port-fuse, to the gate of a town, with a view, by its bursting, to make a breach or opening; which it seldom fails to do, if properly executed; it was partly to prevent an attempt of this kind that the Governor erected a ravelin to cover Port St. Louis.—*Note by author.*

[1] The author refused to believe the rumour that the enemy would attempt to retake Quebec by scaling the walls; but it is evident that Lévis came prepared to try this means of gaining access to the city.

[2] See list of killed and wounded on the French side, in the Appendix.

cutting up tents: to this end they fell upon a small guard of grenadiers, who had the charge of the Officers' effects, and scalped every man, except one, who made his escape. All the deserters agree, that our artillery did immense execution in their trenches, which is partly evident from the handles of the wheel-barrows, and other tools, being tinged with the blood of their late masters; at the time that our ships worked up to attack their squadron, they were [323] so prepossessed with our making a strong *sortie* to penetrate into their camp, that they prepared a large column of select men to oppose us: and, while this body were forming, a shot from the garrison took them in flank, killed fifteen on the spot, and disabled several others. The regiments are ordered to have their barracks cleaned out as soon as possible, that they may break up camp. The guards are directed to pay our deliverer, Commodore Swanton, the compliments of a Brigadier-General;[1] and the centries are reminded to rest to the Captains of his Majesty's ships. The Commanding Officers of regiments are desired to make their men give in to their Quarter-Masters the tents cut up and taken from the enemy's camp this day, in order to be given to Doctor Russel, to make lint for their brother-soldiers who are wounded. All the dead, for the future, are to be interred in the burying-ground of the seminary.[2] Detachments are ordered to level the enemy's intrenchments, and huts, which they had erected for storehouses. 1760. May.

The troops decamped this day, and returned to their quarters. Lord Colville's fleet are at length arrived in the bay, and were saluted by the garrison.[3] In the evening four 18th.

[1] See pp. 417, 425.

[2] See note on the burial ground, p. 369.

[3] The following entry is from the *Journal* of Lord Colville, May 18: "At ½ past 9, anchored before Quebec in 20 fathom of water. . . . Found his Majesty's Ship Vang[uard] and the Hunter and Porcupine Sloops. Returned the salute of the Garrison and Vanguard. The Governour acquainted me that the Enemy had raised the Siege, yesterday, having begun to retreat in the utmost confusion upon Captain Swanton's appearance, who arrived in the Vanguard two days before me."

1760. May. Officers and one hundred light infantry were ordered out to scour the country. The French Officers and others at the general hospital affirm, that M. de Levis did not intend to fight us, upon his marching down with his army into our precincts, except he should be attacked; and much less had he any thoughts of opening a battery against the town; his plan being only to invest the place, and have every thing in readiness, in case a French fleet should possess the river St. Lawrence before a British, or that the Two Brothers storeship, from Gaspée, on which was his principal dependence, had arrived time enough to inable him to besiege us in form: but the Canadians, elated with the success of their victory, besought their General, in the most earnest manner, 'to proceed with 'the artillery and ammunition in his possession, assuring him, 'if he would make a breach or opening in any part of our 'works, they would force their way in, without [324] requiring 'the least assistance from the regular troops.'[1] An extraordinary guard is mounted at the Foulon, to take charge of the artillery and stores found in the enemy's camp, until they can be removed.

19th. The Leostoff and Diana not being yet returned, the Hunter sloop worked up this morning in quest of them; and, in some hours after, the Diana and Hunter returned to the fleet before the town, but the other unfortunately ran upon some unknown rocks, and instantaneously went to the bottom: luckily the Officers and men were preserved, and taken on board the other frigate;[2] this disaster however happened in an

[1] At the time of the siege of Quebec in 1759 the walls to the land side were in a defective condition, and a breach could have been effected in several places. Murray, however, as we have already shown, had made extensive additions and repairs, and the French artillery does not seem to have had any appreciable effect on the main wall.

[2] Lord Colville mentions this in the following words: "At 4 P.M. Captain Deane came on board from above the Town; he acquainted me that Captain Schomberg and him have effectually destroyed all the Enemy's Ships above the Town; but that the Lowestoffe is irrevocably lost on unknown Rocks in the middle of the River, about ten Leagues above the Town. Ordered Captain

excellent cause, for it was not until after they had completely destroyed the enemy's squadron, being six in number. The la Marie was laden with wounded Officers and soldiers, therefore went off early in the day; and, the navigation of St. 1760. May.

Swanton to assemble a Court-martial to enquire into the real cause of the loss of the Lowestoffe." (*Colville's Journal*, May 20.)

On May 19, Murray addressed the following communication to Amherst. It is evident that the Commander-in-Chief had no conception of the danger to which Quebec had been exposed during the winter, and he appears to have made light of the precautions Murray had taken. There is a delicate hint to Amherst, that if he is not more expeditious the surrender of the country may be obtained without his assistance :

"QUEBEC, 19*th May* 1760.

"DR. SIR,

"I have the Honor to acquaint you that Monsie[ur] de Lévis last night raised the Siege of Quebec, after . . . weeks open Trenches—He left behind him his Camp, sta[nding] all his Baggage, stores, Ammunition, thirty-four piece[s of] Cannon, four of which are Brass, 12 pounders, Six Mort[ars,] four Petards, a large provision of scaling ladders and intrenching tools beyond number; some of the Field Train we lost the day of the action, we have again recovered—What the King's Troops have done during this Siege I da[re] not relate if I had time, it is so romantick, and our loss considering has been very inconsiderable—I had intended a strong sortie this morning, and for that purpose had the Regiments of Amherst, Bragg, Lascelles, Anstruther & Fraser's with the Grenadiers and light Infantry unde[r] arms—but was informed by Lieutt. McAlpin, who I had sent out to make a small sally *selon les Reigles*', that the Trenches were abandoned—I instantly pushed out at the Head of these Corps, not doubting but I must penetra[te] their Rear, and have ample revenge for the 28th of Apri[l], but I was disappointed; their Rear had crossed the River Caprouge before I could come up with them, however we took several prisoners Stragglers, and much Baggage which otherwise would have escaped—I cannot help taking this opportunity of mentioning Major Agnew in a distinguished light; he commanded the Corps of Light Infantry, and old Addison whose memorial I enclose t[he] Grenadiers.

"This Enterprise has cost the Enemy upwards [of] three thousand men by their own Confession, they are now at their Old Asilum at Jacques Cartier, and for wa[nt] of every necessary must soon I imagine surrender a[t] Discretion. We are very low, the Scurvy makes terrib[le] Havock—for God's sake send us up Melasses, and See[ds] which may produce Vegetables—whoever winters here ag[ain] must be better provided with bedding and warm . . . than we were; Our Medecines are entirely expended. [At] present we get a very scanty supply from Lord Colv[ille's] Squadron, which arrived this day—But Captain Sw[anton] in the Vanguard with two Frigates came into the Bason [from] England the night of the 17th and next day destroyed and dis[persed] the Enemy's Squadron. I have not words to Express the Alacrity and Bravery

1760. May. Peter's lake being very shallow, she thought proper to lighten, by heaving her guns over-board, as has been already related, to prevent her falling into our hands, or sharing the fate of

of Swanton, Deane and Schomberg—the Honor they have acquired on this occasion should render their names immortal—our Louisbourg Friend Mons[r] Vauquelin who Commanded the French Squadron is taken prisoner, and his Ship destroyed—but poor Deane after all was over struck upon a Rock, and I fear his Ship will be lost. Lord Colvill Agrees with me that as the news I sent you of the 28th of April may reach England & alarm the Ministry, it is necessary immediately to dispatch a Frigate with advice to Mr. Pitt of the happy issue of Monsieur de Lévis enterprise—I send Major Maitland with my Dispatches, and I hope he will reach London before the loss of the Battle is known there—The Journal of the Siege, and of all my proceedings since I had the Honor to Command here, are preparing for you, and shall be transmitted by the first opportunity—we have received the £20,000 pounds sent in the Hunter—it is a poor Sum for a Garrison which has had no pay since the 24th of August. I find His Majesty has appointed me Colonel of the 2d Batt[n] of R. Americans—I am very thankful to him for it—it would have distressed me had Burton, as I hear was intended, purchased from Prevost over my head—I could have raised money enough for that purchase, had I been consulted—but it is better as it is, and I dare say you only recommended Mr. Burton's affair, in the Event of my getting the rank before him—I must think so untill you tell me otherwise yourself, for I have allways flattered myself I had some share of your Friendship, and am very confident I have done every thing in my power to acquire it.

"This instant Lieut[t] Montresor is arrived, and has delivered to me your letter of the 15th of April—the Orders in it shall be obeyed to the best of my Abilities—Mr. Montresor tells me you would not credit the accounts I sent to you of the Enemy's designs upon Quebec, but you find they are not so prudent as you imagined—I flatter myself the check they have met with here, will make every thing very easy afterwards—I do declare to you upon my Salvation that they had an army of 15,000 men before Quebec, ten of which consisting of Eight Battal[ions] of Regulars, 2 of the Troupes de la Colonie, and th[e] Montrealists were actually engaged in the Battle . . . the 28th of April—the other five thousand were the Canadians of the lower Canada who joined them a[fter] the Battle—The Regulars are still at Jacques Cart[ier] with a few Canadians who serve in those corps, and [are] in all about five thousand men; they have little powder left, and I am confident have as little provisi[ons:] deserters come in dayly—If you make haste, f[or] the Honour of their Colours they may give you Batt[le], but if you do not, for want of something to eat they will surrender to me, for I have destroyed all the Magazines they had prepared for the Siege of Quebec—You may depend on my pressing them if I have but five hundred men, it shall never be said with Justice, that any thing has been wanting in me—but if I know the Country, and I believe I have a tolerable Idea of it, I must beat their army before I can open your passage by the Isle aux Noix. The Enemy are wiser than to divide their Force, and be assured they

her colleagues. We have now in the bason six ships of the line, with seven frigates and sloops of war: a most grateful prospect to the remains of our shattered army, and the British 1760. May.

have only Two Hundred of the Troupes de Colonie and four Hundred Canadians at that Post—when they know of your motions, I don't know what they may Do—I shall watch theirs, and tak[e] every advantage of them in my power—I make no difficulties, the Enemy have Supplied us with Boats or Battoes, but God Almighty has reduced the large body of Troops which were left at Quebec to an incons[iderable] number, and had not the Enemy's Fleet in the Rive[r] been destroyed; I apprehend without proper Craft, I could not have been master of it—it is not in a R[iver] as it was in the Harbour of Louisbourg—Batteries [on] shore must certainly destroy ships, where they can[not] get out of their Reach, but Ships in a River like [that] of St. Lawrence can shift out of reach of your Batte[ry] the moment it opens, so the Summer at this rate here might have been Spent in erecting Battery af[ter] Battery—if the Enemy gives you Battle, which I can[not] think they will do, it will be at Trois Rivieres, they [have] Fortified that post, and I am well informed they mea[n] there to Capitulate—they still talk confidently of the Impracticability of forcing the Isle aux Noix weakly Garrisoned as it is till the month of July, but I look upon that as Chimerical, and that the last Effort they meant to make was the Enterprise against Quebec, which is the worst post (for a Fortification I cannot call it) in the Universe—in this I am sure you will agree with me when you see it. Montresor tells me you seemed surprised at the Precautions I had taken in building Blockhouses in the Winter, but you will not be so when you hear the designs which were formed, and partly attempted against me in the winter, and when you see the place. I believe very few of the Gentlemen who left their posts to follow their pleasures on the Continent gave themselves the trouble to examine the place and our Situation—the Fact is we were surprised into a Victory which cost the Conquered very little indeed, and it was very natural for these Gentlemen to represent that there could possibly be no danger or difficulties here since they had left their Corps in Garrison. The moment I can, which will be soon, I will move up the River, and leave Colonel Burton to Command at Quebec—both He and I will, I hope, answer your Expectations—with much truth & Esteem

"I am, Dr. Sir, &c.,

"J. M.

"P.S.—As I am entirely of your opinion that Quebec is in no danger, & Burton, whose assistance I shall allways eagerly Grasp at, is very desirous of sharing the Laurels we must reap on reducing the Enemy, insists upon accompanying me, I shall leave Colonel Fraser to Command at Quebec.

"To General Amherst."

(This copy was made by the editor from the original draft in the possession of Mrs. Murray of Bath. The manuscript has suffered through damp and other agencies, and many of the words are illegible.)

1760. May. traders, who wintered here with us. It is amazing to see the effect of our artillery in the environs of the late French camp and circumjacent country, for the extent of almost two miles; the ground being ploughed up by our *richochet* firing. The enemy did not bury our dead, but suffered them to be scalped and mangled in an unheard of manner, drew them away clear of their camp, and left them for ravenous birds and beasts to prey upon. The detachment of light infantry returned to-day; they found the enemy in the neighbourhood of Cape Rouge, where they have established a new post:[1] as our people received orders not to molest them, except they were attacked, they contented themselves with bringing off a number of cattle from their precincts. One half of the men [325] off duty are ordered immediately for fatigue; they are to be employed in replacing the stores and provisions that had been dispersed for safety, in different places, during the siege. One Major, five Captains, ten Subalterns, thirty non-commissioned Officers, ten Drummers and five hundred privates, are ordered to parade to-morrow morning, at four o'clock, with arms and ammunition complete.—'General Murray returns his hearty thanks to 'both Officers and men, for the great zeal and diligence they 'have shewn during the siege, by which the most sanguine 'expectations of the enemy have been effectually defeated; he

[1] The following orders were issued in the French camp at Cap Rouge on the 19th:

"S. Francis and Perpignan.

"The army will make no move to-morrow, but will be employed in putting the arms in fit condition. Rations for two days will be served out to-morrow morning, to wit, a pound and a half of Biscuit, equalling two pounds of bread—four ounces of peas, and an ounce of salt—of which the soup will be made, it being impossible to procure either meat or dripping.

"The commanding officers will have the roll of their Battalion called, in order to ascertain the number of soldiers and militiamen missing since the departure of the army before Quebec. . . . A list of all the boats of the crews that have arrived at *Pointe au Tremble*, of those missing, or if there is any information as to their having passed.

"Each Regiment will supply a camp guard." (*Canadian Archives: Campagne de* 1759–1760: *Ordres.*)

'will not fail, by the first and earliest opportunity, to report 1760. May.
'the same to his Majesty: he cannot doubt but this little
'army has an intire confidence in those that command them,
'and will chearfully assist in accomplishing the conquest of a
'country now at its last gasp.—Those Officers and soldiers
'who lent money to the Government, in the beginning of the
'winter, are desired to apply to the Secretary, who will pay
'them the principal and interest.'[1]

Ships are working up, by every tide, with stores, liquor, 20th.
and provisions of all kinds; the Captains' guards are now reduced to two only. In the late naval engagement between our frigates and those of the enemy, which, from first to last, continued one hour and two thirds, we had two seamen killed and several wounded; M. Vaugeulin,[2] and his men, are prisoners; most of the other crews went a-shore and escaped; before the French ships were burned, Captain Deane humanely sent a flag of truce to the enemy, to acquaint them with his intentions; and therefore desired they might take their wounded men out of them, which was complied with.

The Major's detachment, of five hundred men, attempted to cross Charles's river this morning, but, the waters being too high, they were obliged to desist, and return to the garrison; their destination is to search the neighbouring hamlets for fire-arms, and to compel the inhabitants to come and level the enemy's intrenchments. There is a man here who is a British subject, and, when [326] a boy, was made prisoner by the Indians on the back settlements of New-England, was afterwards sold to the French, and has lived here for many years; but, still retaining his natural affection for his own people, upon the surrender of Quebec, last year, he submitted to the Governor, and made him an offer of his service; his name is

[1] It is doubtful whether Murray was able to discharge all his obligations at this time. The *Hunter* sloop had brought £20,000, but Murray said: "It is a poor sum for a garrison which has had no pay since the 24th of August."

[2] See *Journal of Vauquelin*, in Appendix.

1760. May. Davis, and, by his conversing fluently in the French tongue, has rendered himself useful to his Excellency in the capacities of domestic and purveyor, during the course of this winter. After the 28th of April, this man, being sent down the river in a canoe, in search of a fleet, was taken by one of the vessels detached by the enemy at the time of the blockade; from thence he was put a-shore, and transmitted to the French camp, either on suspicion of his being a spy, or in hopes, from the good usage he had always met with in Canada, he would render them some notable service: at first they gave him kind and soothing treatment, but, seeing it was ineffectual, they threatened to hang him, if he would not be communicative, and give them intelligence of our real numbers, operations, &c. &c. Davis, however, being thoroughly attached to the British interest, remained impenetrably secret, pleading ignorance of the military, and of all our transactions; at length the siege being raised, he was left at liberty and came back to us. By him we learn, that the enemy buried twelve hundred men the day after the action; that their whole loss was nineteen hundred, among whom one hundred and sixty Officers were killed and wounded; and, of the latter, twenty-eight are since dead: that, in their camp and trenches, they had near a thousand killed and disabled by our artillery; and that, in the course of the siege, the enemy had resolved on two particular nights to storm the garrison, for which purpose every necessary preparation was made, and would have been executed, had it not been for the incessant and formidable fire we maintained on both these critical nights, which rendered it impossible for men to stand before it; they also had scouts to reconnoitre us in the night-time, and, finding we were not to be surprised, they [327] resigned their project. Davis farther adds, that every man of the conquered country, fit to bear arms, joined M. de Levis after the engagement, except the citizens of Quebec. This day I procured the reading of a manuscript fragment found in the enemy's camp; it was part of the

Journal of a French Officer, wrote in an epistolary manner, as if intended to be transmitted to Europe; the author therein 'expressed great astonishment at seeing us march out of our 'garrison on the morning of the 28th of April, and much 'greater at our *temerity* in advancing to give them battle; for 'that it was not their intention to fight or disturb us, but only 'to cut off our communication with the country by a line of 'intrenchment, and wait the arrival of a fleet, which would 'determine their and our fate together with that of Canada; 'that, if we had kept our high advantageous ground with our 'artillery, on the day of action, instead of marching down into 'a morass of snow and water, it is probable we might have 'carried the day, and obliged them to desert their enterprise.' This self-sufficient Journalist adds, 'that the British behaved 'well, until they advanced upon us with their bayonets, which, 'according to custom, threw us into confusion, and compelled 'us to give up the contest.'[1]—I shall only observe, in answer to this assertion from the pen of an enemy, that the armaments of that nation, both by sea and land, have always preferred engaging at an immoderate distance, and that, conscious of their being remarkable for their backwardness to close fighting, they are ever ready to reflect on their enemies in this particular, hoping, by such a recrimination, to extol themselves and strike terror into our forces to succeeding generations; moreover, there are so many recent instances, as well as ancient records, of the prowess of the British troops, and the modesty of the French, in fighting or pushing bayonets, that they are ashamed of it, and, not daring to acquit themselves of so just a reproach, when occasion offers, they are forced to have recourse to their own fruitful inventions and disingenuous subterfuges; —I shall only subjoin, that I have frequently had the [328]

1760. May.

[1] We find no trace of this *Journal of a French Officer* in the papers of General Murray. The author's translation is not very clear; apparently the French journalist's meaning was that the French bayonet-charge usually threw the British into confusion. The author's own "self-sufficiency" seems to have been smarting under the memory of defeat.

1760. May. honour of meeting them in the course of my service, and I never saw them disposed to come to the distance of pistol-shot, much less to bayonet-pushing.

Having now given a journal, at large, of all the operations and occurrences of a long winter's painful campaign in Canada, I must beg the reader's indulgence to take a review of the whole; which shall be dismissed with all possible brevity.

REVIEW of the WINTER CAMPAIGN at QUEBEC.

When our victorious army, consisting of ten regiments, two companies of the royal artillery, and one company of New-England rangers, amounting to about seven thousand three hundred men, marched into Quebec, under the command of Brigadier-General Murray, as Governor,[1] and Colonel Ralph Burton, as Lieutenant-Governor: the garrison was by no means secure against a *coup de main.* Six bastions, with their curtains of slight masonry, forming a chain from Cape Diamond to St. Rocque, was then our only defence and dependence; there was no foot-bank to the curtains, no embrasures made, no covered-way, nor out-work of any kind, and, in short, the cannon that were on the flanks were so indifferent and worm-eaten, that they were almost useless: it would be impossible to delineate the miserable state of this city; near one third of the houses were reduced to ruins, and what remained were so perforated by our cannon, during the first siege, that very few of them were fit to be inhabited.[2]

REVIEW of the WINTER CAMPAIGN in CANADA.

The enemy's army consisted of five battalions of veteran troops, thirty companies of marines, *troupes de colonie*, two

[1] Murray had not been appointed Governor until three weeks after the troops marched into Quebec. See p. 241.

[2] Many of the houses in the vicinity of the Intendant's Palace were destroyed by fire on May 3. See note 2, p. 404.

troops of light cavalry, twelve hundred Acadians and savages, with about twelve thousand Canadians, amounting, in the whole, to near eighteen [329] thousand men, all in good health, who had not undergone a tenth part of the fatigues our troops had been exposed to. That army had many advantages over us: their men were healthy; they were perfectly acquainted with the country; they had fresh provisions in abundance, having not only the upper country under their dominion, but also the intire south coast, from the capital eastward; and, finally, by the uncommon situation of the garrison, and the number of French inhabitants within the walls, none of our motions could escape them: such was the army and difficulties we had to contend with; however, we stayed no longer within our walls than was necessary to render our houses habitable, and to secure our ramparts against all attempts by surprise. The repairing an immense number of dwellings, building eight blockhouses out of the city, making foot-banks along the walls, opening embrasures, placing our cannon, incompassing all the avenues to the suburbs, and the intire quarter of St. Rocque, which before lay open, with stout palisades, removing near a twelvemonth's provisions, and an inconceivable quantity of ammunition of all kinds, into the higher town, besides forming a magazine of several thousands of fascines, were only specimens of the immense hardships and fatigues still reserved for us. While our forces were thus employed within, small parties from the enemy carried off our cattle, often under the cannon of the place, though they generally paid dear for them. As soon as the Governor had taken every necessary precaution for our preservation, we took the field: six hundred men marched out in two detachments; one of two hundred went to St. Foy, the remainder to Lorette, at both which places we took post; and, as soon as they were well secured, another corps of seven hundred men marched to St. Augustine, brought off the enemy's advanced guard with a great many cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. These two posts were of the greatest importance,

1760. May.

1760. May. as they gave us an opportunity of watching the enemy's motions, while they covered our own; and likewise they subjected eleven parishes to us, which greatly contributed to furnish us with [330] fresh provisions, and with every thing else that was necessary for subsistence during the winter; at the same time they relieved the garrison in the other essential works we were carrying on, and protected those people who had submitted to our government from the rigorous disposition of their late masters, and the incursions of their barbarous allies: lastly, which, in this most inclement season, deserves a particular consideration, by our advanced posts at these two places, we are inabled to provide ourselves with wood, an article of the utmost consequence; for, when our fleet left us, we had not, at the most, above three weeks' firing. Hoary winter now poured in with hasty strides; the forest of St. Foy was the nearest to the town; we wanted near twenty thousand cords of wood for the hospitals, guards, and quarters; and we had, at that time, very little cut down in the island of Orleans, the transporting of which was extremely tedious and difficult, as the river was then covered with floating ice. A few days after we had secured our posts before-mentioned, we set two hundred fellers to work, and made a large number of hand-sleighs. Towards the latter end of November we began to distribute firing: the regiments constantly detached all their men who were off duty with these sleighs, and they brought as much wood to the garrison as they could draw. This work was continued near four months, at a season of the year which, for its severity, may be said to be unknown to European climates, and which alone may be put in competition with the most harrassing campaigns that were ever made in any other northern country. Our affairs now assumed a good aspect, and we ourselves were well secured against any sudden attempts from the enemy: whereupon a command of two hundred men were detached a-cross St. Lawrence river, who disarmed the inhabitants, and obliged them to swear fealty to our Sovereign; this

proceeding gave us dominion over the parishes along the southern shore from Point Levi downwards, and consequently supplied us with the greatest part of our fresh provisions. Some time before the French army had taken up their winter [331] quarters, their advanced posts were at Point au Tremble, St. Augustine, and Calvaire; the remainder of their forces were distributed between Jacques Cartier and the Three Rivers; their Generals, being informed that our garrison daily diminished by the perpetual and unavoidable hardships to which we were exposed, resolved, with their superiority of numbers, to repossess themselves of this place in the depth of winter. In pursuance of this resolution, they made every necessary preparation. Snow-shoes were distributed to the troops; some hundreds of scaling-ladders, of various dimensions, were made for this enterprise, and they even exercised their men in fixing and mounting them. This stroke, with which we have been continually threatened, was to have been executed about the latter end of February, or middle of March at farthest;[1] and, notwithstanding all their endeavours to conceal their intentions by cutting off every communication with Jacques Cartier, which hitherto had been open and free to the inhabitants of the country, their designs transpired to us. The enemy, notwithstanding some miscarriages happening in the practices of an escalade, which made them suspend their project, yet never thoroughly lost sight of it; a detachment was sent to Point Levi, to take post there, to collect the inhabitants of the southern coast to reinforce their army, and to form a magazine of provisions: the posts of Calvaire and St. Augustine were likewise strengthened by some

1760. May.

[1] As to the intentions of the French, see the *Journal* of the Chevalier de Lévis:

"M. de Lévis had resolved to attempt in this month [February] an attack in force on Quebec, and having prepared everything needed for the purpose, issued the order of marching; . . . but, because of the want of provisions, and because of the movements which we were compelled to make during the month, it was decided, on the ground of the difficulty regarding provisions, that the Quebec expedition must be postponed till the spring." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 240.)

1760. May. companies of grenadiers. They had been several days in possession of Point Levi, engaged in heaping up great quantities of flour, and killing some hundreds of black cattle for the maintenance of their army during the expedition, when our light troops, supported by a detachment from the regiments, crossed over and routed them; we could not attempt this sooner, as the river was not frozen over; and, though we had boats and batteaus in abundance, they were at that time useless by the vast quantities of floating ice. Their retreat was very precipitate, and they lost some men, besides the greatest part of their provisions, and a few prisoners, which fell into our hands. We now took post in the church of St. Joseph, [332] at Point Levi, until we had constructed two blockhouses, in one of which we mounted cannon. Some few days elapsed, and the enemy returned with a greater force to recover this post; but, having timely notice thereof, the Governor marched some battalions over the ice to cut them off, and again sent the light troops with a detachment to attack them, while they were insulting the church; the enemy, finding themselves close hemmed in on all sides, gave way, and their retreat was so hasty, that, notwithstanding the utmost alacrity and diligence of our troops, we only overtook a part of their rear, who were very roughly handled; and here we also made several prisoners. After this defeat we finished our blockhouses, surrounded them with felled trees, and secured our posts beyond farther apprehensions of new assaults. This same detachment, that had attempted to force us, went a few days after, and took post at Beaumont, below Point Levi; but it was not thought necessary to molest them there, perhaps what they most wished for, on account of the great distance between that parish and the garrison. It was not now improbable that the enemy had changed their system; that they would postpone any farther attempts until the spring, and then, perhaps, form a regular siege: our conjectures on this head were natural, and all their preparations seemed to

indicate it; for they began to rig their ships, to repair their batteaus and other craft, to build gallies, to cast shot and shells, and, at the same time, were making a prodigious quantity of fascines, gabions, and stakes; in short, they made every necessary preparation for a siege. Our little army were not idle; we also made a great number of fascines, palisades, and picquets, in order to intrench and fortify ourselves without the town, as soon as the season would permit. Whilst these formidable preparations were making on both sides, our light troops, with other detachments, went and surprised the advanced posts of St. Augustine, Calvaire, &c. and, notwithstanding the alertness of the enemy in retreating, we made near one hundred prisoners. Some time after they flattered themselves with an ample revenge, by attempting to carry off our [333] wood-fellers and rangers that covered Lorette and St. Foy, but they were warmly repulsed. The situation of our affairs became daily more critical: it was more than probable the enemy's fleet and army would fall down the river as soon as it opened, and, the ground being yet bound up with frost, that we should not have time to form our intrenchments; these considerations induced the Governor to send the light infantry to Cape Rouge, with orders to fortify that post; first, with a view to prevent the enemy's landing there, and, in the next place, to be nearer at hand to observe their motions. The works were hardly begun, when the frost broke up: the enemy's fleet fell down, and landed their army at Point au Tremble, whence they marched directly to Lorette, in order to surprise that post, and cut off those of Cape Rouge and St. Foy. By the vigilance and activity of the General we frustrated their attempts: those detachments fell back on St. Foy, after destroying not only these posts to render them useless to the French army, but every bridge that lay in their way; at the same time half the garrison marched out with some field-pieces, and covered the retreat of those detachments, with little or no loss; this was on the 27th of April. What ensued on 1760. May.

1760. May. the 28th is too affecting to bear a repetition; besides, it would be superfluous, and the reader will find it at large in the occurrences of that disastrous day. The same evening the enemy opened their trenches, their ships anchored at Foulon, to the right of their camp; and between this and the 10th of May they were incessantly employed in landing their artillery, ammunition, provisions, ladders, tools, &c. in raising batteries, and perfecting their trenches; on the 11th they opened a bomb-battery, with three others, viz. one of three, one of four, and the third of six pieces of cannon. We made the necessary disposition to defend the *Wolfeian* conquest, so dearly purchased at the loss of his invaluable life, to the last extremity, and planted artillery not only on every bastion, but also in the curtains; we likewise raised two cavaliers, and made some outworks. The enemy cannonaded us very furiously the first day, yet [334] the superior weight of our fire not only obliged them to change their attack, but soon silenced them, and theirs' slackened every day after. Before they opened their batteries, we had one hundred and thirty-two pieces of heavy cannon, besides flankers and others of less weight towards the extremity of the line, on our walls; this was a most laborious task for our soldiery, who dragged them from the lower to the upper town, and from other parts of the garrison where they were before; which, in our present situation, were become useless. Notwithstanding this formidable artillery, we were so circumstanced, that, if a French fleet had appeared first in the river, the place must inevitably have fallen, and the troops probably been cut to pieces, without any apparent resource, or practicability of a retreat; therefore we had determined to persevere in a most vigorous and obstinate defence, and, if our utmost efforts had proved ineffectual, to have died with our arms in our hands; this, I am persuaded, was the resolution of every Officer in this garrison, and it is not to be doubted, that the men would have followed their example. On the forenoon of the 9th of May a British frigate came to an

anchor in the bason, and brought us the joyful news of our fleet being in possession of the river; on the evening of the 15th a ship of the line and another frigate also anchored before the town: early the next morning this little squadron worked up with great spirit, and engaged the French fleet, which instantly weighed anchor, but were so closely followed by our frigates, and so briskly attacked, that all their ships were driven a-shore in different places, and totally destroyed. This was like a thunderbolt to the enemy; they went off the same evening, and raised the siege with such precipitation, that they abandoned all their artillery, ammunition, field-equipage, provisions, and an immense quantity of every thing that was necessary to carry on a siege. Upon the first intelligence of this happy revolution, the Governor, with part of the garrison, sallied out to harrass their rear; but, unluckily, they had crossed the river at Cape Rouge, before we could come up with them. Thus have I [335] deduced the transactions of this long winter's campaign to as small a compass as I possibly could: it remains now to be observed, that we buried a thousand men since we marched into this garrison,[1] and had almost double that number alternately in the hospitals; so that it will appear, by recapitulating the various occurrences and operations of the winter, that about four thousand men have accomplished this great work, and sustained incredible fatigues continually for the space of eight months; and this at a season of the year usually reserved in other countries for the relief and refreshment of troops. I have only to subjoin, that the active example and abilities of our Governors, together with the most exact discipline, observed and supported throughout, by the Officers of every rank: the great harmony and unanimity which has subsisted among the several corps,

1760. May.

[1] *Malcolm Fraser's Journal* gives the number who died between September 18, 1759, and April 24, 1760, as 628. The seven monthly returns made by Murray, of which the last was dated April 24, 1760, give a total of 659 dead in this period. To this are to be added the losses in the artillery (17 according to Fraser), and perhaps those among the officers.

1760. May. even to the private men, and between them and their superiors as one family:[1] the unparalleled humanity to the sick and wounded, and the invariable attention displayed on every occasion to the preservation of the health of the soldiery: all these circumstances concurring inabled the army, with alacrity, to surmount every difficulty and to conduct their affairs to the prosperous issue wherein we now behold them; whilst the enemy, by the desperate situation of theirs', are incapacitated from giving us any considerable trouble, or exerting any efforts of consequence against the Commander in Chief, in completing the reduction of upper Canada.

[1] Quartermaster-Sergeant John Johnson, of the 58th Regiment, has a less pleasing story to tell. He says: "Let it be further considered and we shall find no honour could have arisen to General Murray, for such mad, enthusiastic Zeal: had our Ammunition waggons arrived, and we had been supplied with Ammunition, what we could use, we could never have drove them off further than into the Skirt of the Wood close in their rear: and suppose after we were sufficiently wearied, we had made good our Retreat at leisure, and had brought in all our wounded and weak men with us into the town, they would notwithstanding this, have broken ground against us the same night they did. Indeed it must be confessed that it is the duty of a General commanding an Army, to form every Scheme, and draw every plan, and to exert every faculty for the service of his Country; but it may be as readily believed that no State ever yet gave his General Order to throw away the lives of his men without some seeming probability of success; indeed General Murray may plead that he endeavoured to tread in the steps of his predecessor General Wolfe, who so much had his Country's service at heart, he well knew he was not sent to any other purpose but make a conquest, and he as well knew it could not be done by intrenching his Camp and keeping himself and Army on the defensive, he knew he must keep them in perpetual motion: and although he made that unsuccessful attempt at the heights of Beauport he did it with a view of getting nearer the business he was sent upon, than of making a Conquest: although it be allowed by all that there seemed to be as little probability of his success, as General Murray could have in striving to Conquer the french Army now before the Walls of Quebec. The Conquest was already made, we had done the work the Government had sent us about, not through our own Strength, but through the assistance of the overruling providence; it was therefore General Murray's duty to use all possible means to preserve it, and to defend it to the last extremity, and not lavishly to throw away such brave men, on a vain delusion of gaining to himself great honour." (From the *Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec*, by John Johnson, Clerk and Quartermaster-Sergeant to the 58th Regiment: *Siege of Quebec*, vol. v. p. 122.)

The troops are ordered to be in readiness to take the field, 1760. May. 22d. or proceed upon immediate service, on the shortest notice; some armed vessels are fitting out, and the army are to be conveyed up the river, to perfect a junction with the Commander in Chief: we are to be attended by all the flat-bottomed boats, with detachments of Officers and sailors from the fleet. The Canadians have levelled the late works of the enemy, pursuant to the Governor's commands; and the duty of the garrison is reduced for the ease of the forces. General Amherst has been pleased to fill up [336] such vacancies in the regiments of Quebec as he had knowledge of, viz. three Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, two Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and four Subalterns.

Several tribes of Indians have sent a deputation to the 25th. Governor to treat for peace. The troops and women are now directed to be victualled at the usual allowance, as in the winter.

An Officer sailed, this day, express to General Amherst, by the way of Boston. Captain Deane has been tried for the loss of the Leostoff, and honourably acquitted. Captain Schomberg and Major Maitland, Deputy-Adjutant General, fell down the river to take their passage for England; they are charged with dispatches from Lord Colville, General Murray, and Commodore Swanton: the General sent a very sensible and truly spirited letter to the Secretary of State, containing a most satisfactory account of the various occurrences previous and subsequent to all our late troubles and difficulties; but, as I have already given a minute detail of these several transactions, I think it needless to trespass on the reader by a repetition of them.

We had Divine service, and a solemn thanksgiving, this 30th. day, for the success of his Majesty's arms in Canada. A native of the parish of St. Michel was hanged yesterday, in sight of his own hamlet, for having exerted his utmost endeavours to spirit up his countrymen to revolt, and drawing several of his

1760. May. own company, he being a Captain of the militia, to join the late French army. A daily market is established in the suburbs of St. Rocque, for the benefit of the troops and our Canadian subjects reciprocally; they are to supply us with milk, butter, eggs, fish, veal, and such other articles as the country people can spare; on this occasion the Governor issued the following regulations.

[337] ORDERS.

"The General's intention, in ordering a market, is to "supply the garrison with every refreshment the country affords: "but, as a quantity of salt provisions, being allowed to pass "into the country, may be a means of supporting the enemy, he "therefore orders, that no person whatever shall give salt beef, "or pork, or any kind of provisions to the French, but in lieu "of fresh provisions actually brought in; and no other person in "any corps, except the Quarter-Master, is to be allowed to truck "for the soldiers; no merchant to be allowed to exchange pro- "visions with the French, but they may buy them for money: the "General depends on the Officers exerting themselves to prevent "any abuse in this market, whereby the King's service may be "affected; which it must be, if they can smuggle provisions, and "procure any quantity under sanction." On the 31st it was injoined, "that a Quarter-Master shall always attend the "market from sun-rising until twelve o'clock, to see proper "order observed, and justice done to the people that come from "the country: he is to be answerable that no provisions are "allowed to pass into the country, but in exchange of such "things as the Canadians bring in; and that none but Officers "and soldiers of the garrison are allowed to barter."

June 3d. On the 3d of June it was ordered that provisions are to be exchanged at the following rates:—"Two pounds of veal, or "one pound and an half of beef or mutton, for one pound of "salt pork, or one shilling; three quarts of milk, or twelve

"eggs, or one pound of fresh butter, for one pound of the said "pork, or one shilling; and fish at the rate of two-pence per "pound."—On the 7th, the Governor was pleased to order that "No person whatever is to go beyond the centries, posted at "the market, in order to buy from the country-people, before "they come to [338] market: any Officer's servant who "attempts it will be confined and punished. As the General is "convinced the enemy are in great want of provisions, and will "endeavour to procure them by every method, he expects the "Officers of the garrison will join with him in preventing any "being conveyed out of this place, either by land or water; and "he hopes there will be no application to him for any indul-"gence on this head until the country submits, as he cannot "answer the allowing it." His Excellency has moreover issued a proclamation forbidding the Merchants and Masters of ships trading with the French, or selling their provisions on any account whatsoever, on pain of confiscation of goods and imprisonment.[1] All the convalescents of the army, with such of the sick as can be removed, are to be conveyed to the isle of 1760. June.

[1] On the 22nd, Murray issued the following order to the masters of vessels:

"By His Excellency James Murray Esq, Brigr. Genl. &c.

"Whereas it would be of the Highest Detriment to His Majesty's Service, if the Enemy could procure Supplies of Provisions, in order to prevent all attempts they migh[t] make for that purpose, I have thought proper to pub[lish] the present order, hereby strictly forbidding all Mer[chants], Masters of Vessells or others under any pretence whate[ver] to dispose of any kind of Provisions whatsoever to a French Inhabitant of either Town or Country 'till Further Orders, or without a Special Licen[se] for the same, under the Penalty of Confiscation of Goods and Imprisonment. And I do likewise hereby order and Enjoin All Merchants, Masters of Vessells and others as soon as conveniently they can, after their Arriv[al] in the Bason, to Land all their Goods under the Penalties aforesaid.

"Given under my Hand and Seal
"At Quebec this 22d of May 1[760].
"J. M.

"By His Excellency's Command."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

The French were in want of provisions, and Murray's action prevented them from obtaining any assistance in the vicinity of Quebec.

1760. June. Orleans for their recovery. The schooner, sent down by the enemy on the 11th ultimo, has got four six-pounders, besides a number of swivels, and forty men on board; she has lately taken three of our traders, about ten leagues S. E. of Coudre, laden with liquors, provisions of all kinds, merchants' goods, slops, &c. The crews had their chests and bedding returned to them; they were fifteen in number, and were put a-shore on one of those islands, called the Pilgrims, where, fortunately meeting with a batteau, they made sails of their blankets and cloaths, and, by one contrivance or other, worked their way up to town; in consequence of this intelligence, the Prince of Orange, Eurus, and two armed vessels, are fallen down to cruise and protect the merchant-men.[1] Lord Colville has ordered all the sick in the fleet to be landed, and put into Point Levi church, for the re-establishment of their health.

[1] On May 29, Murray addressed the following letter to Lord Colville, requesting him to destroy the French vessels which were in the river:

"QUEBEC, 29*th May* 1760.

"MY LORD,

"I think it absolutely necessary and my d[uty] to represent to your Lordship, that the Vessells which the Enemy have down the River, or which they have possessed themselves of lately, be forthwith destroyed—There are Rivers, which they may run up, and where they may land their Goods and Provisions—French Ships from Europe may also run up the Saguenay, th[eir] loading taken in by their small Craft, and landed [on] the Southern Shore; this I am told may effectually be prevented by a large Ship Stationed at Tadouss[ac.]

"By the Perfect Knowledge the Enemy has of the Country, and the Assistance of all the Inhabitants, they will fall upon ways of conveying these same Goods and Provisions to upper Canada, Spite of all our Endeavours to prevent them, and my Number . . . will not afford securing every Pass and every Avenue—they will be enabled to Carry on the War, with this disagreeable Circumstance that we shall furnish [them with] the Means.

"I flatter myself Your Lordship will Join with me in opinion, that this is the most Pressing Operation to be gone upon, and that every other is to be postponed till that growing Evil be effectually remedied—I should be Glad to know your thoug[hts] thereupon, and the Measures you propose, tha[t] I may Co-operate with you in this Service—I am

"J. M.

"TO LORD COLVIL."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 898-A.)

We are now destroying the harbour and fortifications of Louis- 1760. June.
bourg, and we are assured, that this little army will be reinforced by some of the regiments in garrison there. King's ships and traders daily arrive in the bason. By an Officer, who is a prisoner, and permitted to come down from Montreal, we are informed that [339] General Amherst is in motion; that Sir William Johnson, with a large body of Indians, are advanced to fort Chamble; and that M. Vaudreuil declares he will not surrender until the Commander in Chief's army are actually landed on the island of Montreal. The Schooner privateer is taken by the Eurus, and is to be employed in our service; we are repairing our floating batteries for the expedition. The state of our garrison, on the 3d instant, stood thus:—sick and recovering men, including wounded, and those unfit for service, two thousand five hundred and fifty-three; troops, fit for duty, two thousand five hundred and seventeen; total, five thousand and seventy.

We are informed that the French Generals have sent off those men who deserted from us to Louisiana, having, as it is said, no farther service for them. A Priest, and two or three Jesuits, are brought in prisoners,[1] and sent on board the ships

[1] Murray appears to have had some difficulty with certain French prisoners taken on April 28, and probably on this account he was unwilling to deliver them up on the request of the Chevalier de Lévis. On June 14, Lévis appealed to Amherst:

"To Mr. Amherst, Major General commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in North America.

"MONTREAL, *June* 14, 1760.

"I have detailed the Sieur Bonneau, captain of the Guienne Regiment, to lay before Your Excellency the [question of the] return of the English officers and soldiers of the garrison of Quebec, taken prisoners by the forces of His Most Christian Majesty, in the battle of April 28 last.

"The civilities you were good enough to shew this officer during his stay in New York lead me to hope that the choice I have made of him to fulfil this mission will be agreeable to you.

"The Marquis de Vaudreuil has authorized him to arrange for the exchange of the Sieur de Bonnefonds, lieutenant of the royal Artillery corps; his

1760. June. in the bason: they have been too active in spiriting up the Canadians to a revolt. A body of Indians, with the French cavalry, are sculking about the precincts of the general hospital; they surprised three rangers, and endeavoured to intercept some Masters of ships, who had walked out; but, the guard at the hospital having sallied forth upon them, they sheered off, and an hundred light infantry went in pursuit of them, and hunted them to the forest of St. Foy. A vessel from Boston is retaken, near twenty leagues up the river Seguenny; and intelligence is received that a French frigate, with a large convoy of transports and storeships, have entered the river, and, upon being ascertained of our fleet being arrived here, they have turned into Gaspée or Chaleurs: whereupon Lord Colville has detached the Rochester and an armed vessel to reinforce the Prince of Orange, with orders to Captain Wallis to go in search of them. A strong redoubt is erected about four miles off, and defended by a Captain, three Subalterns, and one hundred men. The inhabitants of the conquered country are now employed in cutting fire-wood for the garrison. Several small vessels are taken into service for the expedition, and they are [340] laying in the provisions, stores, and artillery for the troops that are to move upwards. The dismantling of Louisbourg has been postponed; the situation of our affairs here being represented as very precarious, Governor Whitmore thought it advisable to wait until he is ascertained of the siege of Quebec being raised; this has also retarded the arrival of the expected reinforcements. Some Canadians are ordered into town, to perform the office of scavengers.

detention delays his promotion, and I feel confident that Your Excellency would regret, even as I should, to work any such detriment to the fortunes of an individual officer. . . .

"Having no doubt but that Mr. Murray, who commands the English garrison at Quebec, is under your orders, I deem it my duty to submit to your Excellency the just causes of complaint which the extraordinary behaviour of that brigadier general affords, alike to myself and to the [French] nation. . . ." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 344. See *Mémoire des Disputes* in Appendix.)

The Weekly State of our Forces this Day is as follows : 1760. June. 15th.

		Lieut. Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Quart. Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Regiments,	Fit for duty, . .	2	5	30	95	52	4	7	5	8	12	214	121	2351
	Public employment,	0	0	3	11	4	0	0	0	0	1	29	1	368
	Sick and wounded, .	2	1	10	27	15	0	0	1	1	0	95	53	2265
Artillery,	Fit for duty, . .	0	0	3	1	6	0	1	1	1	0	6	6	122
	Sick and wounded, .	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Rangers,	Fit for duty, . .	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	53
	Sick and wounded, .	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Total . . .		4	7	47	136	77	4	8	7	10	13	348	181	5209

Our sick are so well supplied with milk, butter, soop, and other refreshments on the isle of Orleans, that they are recovering surprisingly, to which the change of air does not a little contribute.

The five eldest companies of grenadiers were reviewed to- 21st.
day, and afterwards two of them embarked for St. Nicholas, under Major Irving, to swear and disarm the inhabitants.

In honour to this day, the flag was hoisted on the citadel, 22d.
the fleet displayed their colours, and at noon they fired, manned their tops, and cheered.[1]

Major Irving's detachment returned this day from St. 23d.
Nicholas, and six companies of grenadiers, under Major Agnew,[2] marched [341] to Lorette, to re-establish a post there. The floating batteries are taking in their guns to be in readiness for the expedition.

Each company of grenadiers is ordered to be completed to 25th.
one Captain, three Subalterns, three Serjeants, three Corporals, two Drummers and sixty privates; and the regiments are likewise ordered to draft a body of able men, who, with the

[1] Coronation of George II, 1727.

[2] James Agnew, Major of the 58th Regiment, December 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel of the 44th, December 1764.

1760. June. others, are to hold themselves in readiness to embark. The Porcupine sloop of war, with two armed vessels, eight floating batteries, and twenty flat-bottomed boats, with Naval Officers and seamen, are to be commanded by Captain Deane: our two Governors will command the troops, and Colonel Fraser is to remain here, to take charge of the garrison.[1]

26th. The grenadiers at Lorette were relieved to-day; Major Agnew, with a small reconnoitring party, went to Cape Rouge, and was informed by the inhabitants, that sometimes a few cavalry and Indians came down among them; but they could not ascertain their numbers, as they always endeavoured to avoid them. A Captain of the militia brought a letter to the Governor which he said was left at his house, in his absence, by a person unknown, and delivered to his wife, with orders to circulate its contents among all men of his district; the copy that fell into my hands is very incorrect; it was wrote by M. Vaudreuil, and discovers great subtility of invention; I shall therefore present the reader with an exact translation of it:

'M. de Levis, who is returned here, has again communi-
'cated to me the most lively assurances of the good-will, zeal,
'and approved bravery, exerted by you and your whole com-
'pany; I did not expect less from the fidelity of my gallant
'Canadians, from their natural and laudable attachment to their
'country.* His Majesty, who, it is not improbable, is by this
'time informed of your glori- [342] ous victory, will feel no less
'satisfaction at this event, than affliction at the miseries of the
'colony; in which case, supposing a peace has not been con-
'cluded, on the receipt of this intelligence, the King of England
'cannot possibly avoid acquiescing in such terms as our Monarch
'shall have prescribed to him. You are not unacquainted with
'the considerable advantages we have gained, in Europe, over
'the British and their allies during the last campaign; the

[1] See letter of Murray to Fraser, July 29, in Appendix.

* This appears to be a circular letter to the Captains respectively, throughout the colony.—*Note by author.*

'several prisoners we are hourly making agree in confirming 1760. June.
'those interesting accounts, viz. that his Majesty is at the head
'of an army of two hundred thousand men in Holland; the
'Prince of Conti, with one hundred thousand, in Germany; the
'Princes of Deux Ponts and Soubise command the army of the
'Empire, consisting of two hundred thousand men; and more-
'over our good friends, the Empress of Russia and the Queen
'of Hungary, have united all their forces, and are concerting
'measures for the final reduction of the remainder of his Prussian
'Majesty's dominions. Add to this, our latest accounts assure
'us, that the garrisons of Fort Frederic, Niagara, and Chou-
'hagan *, are greatly diminished by sickness, which continues to
'rage among them; and that the regular troops in New-England
'are reduced to a handful. M. Murray has therefore dispersed
'placarts to very little purpose, to aggrandise his own nation, to
'appease the Canadians, to persuade them to lay down their
'arms, to discredit our bills of exchange and paper currency,[1] at
'the same time that the British Merchants are solicitous to pro-
'cure them, because they have been punctually discharged. By
'this, Sir, you see that the colony is drawing to the conclusion
'of its distresses and difficulties, and that we are happily arrived
'at the eve of seeing peace and plenty succeed to war and
'famine. If the British troops should make any farther attempt,
'it can have no other motive than an eagerness of ambition
'in their [343] Generals; we are every-where prepared, and

* Oswego.—*Note by author.*

[1] The rumour that the French bills of exchange were discredited seems to have created considerable alarm amongst the *habitants*, and they were unwilling to supply the army with provisions. Lévis, writing to M. Berryer, the French minister, on June 29, 1760, says: "The news of the non-payment of bills of exchange has destroyed the credit of paper money; the people of the country are in despair, having sacrificed themselves for its preservation only to find themselves hopelessly ruined. We are doing all in our power to restore confidence, by assuring them that the paper money will be redeemed; it is to be feared, however, that we shall no longer find the same willingness among these people, when we come to collect them again for our defence." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 362.)

1760. June. 'thoroughly determined to repulse them with vigour: we have 'an excellent train of artillery, *exclusive of that which we took* '*from the enemy*, with a great quantity of ammunition, and stores 'of every kind, sufficient for the operations which I have pro- 'jected; we flatter ourselves we have also provisions enough, by 'means of the expedients we expect to find in the good affec- 'tions of our Canadians, who are more immediately interested 'in the preservation of their religion, their liberties, and their 'country. The King's troops will even subsist upon vegetables, 'if other provisions cannot be procured for them; and will not 'fail to unite their best endeavours with those of my brave 'Canadians. Know ye, then, my inclination herein: that you 'and your whole company, together with the rest of the militia 'of the colony, are to be in readiness to march, with their arms, 'baggage, and eight days' provisions, to our frontiers, when the 'exigency of affairs shall require it, of which ye shall have due 'notice by a repetition of the usual signals.* I believe I may 'venture to assure you, that these will be the last arrangements 'which I shall have occasion to make for the defence of Canada, 'being firmly persuaded, that, by the latter end of August at 'farthest, we shall have peace, provisions, and, in general, what- 'ever we stand in need of at present.

'Montreal, June 3, 1760. (Signed) VAUDREUIL.'

27th. The French Officers and soldiers who are prisoners, together with a numerous corps of deserters, are embarked to-day on board a cartel-ship for England or France: she will sail with the first fair wind.

29th. [344] A soldier of the Highlanders was this day killed by lightning, and two others were much scorched. The rains in the summer season are exceedingly heavy, the thunder inconceivably loud, and the lightning most beautifully dreadful.

* I presume he alludes to large fires made on all the eminences, from one district or parish to another; or, perhaps, to signal shots.—*Note by author.*

The citizens have been permitted to return to town, in order to examine their effects, and carry off such of them to the country as they stand in need of; or all, if they chuse it; which was this day complied with. 1760. July 2d.

The following is the State of the Troops under orders for Embarkation:[1]

Ten companies of grenadiers at sixty men each . .	600	
Four Officers, three Serjeants, three Corporals . .	100	
Ten draughts from the corps, of one hundred and forty-seven men each	1470	
Nine Officers, seven Serjeants, seven Corporals from each corps	230	
One Officer with a detachment of rangers . . .	51	
	2451	

Exclusive of a detachment of the royal train of artillery, seamen, batteaumen, Field-Officers, and Drummers, the above troops are formed into seven battalions, and ground was this day marked out for their incampment, in the following order: 3d.

Left Brig. ‖ Right Brig.	Battalions.	Of what detachments composed.	By whom commanded.	Adjutants.	Qu. Mast.	Surgeons.
	1st Batt. Gren.	15th, 47th, 3d B. R.A., 35th, & 58th.	Maj. Agnew			Mr. M'Lane.
	1st Battalion	15th and 48th,	Maj. Irving,	of the 15th	of the 48th	Mr. Roberts.
	3d Battalion	35th, and 3d B. R.A.	Maj. Morris,	of the 35th	—— 15th	Mr. Fraser.
	5th Battalion	47th and 78th,	Maj. Spittal,	of the 47th	—— 78th	Mr. M'Pher.
	4th Battalion	43d 2d B. R.A.	Maj. Oswald,	2d B. R.A.	—— 43d	Mr. Tudor.
	2d Battalion	28th and 58th,	Maj. Curry,	—— 28th	—— 58th	Mr. M'Main.
	2d Battalion Grenadiers	28th, 48th, and 78th, 2d B. R.A. and 43d,	Maj. Addison,			Mr. Watson.

[345] The right brigade is to be commanded by Colonel Ralph

[1] The second part of *Murray's Journal*, from May 18, 1760, recently discovered, is printed in the Appendix.

1760. July. Burton,[1] the left by the honourable Colonel Howe,[2] as Brigadiers.

Captain St. Leger[3] is appointed Major to the first brigade, and Lieutenant Hay[4] to the other. The troops are ordered to settle their accounts with the general hospital; the women are not to be allowed to take the field, nor to follow the troops up the river. Captain Wetterstrome, of the Royal Americans, is appointed to command all the floating-batteries that are to be employed on the expedition. The Bishop of Canada[5] died lately at Montreal; he was eminent for great piety, learning, and extensive charity: this day high Mass was performed at the Ursuline church, in reverence to his memory, &c. &c. and according to the practice of the Romish church: the walls, altar, pulpit, &c. were hung with black, and a coffin was erected within the chancel, covered with a velvet pall; there were several dozen of wax-candles lighted on the occasion. This service was discharged by a relation of the deceased, Monsieur Briaud *,[6] a Canon of the cathedral, Rector of the conventual church of St. Augustine, and now appointed by General Murray to take charge of all the clergy throughout the diocese. The troops intended for the expedition marched out on the 5th instant, and incamped about a quarter of a mile from the town; and, on the 7th, a great number of men arrived from Orleans, surprisingly recovered and fit for duty. Captain Deane's squadron worked up from the bason, and anchored off the left of our incampment.

[1] Colonel Ralph Burton, appointed Colonel of the 95th Foot, 1760.

[2] Hon. William Howe, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 58th Foot, 1757, held rank of Colonel in America, and was appointed Colonel of the 46th Foot in 1764.

[3] Captain Barry St. Leger, appointed Captain in the 48th Foot in 1758.

[4] Lieutenant Alexander Hay, appointed Captain in the 7th Foot, 1765.

[5] See note, p. 149.

* He has been, as I am informed, confirmed in the Bishopric of Quebec by his Britannic Majesty.—*Note by author.*

[6] M. Jean Olivier Briand was appointed Bishop of Quebec in 1766, and died in 1794.

ORDERS.

"The Governor had strong expectations to have received a 1760. July. 10th.
"considerable sum of money by his Majesty's ship the Lizard,
"and is vexed at the disappointment: he is sure the Officers
"will not repine at [346] the unavoidable delay this must
"occasion to their being paid their forage-money, which
"should be issued at the beginning of the campaign, as they
"may depend upon it, when the cash arrives. It was fully
"intended that the men should have been cleared to the 24th
"of April last, but, as it is not possible to compass that at
"present, it is the General's positive orders that their accounts
"may be exactly stated to that time, signed by themselves;
"and that they be provided with every necessary and comfort
"which can be procured for them upon credit from the mer-
"chants; moreover, that twenty shillings be paid to each man
"upon account of his balance, being all the money that the
"Paymaster-General can raise at present. The General has
"received a letter from the Lords Commissioners of the
"Treasury, informing him, that a large sum was to be sent
"here; and he imagines it will arrive with the Sutherland
"man of war, who is expected: he assures both Officers and
"men, in whom he has the utmost confidence, they shall
"be cleared the last shilling, so soon as money comes to
"hand." *[1]

The remainder of the forces, left for the defence of Quebec, are ordered to incamp separately without the town. A number of recovered men and Officers of this army have rejoined us from New-York and other places. All soldiers,

* It is with the greatest pleasure I record it here, for the honour of this army, that there was not the least distrust, grumbling, or appearance of discontent, on this occasion, from any individual whatsoever.—*Note by author.*

[1] The *Sutherland* arrived at Quebec on July 31, but she does not appear to have brought any money.

1760. July. unfit for farther service, are to be sent to England, and recommended to Chelsea hospital; their discharges and clearances are to be left with Colonel Fraser, who will forward those men by the earliest opportunity. We are informed that the enemy are cantoned between Jacques Cartier and les Trois Rivieres.

13th. The baggage of the troops, going on the expedition, was imbarked on the 11th; the General reviewed them on the 12th, and, [347] on the 13th, they went on board their transports: the right brigade at five in the morning, and the left at the same hour in the afternoon. These embarkations were extremely well conducted by our two Brigadiers, notwithstanding some few irregularities committed by our poor fellows, in consequence of their being at this juncture indulged with a small advance of money, in part of their respective balances.[1]

[1] When the troops had left England in February, 1759, it was considered probable that Amherst would unite with Wolfe in the attack on Quebec. Ten months had passed since the fall of Quebec, and Murray seems to have decided not to wait any longer for the dilatory Commander-in-Chief. On July 13, he addressed the following letter to Pitt, and on the next day sailed for Montreal.

"QUEBEC, *July 13th*, 1760.

"SIR,—I have the honor to acquaint you that I shall set out to-morrow for Montreal, at the head of two thousand two hundred chosen men.

"I was in Expectation that two Regiments from Louisbourg would have join'd me before this time; but as their arrival is very uncertain, and I cannot longer doubt of Mr. Amherst's being in motion, I think it necessary to proceed without them to do what I can to facilitate the entire reduction of Canada. I am Confident that we are Masters of the River; in that case with this handfull of men I can safely nose the Enemy at their Capital, & if fortune favors us with an opportunity, we may without risquing Quebec strick home.

"I have left Seventeen Hundred men fit for duty in Quebec, these with the Sick and Convalescents will make in all more than three thousand men in that Garrison. Col. Frazer, Eager for the Glory that may be acquired in the field, stays with great reluctance to command there; but however desirous I may be of his assistance with me, I thought it absolutely necessary to leave an Officer of distinguish'd Address and Abilities with so important a command.

"I have left Orders for the Regts. from Louisbourg to proceed and join

Different signals were this day appointed for Commanding Officers of battalions; for Adjutants, Quarter-Masters, Majors of brigade, the Officers commanding the detachment of royal artillery, floating-batteries, and rangers; Quarter-Masters-General, brigades, armed vessels, and floating-batteries; also when to weigh, sail, and come to an anchor, &c. &c. but, as the reader has already seen variety of sailing orders and instructions in the course of these volumes, it is no longer necessary to particularise them. At three o'clock P.M. a signal was made to prepare to weigh, and, as soon as it was tide of flood, our fleet sailed with a fair wind, ran till seven, and then came to an anchor in sight of the church of St. Croix, on the south shore; and Point au Tremble, on the north: here the river is about three leagues over, the lands high on each side, with a tolerably clear country, interspersed with a few small coppices. 1760. July. 14th.

me without loss of time; my Corps will then consist of three thousand five hundred men.

"Though I have had no directions from General Amherst, I have ventured to press Vessels for the conveyance of the Troops, an expedient which will render all my operations safe, quick & powerfull, and the Expence is a meer trifle.

"The moment I arrive at Montreal I shall be probably master of the whole country. The Chevar. de Lévis must assemble his Army for the defence of that Capital; if the Canadians do not join him, his force will not greatly exceed mine; if they do their Country is abandoned to my mercy; my motions having the current of the River in my favor, must always be four times quicker than theirs, consequently it will be impossible for the Canadians to save their harvest this year if they assemble in arms, for the country is no where inhabited or cultivated above two miles from the river.

"I have the happiness to inform you, Sir, that since the weather has been warm our sick have recover'd surprizingly, and that all the Transports except one are safely arrived from New York; they have brought cloathing for the Garrison, and the recovered men & Officers which were sent from Quebec last Autumn; I have no apprehensions that the missing Ship is lost. I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient & most faithfull humble Servant,

"JA: MURRAY."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64.)

1760. July. 15th. We weighed, this morning, with a favourable wind, at a quarter past four; at six we doubled Point au Tremble, and at half past seven Jacques Cartier[1]; this fortress is situated on a bold commanding eminence, its works consisting of fascines, earth, and stockades, with felled trees laid from the summit of the height to the water's edge, extending a considerable way above and below the fort; and, in order to render it more secure to the river, if there was any beach below, it appears to have been removed either by the perpetual flux and reflux of the waters, or by art: this observation I made in my return to Quebec, when the tide of ebb was very low; as the land is so extremely high, it was impossible, from our ships, to get any view of the north [348] side of the place, which, I presume, to be the most accessible part of it. The garrison fired several shots, and threw some shells at our fleet; but, the river being broad here, and the channel running close by the south shore, we were beyond their reach. After we had passed Jacques Cartier, the river narrowed, until we opened the church and village of Chambaud, at the distance of three leagues, where it widened considerably: here we came to an anchor about nine o'clock A.M. in ten fathom water. We discovered two large galiots far a-head of us, under Dutch colours, with white jacks, and of an uncommon construction, who, as soon as they perceived us, sheered off. The north and south inhabitants are all in arms, terrified, no doubt, at their approaching fate; it is not probable they ever saw so numerous a fleet in this part of their country; we amount to about thirty-two sail, besides nine floating-batteries, with a number of flat-bottomed boats and batteaus.[2] In the evening some boats went, at low water, to sound the channel, through what are called the

[1] See plan.

[2] The fleet consisted of the *Porcupine* sloop, the *Racehorse*, *Penzance*, *Diana*, *True Britain*, nine floating batteries, and many transports. Later on twenty-two flat-bottomed boats were sent from Quebec, and the *Sutherland* was sent as far as Deschambault to protect the river.

Rapids of Richlieu[1]; they found, from six feet to six fathom, irregular soundings, and the navigation difficult, by reason of the different turnings; a detachment of the enemy, incamped at Chambaud, fired a gun and some musketry at our boats, but without effect. From the channel, which is nearly central, to the north and south shores, the river is shallow and full of rocks, whose heads appear above the surface, like stepping-stones in a ford: at high water the tide rises here about nine feet. 1760. July.

At seven this morning the Porcupine, with part of our fleet, weighed, to work through the rapids; about eight a battery of three guns, from the church, opened on them, and the galiots a-head played at the same time, but these were soon beat off by our floating-batteries: two transports ran a-ground, and got off again without any damage, it being tide of flood; our armed vessels and the Porcupine continued a brisk cannonade with the enemy while they passed, whereby a Lieutenant and three privates of the seventy-eighth regiment were killed, and a few others wounded: the tide [349] being too far spent, the second division remained below the Rapids, and the others came to an anchor above the church, out of the range of the enemy's artillery. In the evening the Rapids were again sounded, and the floating-batteries, with the flat-bottomed boats, returned to the lower division, without any annoyance from the guns on shore. Two companies of grenadiers went down the river about night-fall. 16th.

Our fleet were alarmed, late last night, by a large uncommon fire which the enemy made on the Point at de Chambaud, and appeared to us, for some time, like a fire-stage; many signals of this kind now shew themselves on both sides of the river. The grenadiers returned this morning; they were detached to reconnoitre Jacques Cartier, and amuse 17th.

[1] See plan.

1760. July. the garrison: they did not perceive any alteration, for, after they had, by feints, alarmed the enemy, they appeared numerous, beat to arms, and manned their works; we were in hopes, by the number of troops a-shore, attending our fleet, and watching our motions, to have found that fortress left to an inconsiderable force.[1]—Three of our floating-batteries cannonaded the camp at Chambaud, for an hour, without any return, and obliged them to change their ground. The General has judiciously ordered one pint of vinegar per week to be issued to every soldier. This afternoon a command of one Major, two Captains, six Subalterns, and two hundred men, with an Officer and fifty rangers, were ordered to prepare immediately to land: we put into our boats at night-fall, and rendezvoused at the Major's ship; our orders are "to "go down the river about three leagues, land on the south "shore, and take post in a house; then to detach the rangers, "with a covering party of one hundred men, to surprise and "rout a party of regulars, who are posted a-breast of that "division of our fleet below the Rapids; as soon as this service "shall be performed, the covering party are to fire three vollies "on the point of land which projects into the river; this will "be answered by three guns from the Diana, whereupon the "Major is to reimbark his men, and return [350] to their "respective ships." About ten o'clock we fell down the river with the tide of ebb, and landed at the parish of St. Croix without any opposition; but, unluckily, our boats grounded on a bar of sand before we were near the shore, which deceived

[1] On June 28, Lévis wrote to Mr. Berryer as follows:

"The point of greatest danger is the river. We are absolutely out of touch with it, and have no means of preventing the frigates and barges from coming up as far as Montreal. Under these unfortunate circumstances, our principal forces being in this Government, we shall accordingly endeavour to collect them and, should the enemy make any incautious movement, we shall attack the first of their troops which may happen to shew themselves. This, indeed, is our sole remaining chance. We are not in a condition to hold the open country, being in want of food, of ammunition and, generally, of everything; it is wonderful that we still exist." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 363.)

us not a little; for, upon our jumping out, we had not above one foot of water, and, as we moved forward to approach the shore, we got into deeper water up to our waists; so that, had we not used the precaution of securing our ammunition, it would have been intirely damaged. We lost no time in forming upon the beach, but we had still greater difficulties to encounter; for the land above us was immensely steep, and every-where so thickly covered with felled trees, that, after many repeated efforts, we found it impracticable to ascend; it was therefore thought advisable to march along shore to the distance of half a mile, where, after incredible labour, we clambered up the rugged hill, without any accident or molestation; when we had gained the summit, we fell into a road through a fertile country, which we followed, observing the course of the river upwards; this led us to a farm-house, where we took post: and here the rangers and covering party were immediately detached, pursuant to orders. The inhabitants abandoned their habitations, and retired to the woods: at day-light some of them shewed themselves in the skirts of their cover, but, notwithstanding the most friendly signals being made to them to come out and surrender, they sculked off; however, as they made no resistance, we did not molest them in any respect, though we had it in our power to deprive them of black cattle, pigs, sheep, and vegetables, in which they abounded. 1760. July.

At day-break this morning, the rangers, from an eminence, got a view of the enemy, and, acquainting the Captain of the covering party with their situation, the necessary measures were taken to surprise and surround them: accordingly the regulars occupied the road in two places, above and below them, to cut off their retreat; and the rangers seized the high ground behind them, rushed down, [351] and gave them a fire: this the enemy, in great confusion, returned, and then, attempting to escape, the two divisions of the covering party poured in upon them, and hemmed them in, whereby the 18th.

1760. July. whole were almost killed, wounded, or made prisoners.[1] This detachment consisted of about forty of the colony-troops, commanded by a Lieutenant, who was mortally wounded.[2] The captives being secured, the signals were made, and boats, covered with floating-batteries, put off, reimbarked our men, and returned to their respective ships: the prisoners were taken on board the Diana; by them we are informed, that there are two armies advancing into the province, one by lake Ontario from Oswego, and the other by lake Champlain from Crown-Point; but that the French Generals are more alarmed at the approach of our fleet and forces, they being ignorant of our numbers, and sensible we have not so many obstacles to encounter and retard us, as those armies on the other side of the colony. A battalion of grenadiers landed at the Point where the enemy were way-laid, to refresh their men, and awe the country. The General and Colonel Burton, accompanied by Captain Deane, with a detachment of eighty men, and four floating-batteries, passed the Rapids, to join the division at anchor off Groendine;[3] the enemy endeavoured to interrupt them with their shot, which was expended in vain: at their junction they spied a large batteau deeply laden, rowing along shore near to Chambaud; whereupon a floating-battery was sent to chastise them, and, having caused the hands to abandon their vessel, one of our pinnaces put off, took the batteau, and brought her away, under a heavy discharge of musketry; we had one sailor killed and another wounded; the cargo consisted of flour, meal, barley, &c. which was sold in the fleet for eight

[1] According to the log of the *Diana*, of July 18, "At 10 a Party of ye Rangers and Troops Landed on the South Side, at 5 they Sent 3 Prisoners on board us, at 7 another Party Embark'd and Whent on Shore."

The log of the *Penzance* states that "At 3 A.M. a party of our troops Landed & took possession of a post on the So. Shore near pt. Plattong & brought off some prisoners amongst whom was the officer of the guard mortally wound'd." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 602.)

[2] Lieutenant Hertel or Hartel, Ensign in the colony troops at Fort Frontenac in 1751.

[3] Grondines, a small place forty-eight miles above Quebec.

pounds, and shared among the captors. The General and his party returned in the evening without any annoyance, and about ten o'clock the battalion of grenadiers returned to their ships; they and the rangers took a circuit of twenty miles, saw many of the inhabitants, some of whom delivered up their arms, and declared, [352] 'it was with the greatest reluctance 'on their part that we meet with any opposition from them; 'that they hope the contest will be decided in our favour this 'year, that they may remain in peace and quietness; moreover, 'they were rejoiced at our landing, as it furnished them with an 'excuse to return to their habitations, and cease all farther 'hostilities.' These people, contrary to their expectations, seeing themselves amicably received, immediately produced their butter, eggs, milk, &c. and trafficked with our troops, taking salt pork in exchange. In the evening the French Lieutenant died of his wound. 1760. July.

Being detained here by contrary winds, the remainder of the troops landed for refreshment; the rangers lay a-shore last night. The corpse of the deceased Officer was sent to Chambaud under a flag of truce.[1] The intire parish of St. Croix surrendered to-day, and delivered up their arms: by a manuscript found in one of their houses, dated the 4th of June, it appears, that the enemy had a project on foot to lay a boom a-cross the channel in the Rapids, but, recollecting the precautions that were taken last year by Admiral Saunders in working up to Quebec, they considered it would be ineffectual, and therefore laid it aside; the troops returned to their ships in the evening. The Penzance will not go higher up, and the Diana will only accompany us as far as the Three Rivers, where she is to be stationed for the protection of the navigation. 19th.

The wind came to the eastward this morning, and, as soon as the tide served, a signal was made to unmoor; but, coming 20th.

[1] John Chapman, master of the *Diana*, writes in his log under date of Saturday, July 19, 1760: "Sent the Corps of one of y^e^ Prisoners Down to Jack-Cartey with a flagg of Trouse." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 602.)

1760. July. a-head in less than an hour, and blowing fresh, we again came to an anchor. The grenadiers landed to-day, and Colonel Howe refreshes the troops of the upper division in like manner; by this means the army continues very healthy, to which the milk and vegetables, change of air, and frequent exercise, greatly contribute.

The battalion-detachments disimbarked to-day, and the General went, with the rangers and a company of light infantry, several miles up the country: fifty-five men of St. Croix, and seventy-nine [353] of the parish de Lobiniere, took the oath of neutrality. Some of his Excellency's arguments to these people were to this effect: 'Who can carry on or support the war 'without ships, artillery, ammunition, or provisions? At 'whose mercy are your habitations, and that harvest which 'you expect to reap this summer, together with all you are 'possessed of in this world? Therefore consider your own 'interest, and provoke us no more.' Then, turning to a Priest, he subjoined—'The Clergy are the source of all the 'mischiefs that have befallen the poor Canadians, whom they 'keep in ignorance, and excite to wickedness and their own 'ruin. No doubt you have heard that I hanged a Captain of 'militia; that I have a Priest and some Jesuits on board a 'ship of war, to be transmitted to Great Britain:[1] beware of 'the snare they have fallen into; *preach the Gospel*, which 'alone is your province; adhere to your duty, and do not 'presume, directly or indirectly, to intermeddle with military 'matters, or the quarrel between the two *Crowns*.' The troops reimbarked in the evening. It was this day ordered, 'when the wind is fair, to pass Chambaud; the men are not 'to be allowed to expose themselves upon deck, but to be 'kept below.'

[1] On July 20, Lord Colville made this entry in his *Journal*: "Wrote to Thomas Pownall Esq., Gov. of the Massachusets bay, that I had sent 6 prisoners in the Quebec Merchant Ship, to be taken care of in his Government." It is probable that the priest and the Jesuits referred to by Murray were among these prisoners.

A grenadier deserted yesterday, when the troops were a-shore. The General, having received intelligence that a body of Indians are sent to the south side of the river to annoy and pick off our men, has this day dispatched a flag of truce to M. du Mas,[1] Commanding Officer at Chambaud, to assure him, 'That, if these savages are not instantly recalled, or any barbarities should be committed upon our troops, they shall have 'orders to give no quarter either to regulars, or others, that 'may fall into our hands; and that the country shall undergo 'military execution, wherever we land.' The battalion corps and grenadiers are to land alternately, without farther orders; and a market is established under proper regulations, for the benefit of this armament. The tide, or current, runs here between four and five miles in an hour. The parish of St. Antoine [354] have this day delivered up their arms, and taken the oath of neutrality; as the form of swearing is solemn, it may not be improper to particularise it. The men stand in a circle, hold up their right hands, repeat each his own name, and then say,— 1760. July. 23d.

'Do severally swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that 'we will not take up arms against George the Second, King of 'Great Britain, &c. &c. or against his troops or subjects; nor 'give any intelligence to his enemies, directly or indirectly:
So Help me GOD.'

A soldier, who deserted us on the 29th of April,[2] returned to us this day. A Frenchman informs us, that four batteaus of Indians crossed over to the south country early this morning. The troops are ordered not to load their arms when a-shore, except the flanking parties, who are thrown into the woods; and no loaded arms are to be taken on ship-board, to prevent accidents.

A Serjeant of the French regulars, disguised in the habit of a Canadian peasant, was sent, by the enemy, to the south side 24th.

[1] Monsieur Dumas.
[2] Probably Walter Holdren of the 48th Regiment.

1760. July. of the river, in the capacity of a spy,[1] hoping, through him, to get an exact account of our numbers, and our intended plan of operations: this fellow was discovered by some of our men who had been in the French service, and brought to the General; being examined, he produced a forged letter in his vindication, from a Captain of militia, who, being immediately summoned, made oath, that the man was an intire stranger to him, and the letter was not his hand-writing. After the Serjeant had undergone a strict examination, and the men who had detected him having sworn to his serving in the character of a spy last year, he was condemned to be hanged, except he would make some important discoveries; and was accordingly reconducted a-shore for execution: however, being brought to the fatal tree, and disdaining so ignoble an exit, he stepped up to the Commanding Officer, and requested he would remand him to the frigate, and he would satisfy the General in every particular he [355] wished to be informed of: this being complied with, he says, 'that the whole force of the enemy, 'between les Trois Rivieres and Quebec, consists of seven 'picquets, and one company of grenadiers, amounting to four 'hundred men; that two battalions of regulars, with a body of 'Canadians and Indians, are posted at Isle Royale, Isle au Noix, 'Isle Galot, &c. &c. and that the remainder of the French army 'are cantoned between the Three Rivers and Montreal, who, 'upon the first signal, are to repair, without loss of time, to the 'island of Montreal, and defend it to the last extremity;' he adds, 'that their capital is a place of no strength; that they 'have no artillery there, except the brass field-pieces taken from 'us on the 28th of April; and, at the Three Rivers, are six 'pieces of cannon, one mortar, and about thirty men. More-'over, that our armament strikes the greatest terror imaginable, 'as the enemy are apprehensive lest General Murray should

[1] This man was evidently captured by the *Porcupine*, as the log of the *Diana* reads as follows: ". . . Sent Down from the Porkipine two Disarters and a Spie from y^e South Side." (*Canadian Archives*, M. 602.)

'attempt to complete the conquest of Canada before the arrival 1760. July.
'of the other two armies, our forces being calculated at four
'thousand regulars, besides a body of marines and rangers.' A deserter came in this morning from Montreal, who acquaints us, that the French army are greatly dissatisfied and mutinous; that the Canadians are abandoning their posts, and concealing their effects; and, finally, that one quarter of a pound of meat, with a pound of indifferent black bread, to each man per day, is their only allowance, having no other kind of provisions, nor brandy nor wine. The Louisbourg division is arrived at the island of Coudre.[1]

A signal to unmoor this morning; we sailed soon after, and 26th.
passed the Rapids without any accident, or annoyance from the enemy's battery; at six o'clock we joined the upper division off Groendine, and came to an anchor: the rangers, having lain a-shore for several nights, marched up the country a-breast of our fleet. In sailing through the Rapids of Richlieu we found six fathom water and upwards: we weighed again at twelve, and got a run of two hours, when, the wind coming right a-head, we dropped anchor. [356] Two armed boats went up this morning to the Three Rivers to sound, and, contrary to their expectations, discovered a channel along the south shore, and so close in with the land, that they expected to have been fired upon, a body of Canadians having drawn up with their arms on the heights above them; but they were not molested: a person called out in our language, 'What water have you, 'Englishmen?' And being answered, 'Sufficient to bring up 'our ships, and knock you and your houses to pieces; if you 'dare molest us, we will land our troops, burn your habitations, 'and destroy your country;' whereupon an Officer, as is sup-

[1] According to the *Journal* of Lord Colville, some of the transports from Louisbourg arrived at Quebec on the 26th, and the remainder came to anchor on the 27th. Captain Clive was ordered to take the *Hawke* sloop and an armed schooner under his command, and to proceed with the troops from Louisbourg to Platon Road, where he was to await further orders. The sloop, schooner, and transports were to be sent on to join Captain Deane.

1760. July. posed, starting up, replied,—'Let us alone, and you shall not 'meet with any annoyance; if your Officers chuse to come 'a-shore and refresh themselves, I will be answerable for their 'being at liberty to return, when they please.' This invitation was not accepted, yet, as a mark of these people's (compulsive) sincerity, two canoes put off to our boats, with a quantity of greens and salading.[1] The troops from Louisbourg are ordered not to disimbark, or make the least delay at Quebec. We are to sail, for the future, in two divisions.

27th. We worked up to-day, and came to anchor off Batiste[2] camp on the north shore, and St. Peter's[3] on the south shore; in our soundings we had not less than four, nor more than seven fathom water: we now perceive that the tide does not reach this part of the river, the current setting always one way. A great number of Canadians, crossing the river St. Ann, on the north side, our floating-batteries made towards

[1] The inhabitants were at this time anxious for peace, and few of them would take up arms willingly. There seems no reason to doubt their sincerity.

[2] Batiscan (Sainte Geneviève de Batiscan) on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. (See plan.) The Jesuit Fathers had received the seigneury by donation from Messire Jacques de La Ferté, Chaplain to the King in 1639. The deed does not give the date of the original grant. Samuel Holland gives the following description of the parish in 1760 on his map, the original of which is in the Public Archives of Canada: "Parish of Batiscant. Batiscant is two leagues in length along the St. Lawrence, and seven in depth upon the R. Batiscant; the part upon each River furnishes a Compy of Militia, that upon the great River has 42 families and as many men able to carry Arms, the other contains 89 families and can raise 100 Militia, exclusive of Officers; the Jesuits are Seigrs of the whole; there is a Wind Mill upon the former, and a Water one upon the latter; the soil of both is good and produces all sorts of grain; there are two Churches, but one priest serves them both."

[3] St. Pierre les Becquets on the south shore. (See plan.) Holland gives the following on his map of the parish in 1760:

"St. Peter's has Monsr le Vrar (an officer in the French Artillery) for its Seigr; it extends two leagues along the St. Lawrence, and is 4 in depth; there are 35 Families and 45 Men able to carry Arms here; the soil near the River is very Sandy, but further back towards the wood, where concessions have been lately granted, and houses now building, the soil is rich and good. Pierre Brisson the present Capt of Militia built the first House of this Parish 40 years ago, but the Seigry was granted some time before that."

them, fired several rounds, and obliged them to retire farther into the country: they were on horseback, filing upwards to the Three Rivers. A body of men in arms being assembled, in a hostile manner, on a plain, a little way from the church of Batiste camp,[1] an armed sloop and two floating-batteries edged over, and canonaded them for half an hour; the spirited Canadians boldly sallied down within reach of musketry, fired upon the vessels, and retired: this was repeated, until at length a shot [357] took place among them, killed one man, and disabled two others; then they thought proper to desist: we sustained no other damage than having the rigging of one of our batteries cut away. 1760. July.

The Diana, with Colonel Burton's division,[2] joined us this morning, at nine o'clock, when the whole fleet weighed; and, after two hours' pleasant sailing, we came to an anchor off Point Champlain,[3] where there stands an elegant church: the country still continues high on the south side, but flat and accessible on the north, since we doubled the entrance of the river St. Ann.[4] We discovered a large body of the enemy last night on the north shore, both regulars and militia, who narrowly watch our motions, having marched this morning, in great order, upon seeing our ships get under way; a sloop came express from Quebec, with an account of the arrival of the troops from Louisbourg, consisting of two regiments, who are to reinforce us without any other delay, than to drop some unnecessary baggage below, and take in wood and water. 28th.

The flat-bottomed boats returned to Quebec, on the 31st.

[1] There were two churches in the parish in 1760.

[2] See p. 472.

[3] Point Champlain, near the river Champlain, on the north shore. This seigneury was granted to Étienne Pezard de la Touche in 1664. In 1760 there were 38 families residing in the parish and 40 men able to carry arms.

[4] River St. Anne, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, below Batiscan. The seigneury was granted to Jacques Thomas Tarieu de Lanaudière in 1672. In 1760 there were 95 families in the parish and a small company of militia.

1760. July. evening of the 29th, to escort the Louisbourg division. Our fleet sailed this morning at seven o'clock, the enemy politely attending us; at ten we came to an anchor in seven fathom water: the channel runs by the north shore; the least soundings we had were three fathom and a half; at twelve the Porcupine sloop, armed schooner, and floating-batteries, with the second brigade, weighed again; at four P.M. we were obliged to come to an anchor about a league below the Three Rivers, the Porcupine having grounded a-breast of the lower part of the parish of St. Magdalene,[1] on the north side; and la Puante or Beçancour,[2] on the south; some of our largest transports luckily escaped sharing the same fate; the Duke, a cat of three hundred and fifty tons, with our detachment on board, happily avoided this shoal, by suddenly laying the helm hard a-starboard, which brought us into deep water: our soundings from three fathom and a quarter to four and a half. The sloop of war put out a large anchor a considerable way a-head, hoping thereby to warp off; but, by the [358] breaking of the cable, she was compelled to remain fast until the

[1] Cape Magdalene on the north shore near the mouth of the river St. Maurice. (See plan.) A grant was made here to Quentin Moral de St. Quentin in 1656. *Holland's Map* gives this description of the parish in 1760: "Cape Magdelaine has the Jesuits for Seig^{rs}; it is one league along the St. Lawrence, but its limits back from it are not fixed; it contains 27 Families and 30 Men able to carry Arms; the Land tho' Sandy yields plenty of grain of all kinds, especially Indian Corn, which they raise here to perfection; there is a good water Mill which serves not only the parish, but the Inhabitants of Becancour and Gentilly from the South Shore."

[2] Beçancour, on the south shore, granted to Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny in 1647, is described as follows on *Holland's Map*, in 1760: "Becancour, granted about 100 years ago, is composed of two Seig^{rys}, one upon each side of the river to which it gives its Name; it is two leagues in front and of the same Depth; Mons^{r} la Frenier is Seig^{r} of that of Necto, as Mons^{r} Montissau is of that of Becancour; there are 50 Families and 40 Men able to bear Arms; they have no mill in the Parish, and the Inhabitants upon that Acc^{t} are obliged to carry their grain to Cape Magdelaine. There is a tribe of the Abenakee's Nation have lived here these 60 years past; before the War they had 150 able to carry Arms, but by the Enemy in the Field and by the smallpox at home, they are now reduced to 31 Warriors."

next day, and thereby lost a favourable wind, with a loom gale. An island is situated in the entrance of the river Puante,[1] and, in the opening on the east side of it, we saw a neat Indian settlement, and a small sloop at anchor, with a boat a-stern of her: our floating-batteries looked in, but, not having an armed boat to cover them, came off without making any attempt. Blowing weather this evening. 1760. July.

On the 1st instant the Porcupine made a second attempt to warp off, and broke another cable; she then took out her guns and part of her ballast, by which means they towed her into deep water, without any difficulty, or damage to her bottom, having grounded on a loose sand; the Diana rubbed yesterday, but received no prejudice. The batteries at Trois Rivieres being thought to be more respectable than they are in reality, it was recommended to put the troops into boats, and other small craft drawing little water, until they should pass these batteries; but some boats, with a covering party and two floats, being sent once more (on the 2d) to sound the south coast.[2] August. 1st.

The French, having confidently asserted there being only one channel, found another, with sufficient depth of water, by which the fleet may pass without any apprehensions of annoyance, the river being there of a considerable breadth. 2d.

On this day the fleet weighed, and, a few hours after, came to an anchor in seven fathom water off the point and church of St. Magdalene, on the north shore: the different soundings in our course were from four and a half to nine fathom; M. Bourlemacque is now at les Trois Rivieres, at the head of six thousand men. The General, with the Colonels Burton and Howe, went up this evening to reconnoitre. 3d.

This day Major Agnew, with a detachment, were sent to 4th.

[1] The river Beçancour divides at its mouth, the westerly arm taking the name Puant.

[2] The city of Three Rivers is situated on the north shore of the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the river St. Maurice. A few colonists settled there in the year 1633, and in 1634 a fort, commanding the river, was built by Laviolette.

1760. August. the parish of Beçancour to cover some wood-boats, the transports being in want of fewel: the Major was told, by a Captain of militia, [359] 'that, four or five days ago, the 'Officer, commanding at les Trois Rivieres, received orders 'from M. Vaudreuil not to fire on our fleet, except he should 'be first attacked; that to-morrow he will deliver up the arms 'of the parish, the inhabitants whereof are determined to 'submit, and take the oath of neutrality: the Priests and 'militia Officers having received directions on this head from 'the Governor-General, and to make the best terms for them-'selves and their districts, wherever we may be disposed to 'land; the Captain then added, that these orders were in con-'sequence of a resolution formed to capitulate for the colony, 'as soon as General Amherst should arrive on the island of 'Montreal, they having received undoubted intelligence that 'his Excellency is advancing with a numerous army.'—At four P.M. both divisions unmoored, and worked up a-breast of les Trois Rivieres, where we came to an anchor, close to the south shore, in seven fathom water. This government[1] derives

[1] The government of Three Rivers consisted of eighteen parishes, eleven of which were on the north shore and seven on the south shore of the St. Lawrence. The eastern boundary was at Grondines, and the western boundary was near Yamaska Bay. The entire French population of the eighteen parishes in 1762 was 6472. There were in addition about 200 Acadians within the jurisdiction, and the Algonquin village and the two villages of the Abenaki Indians contributed about 500 people. The most important industry within the district was the St. Maurice Forges, situated about seven miles below the town of Three Rivers on the St. Maurice River. In 1760 the establishment consisted of one furnace and two forges situated upon a rivulet whose waters never froze. There were a large storehouse for the manager of the works and several wooden buildings for the workers. The iron was tested by order of General Amherst and found to be greatly superior to any made in America or even that which was imported from Sweden. Under the French regime the mine had been granted to a company, and the King assisted the enterprise by granting a loan of £3000 to the company. In consideration of this loan the company undertook to supply all the iron required for the use of the King at the rate of $2.50 per hundredweight. This does not appear to have been a profitable arrangement, and in 1742 the King withdrew the grant and placed the forges under the direction of the Intendant. In 1746 one furnace returned 1,011,523 pounds of cast iron, which yielded 500,000

A VIEW OF THREE RIVERS IN 1759

From "The Universal Magazine"

its name from one single river,[1] which is about two leagues and an half to the northward of St. Lawrence, where it discharges itself, branches out into three streams or rivulets, not fordable except for horses, and are intersected by two islands, or uninhabited strips of land, producing only rushes and under-wood; the capital, which is situated at a small distance higher up, is but an open straggling village, with batteries close to the banks of this river; it lies very low, and is a fair object for a bombardment: the French have always hitherto dignified it with the appellation of a garrison town of great consequence. 1760. August.

About ten o'clock last night the enemy were alarmed, and fired a volley of musketry opposite to our fleet; this was immediately succeeded by an irregular discharge from right to left, which continued above a quarter of an hour; we were at a loss to what cause to attribute this commotion, but learned this morning that it proceeded from one of our traders having attempted to cut off a French sloop from the lowermost of the three rivers: they [360] got her anchor into the boat, but, being discovered, were obliged to put off without their prize; the Master of the trader, and two of his men, were wounded: at that instant another boat that was passing within the reach of the shore, having an Officer on board who was distributing orders, was hailed by the enemy, and asked—Are ye French in that boat—Are ye coming a-shore? To each of these interrogatories, being answered in the negative, they replied, 'Then you may freely pass.' The inhabitants of the south coast come on board our ships without reserve, supplying us 5th.

weight of pure iron. However, it was considered necessary to appoint a director, a comptroller, a contractor for provisions, several overseers-in-chief, a chaplain, and many other officers, at large salaries, and, as no attention was paid to the land in the vicinity, all the produce required was brought from a distance. In the hands of Bigot the establishment soon became more burthensome than profitable to the Crown. In 1760 all the buildings were in a ruinous condition. There was a large quantity of timber in the district suitable for shipbuilding, and it was proposed to establish rope-walks in many of the parishes. (See Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 64.)

[1] The St. Maurice.

1760. August. with vegetables, poultry, eggs, and whatsoever else they can spare, in exchange for salt pork and beef; on the former of these three articles they set the highest value, on account of the eels, and other fish, which they are desirous to preserve against the winter. The Canadians say, if our fleet should remain here a week to intercept the communication between the garrison and the south country, they, being in such distress for provisions, would be compelled to disperse and abandon their works at the village; but a delay here on this account would be absurd, as that wretched place must share the fate of Montreal, and the remainder of the country, upon our junction with the other armies acting by the lakes.[1] The enemy appear jealous of our landing at Trois Rivieres, and are therefore very diligent in throwing up retrenchments to cover the most accessible places.

6th. The inhabitants of the parish of Beçancour are become subjects to his Britannic Majesty.

7th. The General received intelligence, this evening, that a body of Indians are come to our landing-place, on the south side, to way-lay the next boats that shall put a-shore: in consequence whereof, a positive order is issued to prevent any boats attempting to land, without express commands from his Excellency.[2]

[1] On August 5, Amherst, at Oswego, made preparations to proceed to Montreal with the following regiments:

"The 1st and 2nd battalions of Royal Highlanders, the forty fourth regiment, forty sixth, fifty fifth, fourth battalion of the sixtieth, eight companies of the seventy seventh, five of the eightieth, five hundred and ninety seven Grenadiers, five hundred and ninety seven Light Infantry, one hundred and forty six Rangers, three battalions of the New York Regiment, the New Jersey Regiment, four battalions of the Connecticut Regiment, and one hundred and sixty seven of the Royal Artillery; amounting, in the whole, to ten thousand one hundred and forty-two effective men, officers included. The Indians under Sir William Johnson were seven hundred and six." (Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, p. 301.)

[2] On August 7, Lévis wrote to the Maréchal de Belle Isle:

"The courier not having been able to leave since my last letter of July 14, I have the honour to inform you, herewith, that the enemy left Quebec since July 14 with forty sail and a landing force of two thousand five hundred men. They have received a reinforcement of about a thousand men at Quebec, since the departure of the troops referred to. Those who left first are by this time

Our fleet sailed this morning; upon the signal being made to get under sail, the armed vessels and floating-batteries ranged themselves half channel over, opposite to the enemy's 1760. August. 8th.

as high up as Three Rivers. Our detachment, which was at Dechambeau, is following them along the north bank. Their objective appears to be Montreal or Sorel, in order to effect a junction with Mr. Amherst. We have no means of stopping them. We are intrenching the islands at the opening of Lake St. Peter; but, as there are several channels, and we are without artillery and powder, we are merely making a show of defence in order to delay their advance. We shall make it an essential matter to defend Montreal and the north shore to the utmost of our ability. The people of the country are terrified at the fleet; they fear lest their houses should be burned.

"We are at the very crisis of our fate. Mr. Amherst has collected fourteen to fifteen thousand men at St. Frederick. Another strong force has assembled at Choagen, to push through by way of the Rapids. They will undoubtedly set out so as to act all together at the same time.

"If they have put off until now, it was probably to await the harvest-time, in order to deprive us of the farmers, in the expectation that we should have difficulty in collecting them at this season.

"We shall act as I had the honour to inform you in my former letter. We shall make use of every possible means to save the colony; our situation is, however, so unfortunate that it will need miracles to do so.

"Our armies will only have bread to eat, and not much of that.

"The lack of flour, and the discredit of the commissary general's paper money and bills of exchange, which make it impossible to secure any, have led me to make strong representations to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and to the Intendant that we could procure flour, were we to pledge ourselves personally, and that I would undertake to induce the troops to give up whatever little money they might still have and to employ officers fitted to discharge this duty in making this levy. This MM. de Vaudreuil and Bigot having agreed to, the plan produced the result I had looked for and supplied us with the means of obtaining bread for this month. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendant have pledged themselves for this purchase, even as I have done.

"I am continually on the move towards each and all of the threatened points in order to put all things in readiness, and to prepare all possible means of defence; I am just now starting for Lake St. Peter.

"P.S.—I am back from the islands of Lake St. Peter, where is the English fleet. It has been increased by twenty-eight sail. There are no means of stopping them at the islands, or between them and Montreal. There is reason to believe that they will either endeavour to establish themselves at the mouth of the Sorel River, or that they will come straight on to Montreal. We have just learned that three battalions of reinforcements have reached Quebec (a fourth, of the Louisbourg garrison, is expected there), and that they have blown up the latter place. Their Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain armies are likewise on the move, and will shortly come into touch with us.

"The passage of the Quebec fleet up the river will compel us to abandon

1760. August. batteries, [361] and remained in that situation until the whole of our convoy had passed the village: the troops, apparently about two thousand, lined their different works, and were in general cloathed as regulars, except a very few Canadians, and about fifty naked Picts, or savages, their bodies being painted of a reddish colour, their faces of different colours, which I plainly discerned with my glass; and otherwise whimsically disfigured, to strike terror into their enemies: their light cavalry, who paraded along shore, seemed to be well appointed, cloathed in blue, faced with scarlet; but their Officers had white uniforms; in fine, their troops, batteries, fair-looking houses, their situation on the banks of a delightful river, our fleet sailing triumphantly before them, with our floats drawn up in line of battle, the country on both sides interspersed with neat settlements, together with the verdure of the fields and trees, afforded, with the addition of clear pleasant weather, as agreeable a prospect as the most lively imagination can conceive. The ground round the E. and N. E. parts of the village is high, with a steep sandy bank to the river, and a breast-work on the summit of it, terminating, or rather communicating with, two small redoubts, thrown up on two points of land: the upper part is low, almost level with the water; but they have been at much pains to intrench it to a windmill, about a quarter of a mile above the place, where they have erected a strong redoubt, communicating again to a larger one, on an eminence about three hundred yards N. W. of the mill, where I could perceive they had some guns mounted: and, between the village, the intrenchments along shore, and these two redoubts, were various traverses and other works, indicating an intention to have disputed every inch of ground with us, if we had made a descent there; which it may be presumed they expected.

all the frontiers. The junction of their three armies will then take place without opposition, and, when complete, will give them at least forty thousand men in the heart of the colony. You know the force at our disposal and can judge what the outcome must be. If we do not save the colony, we shall at least save the honour of the King's arms." (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. p. 374.)

Their houses are built of wood, except the churches and convents, which are of stone, and very magnificent; yet, upon the whole, the village of Trois Rivieres has all the appearance of an infant settlement, situated in a barren part of the country; immediately opposite to it is the parish of the [362] Recollects,[1] who have a college at the Three Rivers: the land there is well cultivated, seemingly fertile, and abounding in every thing.—After we had passed the insignificant capital of this much boasted government, the garrison filed off to the right, in order to attend our motions, preceded by the savages and light cavalry; before twelve we came to an anchor in ten fathom water, but, the wind then freshening, we instantly weighed, and continued our course another hour, when it died away, and we came to again in seven fathom and an half, at the entrance of Lake St. Peter; the lands in general, on the banks of this lake, are wild and woody. The river gradually widens from Trois Rivieres to the gulph, but the navigation is difficult; many of our vessels, having grounded, were obliged to lighten, before they could get off: the center of the river is the deepest channel, inclining rather to the south country; our soundings very irregular from three to nine, and once we got thirteen fathom. At half after three o'clock we worked higher up in the lake, and, before five, we anchored in three fathom, but, finding our situation indifferent, with a prospect of blowing weather, we weighed again, and sailed until eight in the evening, when the whole brought to, in two fathom and an half. We had a view of a neat Indian settlement, called Nachissipe,[2] on the north side of the lake, with a decent church at a small distance above it, almost opposite to the river Nicodel,[3] on the south coast: this lake is of a circular form, 1760. August.

[1] See plan.

[2] An Algonquin village; see map.

[3] Nicolet. Holland writes of it as follows on his map in 1760: "Nicolet was conceded 80 years ago to Mon^r Loviague (who was Capt^n in the Reg^t Carignan), and about seventy years ago Mon^r Crissey (?) [Cressé] bought the Seig^n and it now continues in his Family; it is two Leagues in Front and five in depth; there are 78 Families and 90 Men to carry Arms in this Parish; it has two Churches, and one Priest serves both."

1760. August. about six leagues a-cross; and the waters remarkably green like the ocean; our soundings from two to three fathom.

9th. Some boats went a-head this morning to sound, and were chaced by one of the enemy's galiots: the fleet weighed at eight o'clock, and we may rather be said to have plowed than sailed; for our largest ships mudded the water with the soft sand or slime at bottom, which was discernible in their stern-way; and at length, the Porcupine having grounded about a quarter past ten, we came to an anchor in two fathom, the only soundings we had in our course; and surrounded [363] with the decayed stumps of trees. Hitherto we have kept too much to the north coast; for our boats, having sounded in different parts of the lake, found a channel with three fathom, steady soundings, nearer to, and within a league of, the south country; so that our ships sheered over there in the evening. Lord Rollo,[1] who commands the regiments from Louisbourg, has received orders to land five hundred men on the north shores, to disarm and swear the inhabitants, whenever it can be accomplished without retarding his junction with our armament.

10th. Several of our ships warped a-head to-day, and the Porcupine has taken out her guns, and part of her ballast, which were put on board of vessels drawing less water, to inable her to get off. Ordered this evening that the floating-batteries, with the grenadiers of the first brigade, and the whole of our light troops, are to be in readiness to land at the village of St. Francis, to-morrow morning, under the command of Major Agnew; an Officer and a Quarter-Master from each battalion and detachment are to go a-shore at the same time, to provide vegetables and other refreshments for their respective corps; these troops are to endeavour to get some intelligence of the army under Brigadier Haviland, to whom a small party of rangers are to be detached.[2]

[1] Andrew, Lord Rollo, Lieutenant-Colonel, 22nd Regiment, October 1756; appointed Colonel of the same regiment in February 1762; Brigadier in America in 1760.

[2] See p. 525.

The morning being wet, with a heavy fog abroad, the signal for the grenadiers and light troops to rendezvous was not thrown out until ten o'clock, when it began to clear up: between eleven and twelve, they rowed off under cover of the floating-batteries; about two we made the entrance of the river St. Francis,[1] at the distance of a quarter of a mile, when the boats were ordered to lie on their oars, that the Commanding Officer might get a little a-head to reconnoitre: the enemy, as if jealous of our designs, then shewed themselves from the skirts of a thick wood, which covers the shore on each side of the river, and appeared numerous; but the General, wisely considering the necessity of acting with precaution to insure the success of the campaign, ordered Major Agnew not [364] to attempt a descent, if he saw any appearance of troops, as he naturally concluded they would endeavour to cut off our communication with that river: therefore, after viewing each other for some time, we rowed back 1760. August. 11th.

[1] This seigneury was granted to Jacques Crevier in 1678. This note is found on *Holland's Map* of 1760:

"St. François was granted 80 years ago and the Seig^{r} still goes by that name, the fourth from him is present Seig^{r}; the parish is two leagues in front and three in depth, three Islands which are well inhabited belong to him also, there is a windmill but not sufficient to serve all the inhabitants, there are 47 families and 45 Men capable of carrying Arms here. In this Parish dwells a Tribe of the Abenaki Indians; before the Siege of Quebec their number was 200 fighting men, but the 25th September 1759 a party from General Amherst's Army surprised them in their Village, burnt their Houses and Church, and they have not since that time been so numerous there; some however are come lately, so that at present 80 Hunters belong to the Village, the rest are in different parts of the wood; there is a Miss^{ry} who stays with them here to whom the French King allowed 1800 livres annually, and 'twas he had the Distribution of such presents as were made to the Indians by the Gov^{r} Gen^{l}. [The Indians] are great lovers of Spirituous Liquors, [and take every means to] get it. [They have] several English words which they pronounce [, that have the same] Signification as in the English language, proper names of things, such as house [, h]orse, Sheep, Cow, Pig and the like; this is very probably owing [to their being] entirely strangers to those Animals, etc., before they came [among] Civilized people and therefore have given them no different Names. . . . All Kings of whatever country they name Iames from his being the first that ever was made mention of to them, when they resided in Nova Scotia."

1760, August. to our ships; a flag of truce was to have been sent to the Captain of the militia, at St. Francis, to summon the parish to surrender; but Monsieur Bourlemacque, and his regulars, having given us ocular proof of their being there before us, rendered it needless to give ourselves any farther trouble. Towards six in the evening, the wind being favourable, the fleet weighed, and, after a run of three hours, we came to an anchor in two fathom and an half; our course was W. S. W.

12th. Seven flat-bottomed boats, who had been detached to pilot up the Louisbourg division, rejoined us late last night; when they came away, the troops were a-shore at Point Champlain: Lord Rollo first landed five hundred men at Batiste camp,[1] marched from thence to the church of Champlain, and disarmed those parishes, with that of St. Magdalene. All the drums on board each ship in the fleet are ordered to beat the regular beatings every morning and evening, and the Fifers to join them, taking the signal from the Drummers on board the Porcupine. A Pilot, who surrendered to the Diana frigate, and has been transmitted to us, says, that, in our course through St. Peter's lake, we kept too much to the north; that the channel is on the south side, and has not less than three fathom soundings. We have the pleasure to be ascertained of the success of some of our ships of war in the bay of Chaleurs: the Fame, Dorsetshire, Achilles, Scarborough and Repulse, under Commodore Byron, from Louisbourg, with the Prince of Orange, Rochester, Eurus, and three armed vessels from Quebec, all in pursuit of the same object, met in the bay, to the bottom of which they detached a small craft to reconnoitre; who soon returned, and reported that a French frigate, with twenty-one sail of transports and store-ships, were at anchor off Ristigouchi, a settlement [365] which the enemy had on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, and was a kind of capital to the barbarous rabble of that country.—On the 9th of July, the Commodore, seeing them busily employed in landing their

[1] Batiscan.

stores, disembarked a body of seamen, under proper Officers, who spiritedly advanced to attack the village, and the two batteries along shore, while our ships cannonaded those of the enemy: the frigate, called the Machaux, and mounting thirty guns, soon struck her colours; which example was followed by the other ships, and, the inhabitants thrown into consternation, some fled, and others surrendered. The wine, brandy, and other provisions, with other valuable articles, being removed from the enemy's store-ships, and dispersed on board of our men of war, the Commodore burned and destroyed the whole convoy, together with the batteries on shore, and the settlement of Ristigouchi before-mentioned, consisting of two hundred houses, with a large magazine of fish; and, in short, every thing that these wretched people were possessed of; this important service was admirably performed by our united squadrons under the Captains Byron and Wallis, who, for their spirit, diligence and activity, are justly intitled to a great share of applause.[1]—At five o'clock A.M. our fleet weighed; our 1760. August.

[1] An account of this attack is given by Commodore Byron himself, in his report to Lord Colville:

"'FAME,' BAY OF CHALEURS,
"*July* 14, 1760.

"MY LORD,—I send your Lordship enclosed a copy of a Letter I received from General Whitmore informing me of some French Ships and Troops arriving at Ristigouchi in this Bay, upon which I immediately put to Sea with his Majesty's Ships Achilles, Dorsetshire, Repulse and Scarborough. I parted Company with them the first Night in very bad weather and got here five or six days before them. We took an armed Schooner of six Carriage Guns and ten Swivels with our Boats near Point Goacha, but forty-seven Men she had on board escap'd in the woods. I went in the Barge to discover where the french Ships lay and after Rowing four or five Leagues got sight of them. As soon as I return'd I sent to sound the Channel but found it extreamly narrow and difficult, however we got the Ship within three Leagues of them and the first Battery. The next day in running up to them we got aground where I thought we never should have got off again. The Enemy seeing us in that Situation I have since learnt were coming down to Board us, but thought better of it. The Schooner carried our small Bower out with two Cables on End, and after nine or ten hours work we got off. The next day our Ships appear'd, the Repulse and Scarborough join'd me, but the former got aground in doing it and lay some hours. The Achilles and Dorsetshire

1760. August. soundings from three to four and an half, until we cleared St. Peter's lake, at the W. S. W. end of which the channel runs through a clutch of islands,[1] where we got into deep water, from five to seven fathom and an half, with bold shores; we were interrupted in our course by a boom thrown by the enemy a-cross the river, so that we were obliged to come to an anchor at nine o'clock, until this obstacle could be removed. I think nothing could equal the beauties of our navigation this morning, with which I was exceedingly charmed: the meandring course of the channel, so narrow that an active person might have stepped a-shore from our transports, either to the right

remain'd four or five leagues below us. I went up with the two Frigates to the first Battery, but we were all aground a dozen times before we could accomplish it. As soon as we fired in the Fame they run from the Battery, which was a regular built one with four twelve pounders and one six. We landed our People, destroy'd it and about two hundred houses. The French Ships got up higher two or three Leagues, but we observed were often aground. We lighten'd the two Frigates as much as possible, as there was not above two fathom and a half water, and after infinite difficulty they got up pretty near them. The French Frigate lay close to a Battery of six Guns, four twelves and two Six's. After firing two or three hours, the Frigate Struck and afterwards Blew up. She was call'd the Machaut and mounted thirty twelve pounders; much about the same time a large Storeship Blew up. In short they destroyed in all twenty-two Vessels, most of them with valuable Cargoes. The French say they have lost at least two hundred thousand pounds besides the Settlements being totally ruin'd. Out of another Storeship we got Sixty-two English Prisoners and then set her on fire with her whole Cargo on Board, unfortunately in her we lost six of our own People. Le Blanc came in here from Miramichi with nine Vessels the day before I did; he has done great Mischief to our Trade, but I believe it is out of his Power to do more for some time, as he has lost all his Fleet. The French had about thirty kill'd and wounded. We had only four kill'd and nine or ten wounded (excepting those lost in the Ship). I have sent the Repulse to Halifax to refit, as her Masts, Hull and Rigging are much Shatter'd. As soon as ever he can get ready he is to return to Louisbourg. I take the opportunity of sending your Lordship this by Captain Wallis, who had heard of these Ships, and was coming up the Bay as we were going down.

"I am Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant,

"T. BYRON.

"A copy. COLVILLE.

"To the Right Honble. the LORD COLVILL."

(*Canadian Archives*, M. 652-B: *Admirals' Despatches*, vol. 482.)

[1] See plan.

or left; the awfulness and solemnity of the dark forests with which these islands are covered, together with the fragrancy of the spontaneous fruits, shrubs, and flowers; the [366] verdure of the water by the reflection of the neighbouring woods, the wild chirping notes of the feathered inhabitants, the masts and sails of ships appearing as if among the trees, both a-head and a-stern; heightened by the promiscuous noise of the seamen, and the confused chatter of the rapturous troops on their decks; formed, all together, such an inchanting diversity, as would be far superior to the highest and most laboured description; in short the novelist and the painter could here find copious entertainment in their respective professions, exhibited in the rural and romantic, and in the greatest perfection.—The boom consisted of a sixteen-inch cable, run through a parcel of thick iron rings, covered with spars or clamps of wood, lashed round with cordage: at the two extremities, on two islands situated rather obliquely than otherwise, were large square redoubts, so shaded by trees that they were not perceptible until the ships advanced close upon them; our seamen were three hours employed in cutting away this boom, and were rewarded for their trouble by a great anchor, to which it was moored in the center of the channel. About noon we weighed again, the fleet being ordered to sail in a single line, the largest ships thrown into two divisions, forming the van and rear, with the small craft in the center; between six and seven we made the parish and hamlet of Sorrel,[1] watered by a river of the same name, seemingly navigable only for boats; by which the lakes George and Champlain communicate with the river St. Law- 1760. August.

[1] Sorel. *Holland's Map* gives the following account of the parish in 1760: "This Parish extends about two leagues along the St. Lawrence upon the same depth; it was conceded in 1672 to Mons[r] Sorel, an Officer, and belongs at present by purchase to Mons[r] Ramsey, Lieut. du Roy at Quebec in 1759. The present possessor obtained a grant of one league farther back in 1739. . . . The River Richelieu is otherwise vulgarly called the Sorrel, because it empties itself into the St. Lawrence about the center of this Parish; it is Navigable at all times for large ships up to St. Ours, about three leagues from the Embrochure, and in Spring to Chambly, twelve leagues further up."

1760. August. rence: about eight we came to an anchor, in seven fathom, steady soundings, between Sorrel and the island of St. Ignatius.[1] At the left side of the entrance of the river Sorrel the enemy have established a post, to frustrate our junction with Brigadier Haviland's corps, or acquiring any intelligence from that quarter; to which end the inhabitants of the parish, reinforced by other militia and four hundred marines, have intrenched themselves in a very respectable manner along shore, to prevent a descent: and, in case their lines should be forced, they have thrown up other works at the [367] church and windmill; and, a little higher, a square picqueted fort, where I can observe they have mounted a number of swivels.

13th. Our fleet worked higher up, and, in the space of two hours and an half, came to an anchor, in nine fathom; the river now begins to widen, and we have a delightful country on every side of us. A soldier, who deserted us last year, came to the island of St. Ignatius, and surrendered to some of our boats who went a-shore for refreshments; by him we learn that M. Bourlemacque is arrived at Sorrel, with two battalions of regulars and a body of militia from St. Francis. At three o'clock P.M. the Porcupine, with part of the fleet and our floating-batteries, fell down again a-breast of the entrance of Sorrel river, where they came to an anchor: some flat-bottomed boats are detached to hasten up the Louisburg division. The enemy report that they have got a frigate of thirty-six guns, which, with their two galiots and several floating-batteries, are to be sent down to attack and destroy our fleet: in consequence of this information the remainder of our ships were ordered to drop down and anchor a-stern of the Porcupine; and some guard-boats, covered with three floats, are also ordered to moor a considerable way a-head at night-fall, and retire in the morning. A boat this

[1] *Holland's Map* mentions the island of St. Ignace as part of Sorel, and states that "Isle St. Ignace is the principal (dependency) and has about 27 Families, is about a league and a half long, upon a breadth of forty Arpents; there is channel between it and the Isle du Pas about an Arpent and a half broad."

morning, rowing from one ship to another, kept so close to the south shore, that a French centinel hailed those who were a-board her, and desired they would steer farther out, or he should be obliged to fire upon them. A Serjeant and four rangers are detached express to Brigadier Haviland. The male inhabitants of the fertile island of Ignatius having deserted their houses and families to join the enemy, the Quarter-Master-General is ordered to land to-morrow, and collect such refreshments as the island affords, which are afterwards to be distributed among the troops; the General forbids—'any pork 'or salt being sent a-shore for traffick, the inhabitants having 'forfeited every thing on the island by their obstinacy.' 1760. August.

[368] The first battalion of grenadiers, with the rangers and a command of five hundred men from the other corps, landed this morning, to make fascines: this island abounds with corn, cattle, and poultry; and here are several good settlements. I saw a young man to-day, who escaped to us; he was formerly a Fifer in the thirty-fifth regiment, was made prisoner by the Indians at Fort William Henry in 1757, and speaks the French of this country, with great fluency; but, what is most remarkable, he cannot utter a single word of his mother-tongue, neither can he understand it when spoken to him: this is a surprising instance of defect of memory in this youth, now in the eighteenth year of his age; he told me he was glad to see the British army in this country, and happy at the thoughts of regaining his liberty; for, though he was exceedingly well treated by the French, the reflexion of an Englishman's being sold as a slave tormented him day and night, and he often harboured thoughts of destroying himself, but had not resolution to execute it. In the afternoon, when part of the troops were reimbarked, and half-way to their ships, we were alarmed by some soldiers, who affirmed they saw a large body of French regulars actually on their march from the other end of the island, flanked by parties of Canadian militia; whereupon, the boats that had put off were called back, and those 14th.

1760. August. which were ready to reimbark were marched up to the high ground, and drawn up in order of battle; at the same time an express was sent to the General. The grenadiers and rangers, under Major Agnew, had taken a tour round the island, and picked up a great number of seamen and disorderly soldiers, who had been plundering the inhabitants; these, with the darkness of the weather, inclining to rain, and some shots being wantonly fired by the sailors at horses, were the cause of the alarm: a second express was about to be detached for the General, when he made his appearance in his barge, after circulating his orders to the rest of the forces on board to accoutre, and be ready to land at a moment's warning: [369] by this time the grenadiers, rangers, and stragglers rejoined us, when the Major assured his Excellency, who was now come a-shore, that the alarm was groundless, and that there was not an enemy on the island; the troops were therefore marched down to the beach, reimbarked, and returned to their respective transports. The Porcupine and armed vessels edged over to the south shore, cannonaded the enemy at Sorrel, and played several cohorns into their works.

15th. The disorders committed yesterday a-shore, which were the causes of the army's being alarmed, were severely, and with great justice, censured in this day's orders; and the General has declared, that, if any soldier presumes to plunder, or offer any violence to the women on the island, he will be instantly hanged;[1] Captain Deane has issued the like orders to all the seamen. The weather, being stormy to-day, prevented the troops' landing, as was intended; the enemy are very attentive to all our signals; when the last was thrown out for the Adjutants of regiments, they assembled on the plain within-side of their works, formed, and ran down to their trenches with a great shout. The people of this country have not so

[1] This order was necessary, as the male inhabitants had left the island on military duty and the women were without protection. The seamen in particular seem to have been a disorderly body of men.

much the appearance of poverty, as those immediately in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and the lower country; I have been in a great many farm-houses since I embarked on this expedition, and I may venture to advance, that in every one of them I have seen a good loaf, too, or three, according to the number of the family, of excellent wheaten bread; and such of the inhabitants as came on board our ships, from time to time, in order to traffick, disdained our biscuits, upon being offered refreshments; and drew some good bread from their own pockets to eat with the victuals that were presented to them; in short, notwithstanding all that has been said of the immense distresses and starving condition of the Canadians, I do not find that there is any real want, except for luxuries, viz. pickled pork or beef, sugar, salt, pepper, ginger, soap, tobacco, spirituous liquors, and wine; the meaner sort of people drink water, but the beverage of their [370] betters is spruce-beer, sweetened with maple-sugar *,[1] instead of molasses; while their

1760. August.

* The tree whence this is extracted bears no resemblance to the maple in Europe; it is as tall as the loftiest oak, about two yards a half in circumference; the bark brown, the wood of a pale mahogany colour; the sap which it yields has an exceeding pleasant taste, and makes the wholesomest drink in the world, particularly in fevers and other epidemical disorders. This liquor is drawn by cutting the tree two inches deep, to the length of about one foot: at the lower end of this wound, which does not prejudice the tree, is fixed a small trough, made of reed or cane, about six inches long, with a vessel underneath to receive the sap; some trees will yield five or six bottles of this liquor in a day, of which the Americans make syrup and sugar; and is in much estimation, agreeing admirably well with the stomach: it is accounted an exceeding good pectoral, and I have frequently received great benefit, in violent colds, by eating this sugar, or dissolving it in small punch or negus, to promote perspiration; it is of a dark grey sandy colour, resembling a candied kind of bread made by confectioners, but so hard and solid, that it is not easily broken.—In the foregoing manner they bleed the spruss-tree (but the incision does not require to be so deep or long) whence they extract the finest balsam imaginable, most gratefully fragrant; is a sovereign remedy in many disorders, less heating to some constitutions than balsam of Peru or Capivi, and is of infinite benefit in all external bruises or green wounds.—The time for drawing the sap or liquor from these trees is from the middle of February to the middle of April.—*Note by author.*

[1] The methods of making maple sugar and maple syrup have improved since the author wrote this note. This extract from an article on the "Sugar-

1760. August. Superiors drink brandy, and a small French red wine, which however they have not in great abundance.

16th. All the troops went a-shore on the island of Ignatius, that their transports may be cleaned out and aired: several detachments were employed in making fascines and picquets; the inhabitants returned to their settlements, as did those of Isle du Pas[1] and Isle de Castor,[2] who all delivered up their arms, and took the oath of neutrality: five Indians were sent to these

making Industry," by Mr. Stillson, published in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, may prove of interest to the reader:

"In Canada the manufacture of maple sugar and syrup assumed a relatively high importance compared with the production in the United States. The Dominion census of 1901 gives the entire volume as 17,762,636 pounds (syrup being reducted to equivalent pounds of sugar for the purposes of this enumeration); and, of this aggregate, the Province of Quebec is credited with 13,643,672 pounds of maple sugar, the Province of Ontario following with a production of 3,791,598 pounds.

". . . *History*.—Maple sugar and syrup was made at an early day by the pioneers of New England and Canada. . . . The first methods employed were crude, and the article was dark in colour and not attractive. Moreover, tapping trees with an axe tended to denude the forest of its maples, and the whole *modus operandi* was wasteful in the extreme. The sap was caught in troughs, hewed out of logs, thence carried in pails to the boiling-place and reduced to syrup in potash kettles. These kettles of the 18th century, or earlier, would be a curiosity at this day. They were suspended by chains from a horizontal pole, supported by forked or crossed sticks at each end, and surrounded by a blazing open fire. The camp-kettle, captured from General Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga, 17 Oct. 1777, preserved in the Bennington Battle Monument, is a fine illustration of what these kettles resembled. Primitive ways, however, did not long continue. Improved methods, both as to tapping the maples—leading up to the use of metal spouts—and refining sap, followed one another, until now, modern scientific principles prevail; and it is possible to reduce the sap to sugar or syrup, using evaporators, almost immediately, so that its colour is nearly white, flavoured only with the delightful aroma of the maple."

[1] Captain Holland refers to Isle Dupas on his map of 1760 in the following words: "This Island is about three leagues long upon a depth of thirty-five Arpents, the lower part of which is generally overflowed in Spring; it was conceded in 1762 [*recte* 1672] with the adjacent islands to Mons[r] du Pas; part of it at present belongs to Mons[r] Briset, the remainder to Madam Dusablay."

[2] In the seigneury of Berthier. "This Parish is situated upon the St. Lawrence, and extends about three leagues along the banks of it, upon the same depth; it was conceded in 1672 to Mons. Radin, an Ensign, and now belongs to Mons[r] Courteau, a Merch[t] of Montreal; the Isle au Castor is a dependance of this Parish, and is inhabited by a few Families." (*Holland's Map.*)

people by M. de Levis, to desire them to continue to defend their country, and they should have a sufficient reinforcement to compel us to keep on board our ships. The Canadians inform us, that they have heard a heavy firing of cannon for several days together, which ceased on Sunday morning, the 10th instant. We are told that M. de Levis and M. du Mas are intrenched, with four thousand men, at a place called Bartré, between two and three leagues to the southward, and a-breast of our fleet; the troops at Sorrel, under M. Bourlemacque, are indefatigable [371] in adding to the strength of their works, and we are informed the Priest of the parish is their principal Engineer. The Louisbourg division made their appearance far a-stern of us this morning, and in the evening some boats came up from them to the General. 1760. August.

The enemy still continue to honour us with their attendance; the Louisbourg division joined us this morning, and, at seven o'clock, the whole fleet weighed together; but, the current being strong, and the wind failing us, we were obliged to come to an anchor about noon, in seven fathom: in our soundings we had not less than five and a half. The division under Lord Rollo did not steer our course in passing through Lake St. Peter, but kept to the southward of those islands, where the redoubts were thrown up to cover the boom laid a-cross the channel. When his Lordship lay off St. Francis, an Englishman went on board his ship to demand protection for himself, nineteen of his countrymen, and ten women, who had been carried off, at different times, from our back settlements; being asked why they did not surrender to General Murray? he answered, that it was their intention, but they were told by the Priests, if ever they came among us, they would be instantly hanged; however, tired of their captivity, they cast lots, upon the appearance of the succours from Louisbourg, to see which of them should venture on board, to make application for their enlargement and protection; this being accordingly granted, a signal was made to 17th.

1760. August. his fellow-captives, who were waiting on the shore, and they all came off, with their effects, in batteaus. As these ships passed the Three Rivers, having sailed up the north channel, they were suddenly attacked with a discharge of cannon and musketry: this was a matter of great surprise, such treatment not being expected; immediately before this happened, a Priest, who dined with his Lordship on the preceding day, and was hospitably entertained, came down to the shore, and inquired, in English, if Lord Rollo was on board? His Lordship, being then on deck, took off his hat, and answered in the affirmative; whereupon the reverend Judas returned the salute, [372] wishing my Lord an agreeable passage; which was no sooner uttered than the ship was fired upon, as if that had been the pre-concerted signal. After they had passed the batteries, a field-piece was dragged along shore, which was vigorously played until the ships were out of reach, while the Indians and Canadians, like a parcel of water-dogs, ran almost up to their waists in the river, discharging their small arms; yet the cause of this base treachery never could be accounted for. The ship suffered much in her rigging, and an Officer had a leg shot off; the ship's Carpenter lost a leg and arm, a cabbin-boy his thigh, and six other soldiers and sailors were also wounded.—This afternoon the General's Aid de Camp, in a barge, was warmly fired at from Sorrel, but, luckily, they were not within the range of musketry: a man, who stood upon the shore to the S. W. of the enemy, on the opposite side of the little river, hailed the barge, and begged to be taken off; which was instantly complied with, and the man was conducted to the General; he proves to be a deserter, and informs us, 'that the enemy are now fortifying the island of Jesus,[1] above 'Montreal, and talked of throwing a boom from thence a-cross 'the river; that they have no vessels above, except the la Marie,

[1] The island of Jesus. This island, according to *Holland's Map*, was "granted in 1636 to the Jesuits, and came into the hands of the Seminary of Quebec by gift of Monsr de Montmorency Delaval, first Bishop of Quebec; the Seminary's title thereto was confirmed by the King of France, 2d May, 1702."

'a sloop of war; and he heard she has no guns on board; he 1760. August.
'adds, that the galiots are gone up the river Sorrel, and that
'M. de Levis is a-breast of us on the south coast, with the
'flower of the army, watching our motions, as we advance.'

The fleet weighed at seven o'clock this morning, and 18th.
worked higher up; but, the wind coming right a-head, we came to anchor again in nine fathom.

ORDERS.

"The right honourable Lord Rollo[1] is appointed to act as 19th.
"Brigadier, and the honourable Lieutenant Rollo,[2] as Major of
"Brigade: Colonel Fletcher[3] is appointed to the first battalion
"of grenadiers, and to command the grenadiers of the army:
"Lieutenant- [373] Colonel Agnew[4] is to command the
"second battalion of grenadiers. Major Scott is appointed to
"command a battalion to be formed from the Louisbourg
"regiments, consisting of their grenadier companies, and a
"detachment to complete them to three hundred men. The
"army is brigaded as follows: the first brigade—the first
"battalion of grenadiers, with the first, third, and fifth
"battalions, commanded by Colonel Burton[5]; Lieutenants
"Salmon and Preston,[6] of the navy, command the following
"boats of this brigade, viz. Numbers sixty-six, four, eighteen,
"thirty, eighty, forty-one, sixty-six, and eighty-eight; likewise

[1] Honourable Lord Rollo. See note 1, p. 488.

[2] Honourable John Rollo, appointed Lieutenant of the 22nd Regiment, April 1756.

[3] Henry Fletcher, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 35th Regiment, February 1758, and Colonel, June 1762.

[4] Colonel Agnew. See note 2, p. 459.

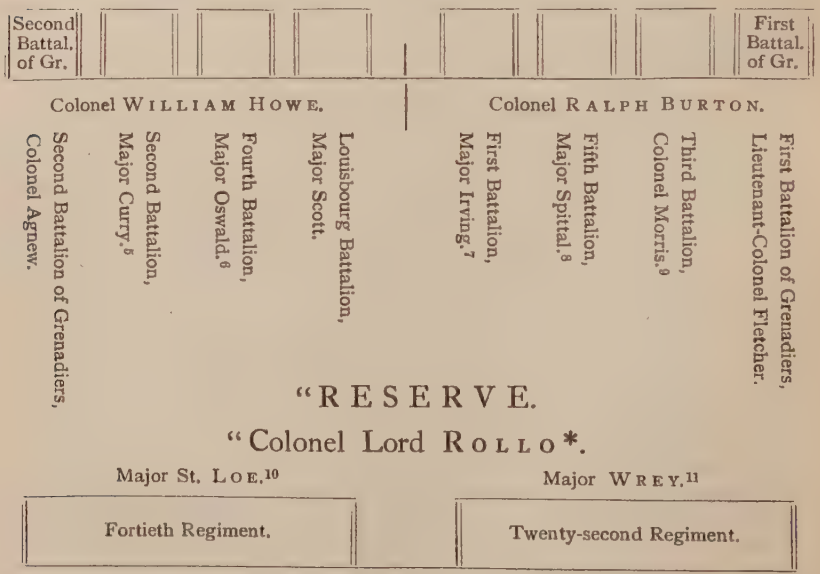
[5] Ralph Burton, Colonel of the 48th Regiment, October 14, 1754, served in Braddock's expedition, where he was wounded; was with Wolfe at Quebec; and after the capitulation was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. He accompanied Murray to Montreal, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, and on October 16, 1760, was appointed Governor of Three Rivers. In 1762 he attained the rank of Major-General, and appears to have died in 1768.

[6] Lieutenant George Preston, appointed First Lieutenant of the Marines, June 1756.

1760. August. "Number sixty under Lieutenant Cock,[1] to be manned by the "Jenny transport. Second brigade,—the three Louisbourg "battalions, commanded by Lord Rollo; Lieutenant St. Clair,[2] "of the navy, with seven boats, viz. eleven, fifteen, twenty-"three, fifty-eight, sixty-one, seventy-two, and eighty-six; "likewise Number forty-three to be manned by the Abigal's "crew. The third brigade,—second battalion of grenadiers, "second and fourth battalions, commanded by Colonel Howe [3]; "Lieutenant Dunn,[4] of the navy, with five boats to this "brigade, viz. seven, twenty-two, sixty-four, sixty-eight, and "eighty-two; likewise three boats, to be manned by the trans-"ports to which they are stationed, viz. forty-nine, sixty-three, "and seventy-seven.

[374] "ORDER of BATTLE, with a RESERVE.

"General MURRAY, Commander in Chief.



As a tribute due to the memory of this very worthy Nobleman, he was an excellent Officer, and an amiable character in private life; his Lordship's late son, the honourable Captain Rollo, had he lived long, would have made a shining figure, as he inherited all his father's virtues.—*Note by author.*

"Should the army form in one line, Lord Rollo's brigade will "be on the left; should the light infantry act as one corps, "they will be commanded by Captain M'Kay."[12] 1760. August.

[375] The garrison at Quebec being augmented by the recovery of our sick and wounded, the General has transmitted orders to Colonel Fraser to form a detachment from the troops under his command, and proceed to reduce the fortress of Jacques Cartier. The True Briton, a large transport, pierced for twenty-six guns, is converted into an armed cruiser, mounts twenty nine-pounders, and is now become the Commodore's ship, on board of which the General will remove from the Porcupine. 20th.

A descent being meditated against Sorrel, the Louisbourg brigade fell down to the island of Ignatius, under pretence of procuring fire-wood; on the 21st, in the morning, the floating-batteries were detached, and, late at night, a division of flat-bottomed boats followed them. On the 22d, at one o'clock in the morning, Lord Rollo, and the regiments under his command, with the rangers, got into their boats, and rowed off: about two they landed near a mile below Sorrel, burned many houses, and laid waste the greatest part of the parish; this disagreeable 21st and 22d.

[1] Lieutenant Francis Cock, appointed Second Lieutenant of the Marines, September 1759.

[2] Lieutenant John Sinclair, appointed First Lieutenant of the Marines, October 1759.

[3] Colonel Howe. See note 2, p. 464.

[4] Lieutenant Alexander Dunn, appointed Second Lieutenant of the Marines, January 1761.

[5] Major Curry. Ralph Cory, appointed Captain in the 28th regiment, May 2, 1751; Major in the same regiment, February 27, 1760.

[6] Major Thomas Oswald, appointed Major of the 60th Foot, October 1759, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 103rd in 1761.

[7] Major Irving. See note, p. 4.

[8] Major John Spittal. See note 4, vol. i. p. 331.

[9] Colonel Roger Morris, appointed Major of the 35th Regiment, February, 1758, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 47th, May 1760. See note 2, vol. i. p. 210.

[10] George St. Loe, appointed Captain, 40th Regiment, 1749; Major, same regiment, March 1761.

[11] Robert Wrey, appointed Major of the 22nd Regiment, July 1758.

[12] Samuel MacKay, appointed Captain of the 40th Regiment, November 20, 1755.

1760. August. procedure affected the General extremely, but the obstinate perseverance of the inhabitants in arms made it necessary, as well for their chastisement, as *in terrorem* to others. His Excellency, in his letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, expresses himself very pathetically on this occasion:—'I found the 'inhabitants of the parish of Sorrel had deserted their habita- 'tions, and were in arms; I was therefore under the cruel 'necessity of burning the greatest part of these poor unhappy 'people's houses; I pray God this example may suffice, for my 'nature revolts, when this becomes a necessary part of my duty.'[1] After this service was performed, his Lordship marched up within view of the enemy's works, formed the line of battle, and endeavoured, by small parties, to draw them out of their intrenchments, but they did not think proper to indulge him; so that, having called in all his scouts, he reimbarked his troops, and returned to their ships without any accident. The country, hence to Montreal, appears to be well inhabited, and very populous; the navigation is extremely agreeable to the eye, the [376] river being interspersed with a multiplicity of beautiful islands, some rude, but the greatest part of them are cultivated.

23d. On the 23d the fleet weighed, and, after a run of three hours, we came to an anchor off Contrecœur[2] in ten fathom, the enemy politely attending us, as we advanced: this is about nine leagues from the object of our wishes; we have various accounts from prisoners and deserters of the armies under General Amherst and Brigadier Haviland, but they are too vague and contradictory to deserve any attention. Some of our ships

[1] Letter to Pitt, signed by Murray, dated at Contrecoeur, nine leagues from Montreal, August 24, 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 221; C.O. 5: 64; otherwise, A. & W. I., vol. 99.)

[2] Captain Holland refers to this parish in 1760 in these words: "This Parish was granted in 1672 to Mons. Contrecoeur, a French Officer, whose heirs possess the same, except a small part sold to a Mons[r] Martell in 1675; the Islands lying antiguous were granted to Mons[r] Contrecoeur; they are not inhabited on account of their being constantly overflowed every spring; but have excellent pasture." (*Holland's Map.*)

and floats cannonaded the enemy on their march, and several of the light cavalry, being dismounted by our shot, were compelled to keep at a greater distance from the banks of the river. 1760. August.

Early this morning the General received an express, in consequence of a frigate being arrived at Quebec from England; this pacquet contained dispatches for the Generals Amherst, Murray, Lord Colville, and Governor Lawrence: the Officers were acquainted this day, in orders, that there is now an opportunity of writing to Great Britain, by the Vengeance from Quebec, to which place a convoy will set out to-morrow morning. Some detachments of the army were ordered to land on a small island a-head of the fleet; but, upon a closer view, they found it to be a morass over-grown with reeds and rushes: in rowing back to our ships, a body of the enemy on the south coast, suspecting we were going to land, drew up in order of battle to give us a warm reception. 24th.

On the 25th and 26th we weighed anchor at different times, but, not being able to make any way, on account of perverse calms, with the rapidity of a strong current against us, we were as often obliged to come to our moorings; the enemy seem now to be confined to so narrow a compass, that both sides of the river are lined with troops, to prevent, if possible, our disimbarking. 25th and 26th.

We worked up to the village of Assumption,[1] through a difficult navigation, by reason of various windings in the channel: our soundings were very irregular, from three to six fathom, a rocky bottom. [377] I am inclined to think, if the artillery and ammunition, which the enemy lost and expended before Quebec last spring, had been carefully reserved for the defence of the upper country, they might have been rendered much more serviceable against this armament by the narrow- 27th.

[1] L'Assomption. The parish of this name, in 1760, according to *Holland's Map*, was composed of two seigneuries, "one extending half a league along the St. Lawrence to the River Assumption, the other extending two leagues from its Embouchure upon a depth of six."

1760. August. ness of the river in many places; for, if they did not intirely frustrate our measures, they might annoy our ships and forces very sensibly, and retard our operations. At six this evening the rangers and light infantry landed on the island of Teresa,[1] on the north coast.

28th. The troops are ordered to be completed to thirty-six rounds of good cartridges, with three flints per man, and to be in readiness to land at the shortest notice. A soldier of the seventeenth regiment, who says he was made prisoner last year, and has now made his escape, was brought off from an island a-head by one of our guard-boats; he relates, that General Amherst has interrupted the communication between l'Isle Royale[2] and Montreal, where the bulk of the French army, consisting of five thousand men, composed of regulars and chosen Canadians, are now assembled; that the Indians have abandoned them, notwithstanding the greatest arguments were used to prevail on them to continue; and that many of the militia, who had been draughted to complete their French battalions, deserted in such numbers, that three have been lately hanged for examples to others. Six of our rangers put on shore, last night, on the south side, and brought off two Canadians, equipped with their packs, and in arms, who were on their way

[1] The island of St. Thérèse is in the St. Lawrence at the east end of the island of Montreal. See note, p. 513.

[2] Isle Royale is one of the Gallop Islands, situated in the St. Lawrence between Lake St. Francis and Lake Ontario. Mante in his *History of the Late War in North America*, p. 303, mentions the fort on this island in these words: "Fort-Levi stood on this island, which was otherwise strongly fortified. Though the reduction of Fort Levi could be of little service, merely as a fort, yet it was, certainly, of too much consequence to be left in the rear of an army; besides, the number of pilots, perfectly acquainted with the intricate navigation of the River St. Lawrence, which the making of the garrison prisoners would afford, was alone a sufficient motive for attacking it. It was, therefore, invested that very evening. Whilst the English were passing the point, the French kept up a very smart cannonade on them, and destroyed one of the row-gallies, and a few boats, and killed two or three men; but notwithstanding this fire, and an uninterrupted continuance of it, the fort was so completely invested by the 20th, by the masterly disposition of the troops, as to make it impossible for the garrison to escape."

to Montreal. A great firing of artillery has been heard, for several days and nights, by the people of the country. By the various reports of prisoners, deserters, and those who are now become neutrals, Monsieur de Levis's intire aim seems to incline to an action with this army before the arrival of the Commander in Chief, and the corps expected by the Isle au Noix.[1] The enemy have lately made many efforts to get a prisoner from the main army, in which they succeeded; but, being closely pursued, they butchered him with their war-hatchets to pre- [378] vent his being retaken alive. We are told, that all the British deserters in the French troops are actually gone off to Louisiana, and that M. Vaudreuil did once entertain thoughts of abandoning Canada, and flying to that country; but had been prevailed on to alter his system, and share the fate of this colony: the deserters are commanded by one Johnston, a proscribed rebel, who is a Lieutenant in the French service. We hear of great discontents, as well among the regulars as the Canadians, who, taking the advantage of the times, affect great indifference to good order and discipline, insomuch that the French Officers are obliged to substitute intreaties in place of authority. 1760. August.

Half of the troops are daily a-shore, on an island S. S. E. of Teresa,[2] making fascines and picquets, by way of exercising the men, and keeping them employed. The General, Colonel Burton, and our Commodore, came on board the Duke transport to reconnoitre the village of Varenne[3] on the south coast; 29th.

[1] Isle aux Noix. This island, in the Richelieu River, was chosen by Lévis as the situation of a fort in May 1759. It was then thickly covered with trees. The works were constructed by the engineers Fournier and du Verny. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon and two mortars were set up, which had been drawn from Carillon when Bourlamaque abandoned that fort. (*Mémoire du Canada*, p. 175.)

[2] From the position of this island, SSE. of the island of Ste. Thérèse, it would seem probable that Isle Belegarde is referred to. It has been suggested, however, on account of the quantity of wood on the island, that it may have been Ile Gros Bois, now King Edward Park.

[3] *Holland's Map* contains this reference to the parish of Varennes: "This Parish originally extended twenty Arpents in front upon a depth of one league and a half, it has been since considerably enlarged at different times; it was

1760. August. some hints were thrown out as if a descent was intended, and the General left orders, 'that we should take particular notice 'of that place, and report any movements we may discover, from 'time to time, with respect to regular or Canadian troops, droves 'of cattle, carriages, baggage, &c. &c.' It was intended that the troops who are a-shore, should, in their return to their ships, make a feint to land on the lower end of the island of Montreal; but, the General having altered his mind, the detachments were ordered on board their respective transports. An Officer and six rangers endeavoured to take a prisoner from Varenne, but the inhabitants, jealous of such a design, fired upon them before they made the shore, and obliged them to sheer off.

30th. Several unlucky accidents have happened in this armament by men venturing to fish, and divert themselves in canoes, whereby many sailors and soldiers have been drowned: a Master of a trader, paddling yesterday in one of these savage vehicles, missed his stroke, and tumbled overboard; they are still more dangerous in this rapid [379] river, where the current is so immensely strong, that even an expert swimmer has no chance for his life. The four eldest companies of grenadiers, belonging to the brigades from Quebec, were ordered into the flat-bottomed boats this evening, and rowed over to the island of Teresa; there they will be joined by the light infantry and rangers, who are to effect a descent this night, or to-morrow, on the south side of the river; three floats will attend them.

31st. This morning, at day-break, half of the light troops and grenadiers landed above the hamlet of Varenne; the enemy

granted in 1661 [*recte* 1672] to Mons. de Varenne [René Gaultier de Varennes] then Lieutenant of the Regiment of Carignan and Governor of Trois Rivières; it is now parcelled out into several small Seig^nys whose Proprietors have possessed the same by Right of inheritance or Purchase . . . Towards the center of this Parish and about eight Arpents distance from the water side, are some salt pans, where the French made some salt in their Distress, just before the surrender of the Country, but this was attended with so much Difficulty it is now entirely Dropped. Families, 190; Men able to bear Arms, 273. Varrene. Here Brig^dr Murray took post the 28th August, and disarmed four thousand Canadians who took the Oaths to his Britannick Majesty."

fired some scattering shots at them, and ran off: as soon as they got footing, they threw up three rockets for the remainder of these corps, lying off to wait the event, who instantly pushed a-shore at a small distance lower down, and met with the same feeble opposition as the others; each party then marched up to the church and center of the parish, where they had some skirmishing, the enemy being there assembled, to the number of three hundred, sixty of whom were regulars; but they had no intrenchments: in this descent we had not a single man hurt; several of the enemy were wounded, and we made twenty-four prisoners, three of whom were Frenchmen. The troops immediately took post in the church, chapel of ease, and houses adjoining; scouts were sent out, who procured some cattle and poultry, which the inhabitants had here in plenty; and, by their obstinacy, they lost the best of their wearing apparel and other effects; about nine o'clock the grenadiers reimbarked, and were ordered back to their ships, while the light infantry and rangers kept possession of the church and chapel. We have received intelligence, by a letter found a-shore without any date, that Isle au Noix was abandoned, and that Fort Levis, on l'Isle Royale, after a few days' siege, had surrendered to General Amherst; this letter also mentioned, that a spy was taken at Sorrel, *et que l'on a lui cassé sa tete d'une hache:* however, he was no spy, for, by better authority, the affair was as follows: a soldier deserted lately from the forty-third regiment, and another soon followed from the Royal Ame- [380] ricans; the enemy, persuaded that men in their senses would not desert a plentiful and victorious army, to share their miserable fate, concluded they must be spies, and therefore gave one of them up to the Indians, and killed the other with a hatchet, as before-mentioned. M. Colonel de Bougainville commands the troops opposed to Brigadier Haviland, and M. Bourlemacque has a corps of observation consisting of five thousand men, at a parish to the southward of Varenne, where it is pretended he will unite with the Colonel, in case of being com-

1760. August.

1760. August. pelled to retire; and fall upon the Brigadier, as soon as he shall advance: M. Bourlemacque likewise threatens to destroy Mr. Murray's forces, if we should attempt a junction with Mr. Haviland; fifteen hundred men are intrenched on the island of St. Helen,[1] opposite to Montreal, and the Chevalier de Levis commands on the north side of the river; such, we are told, is the present disposition of the French army. At one o'clock a body of about fourscore Canadians came down, divided themselves into small parties, and attacked the rangers at Varenne; our brave fellows quitted their cover, and advanced upon them; but the Commanding Officer, perceiving they wanted to possess themselves of a barn that stood detached from the chapel, set fire to it: this so exasperated the enemy, that a party of them endeavoured, under cover of the smoke and flames, to cut off the chapel, and take post there; but herein they were also foiled, a few of the rangers having got before, and repulsed them; by this time some Officers, and six of the light infantry from the church, who are expert marksmen, came down, posted themselves advantageously on the enemy's flank, and galled them so sensibly, that they could stand no longer. The rangers, covered by a company of light infantry, pursued them in their flight for near a mile, in which they made seven wounded Canadians prisoners; besides these, they had three men killed and scalped near the chapel, and we had only three who were slightly wounded. In the evening the enemy shewed themselves again to the south-east of the church, whereupon the light infantry set fire to two houses and out-offices on that side, which, by their [381] elevated situation, commanded their post, and might have incommoded our people considerably, if the inhabitants,

[1] St. Helen's Island, opposite Montreal: named by Champlain after his wife, Helène Boulé. On August 29, the troops, under the command of Brigadier Murray, encamped on the island of Ste. Thérèse. This, according to Holland, "secured the passage of the River to the Island of Montreal, and obliged the French Army to abandon all their posts out of the said Island, except that of the Island of St. Helen." (*Holland's Map.*)

reinforced by the regulars, should attempt to molest them in the night. Detachments are a-shore to-day on the island S. S. E. of Teresa, which I have nominated *l'Isle de Raisins*,[1] from its spontaneous production of great quantities of grapes, employed in making fascines, &c. this work is to be continued till farther orders. A British female captive at Varenne, who has been several years in this country, assures us there are few, if any, troops in the city of Montreal; that M. Vaudreuil will capitulate for the colony, as soon as General Amherst arrives; and that the forces under M. de Levis affect being greatly disappointed at not having an opportunity of fighting the army from Quebec, which they hoped to have had at Les Trois Rivieres, upon a supposition we would have made a descent here. 1760. August.

The whole parish of Varenne have surrendered, delivered up their arms, and taken the oaths; their fighting-men consisted of five companies of militia: two other parishes, equally numerous, have signified their intention of submitting to-morrow. The Quarter-Masters and Camp-Colour-men are ordered to Varenne to mark out an incampment; it is proposed to intrench our troops there, until we hear from the Commander in Chief; for this purpose the long boats of the fleet are detached to l'Isle de Raisins for fascines, &c. Sept. 1st.

The light infantry and rangers were alarmed last night, embarked in their boats, and lay off till this morning, when they returned to their post at the church: this was occasioned by information received from the inhabitants, that M. Bourlemaque was in motion; and to-day we are assured the cause of his movements proceeded from his retiring before Brigadier Haviland's corps, who are well advanced. The Canadians are surrendering every-where; they are terrified at the thoughts of Sir William Johnson's Indians coming among them, by which 2d.

[1] This name does not appear to have been retained, and it is probably Ile Belegarde, which was the name given to it by the French.

1760. Sept. we conjecture they are near at hand. [382] The troops landed to make fascines, and, before they had finished the tasks assigned them, they received orders to reimbark immediately, the whole being to land at Varenne, with four days' provisions, ammunition, &c. in a little time after this was countermanded, and the troops returned to their transports, except the detachment from the forty-third regiment, who continued on l'Isle de Raisins, to guard and load the boats with fascines; some cannon and carriages were put into batteaus, and were half the way to Varenne, when they received orders, by a pinnace, to return, and land at the island of Teresa, where part of the army disembarked, and incamped at noon.

3d. Late last night an Officer of the Royal Americans, in disguise, with four rangers, arrived from Brigadier Haviland's corps, who they say will actually be at la Prairie [1] in two or three days at farthest. Several French grenadiers deserted to us early this morning; they inform us, that M. Bourlemacque is advantageously posted, with twelve hundred men, and four pieces of cannon, to oppose the Brigadier: that his command did amount to seventeen hundred men, but five hundred of them have abandoned him, and it is not improbable the rest may follow their example. The regulars now desert to us in great numbers, and the Canadian militia are surrendering by hundreds. The detachments at Varenne lay off last night in their boats, as on the preceding night; and returned to the church this morning: General Murray has dispersed manifestoes from thence to all the neighbouring parishes, acquainting the inhabitants, 'that, if they will surrender and deliver up 'their arms, he will forgive them; if not, they know what they 'may expect, from the examples which he has hitherto re-'luctantly given them; and, as for such Canadians as have been 'incorporated in the battalions of regulars, if they will surrender

[1] *Holland's Map* contains this reference to the parish of La Prairie: "This parish extends about two leagues and a half along the St. Lawrence upon a depth of half a one."

AN EAST VIEW OF MONTREAL

Drawn on the spot by Thomas Patten; engraved by P. Canot. London: Thos. Jefferys [*c.* 1760]

'by a day limited, his Excellency will not only reinstate them 1760. Sept.
'in their settlements and lands, but likewise enlarge and protect
'them; but, if, after all, they shall still persist, they must
'expect to share the fate of the French troops, and be trans-
'ported with them to [383] Europe, &c.'—This had a happy effect on these brave unfortunate people; for this evening four hundred of them, belonging to the parish of Boucherville,[1]

[1] The parish of Boucherville, according to the map made by Captain Holland, "extends along the River St. Lawrence one league and thirty Arpents, upon a depth of two leagues; it was conceded in 1672 to Mons[r] Pierre Bouché de Boucherville [Boucher de Grosbois et de Boucherville] togeather with the Isles Percées and other Islands lying on that side of the said River; that Family is still in possession of the same. Here is a Convent of the Sisters of the Congregation, for the Instruction of young Girls, and the most Considerable as well as the Handsomest Village in Canada, which contains about fifty Families. The Isles Percées have a few inhabitants likewise. Total Families, 126. Men able to bear Arms, 197."

The editor is indebted to Mr. George H. W. Birch, of Westmount, for the following note:

"The village of Boucherville is about 9 miles from Montreal, though, owing to the unobstructed view across the river, it hardly seems that distance. Here Mde. Marguerite Bourgeois very early established a school for girls, now the Convent of the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Opposite are the Boucherville Islands, upon one of which Murray landed a considerable part of his troops to make fascines. This island was probably Ile Gros Bois, now King Edward Park, an amusement resort. Bouchette states that many families of the Canadian *noblesse* had taken up their residence in Boucherville and formed a society observing much of the ceremony of the titled circles of France. The seigniory of Varennes was granted in 1672 to Réné Gaultier, sieur de Varennes. The original title-deed was burned, it is said, in the manor-house in 1760. The village of Varennes, about 5 miles below Boucherville, is a quiet, pretty place. The present church stands on the site of the old one. Bouchette speaks of the church of Varennes as surpassing in beauty all the churches of the surrounding seigniories, and Mrs. Simcoe makes mention of it in her *Journal*. Near Varennes are some mineral springs, which do not, however, seem to be much used. Opposite Varennes is Ile Ste. Thérèse, of considerable extent. It lies off the foot of the island of Montreal. The country here, though flat, has a beauty of its own, its present peacefulness contrasting with its stormy past when one recalls that it has witnessed the terrors of Indian warfare in its early days and the operations of troops that had fought two battles at Quebec besides other engagements in the Seven Years' War, and of French troops eager to get them to fight another. The place of Murray's landing on the island of Montreal was probably the stretch of shore of M'Duff's and neighbouring properties. The parish of Point-aux-

1760. Sept. came to Varenne, and delivered up their arms: after taking the customary oaths, they requested the General would give them safe-guards for their parish, which was granted, and a Serjeant's party were immediately sent off with them, to protect them from our savages, who, they say, are within a day's march of them. The remainder of our army, who did not incamp yesterday, continued on board their ships to-day, on account of the badness of the weather; the grenadiers, and a detachment of the forty-third regiment, returned to their transports this afternoon, and bade adieu to l'Isle de Raisins; M. Bourlemacque is retired to the island of St. Helen, being totally abandoned by the Canadians.

ORDERS.

"The General has the pleasure to inform the army that "l'Isle au Noix, St. John's and Teresa,[1] have submitted to his "Majesty's arms: the conquest of Canada is now most certain, "and there is nothing can retard it but want of discipline, or "a thirst for plundering among the troops and seamen; it is "therefore expected that every Officer will exert himself to in-"force a due obedience of orders, and to prevent marauding, or "any other abuse being offered to the Canadians, who have "submitted to his Majesty; if this is done, there will not be "an inhabitant of the country with the French army a week "longer: and the regular troops, every body knows, are reduced "to a despicable handful."

One Field-Officer, four Captains, twelve Subalterns, and four hundred rank and file, besides Serjeants and Drummers, are ordered to mount as a reserve every evening, while on this island.

4th. [384] The remainder of the troops disembarked, and in-

Trembles was constituted in 1721. The village at the time of the conquest appears to have been picketed. In the old days it was a stopping-place on the main road between Montreal and Quebec, and had some good inns. It was also a place of resort for Montrealers."

[1] This was the parish of Ste. Thérèse on the Richelieu River.

camped on the north side of the fertile, pleasant, and well- 1760. Sept.
cultivated island of St. Teresa. Crowds of Canadians are surrendering to us every minute, and the regulars, worn out with hunger and despair, desert to us in great numbers. The parole of the day is *Amherst.*

This morning the General and Colonel Burton, with the 5th.
grenadiers, light infantry, and rangers of this army, crossed the river, and marched to Longville, or Longueüil,[1] to reinforce Brigadier Haviland, and protect the country from our Indian allies, as they advance; at the same time a Captain, three Subalterns, and one hundred men, passed over to take post in the church of Varenne. M. de Levis, with the remainder of his principal Officers and regulars, have retired to the capital. Lord Rollo commands at present on the island of Teresa. I was assured by some deserters to-day, that the Commander in Chief's army were arrived at Perrot island,[2] within less than four leagues of the city of Montreal; in this case his most Christian Majesty is in a fair way of being speedily *checkmated* in Canada.

Brigadier Haviland has reduced fort Chambli,[3] where he 6th.
found some of our brass field-pieces; the van of his corps arrived yesterday at Longueüil, and they report that Sir William Johnson, with a large body of Indians, computed at

[1] The parish of Longueuil. According to *Holland's Map* this parish "extends two leagues along the River, upon a depth likewise of two leagues; it was granted in 1676 to the Family of Longueuil [Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil] in whose favour it was erected into a Barony in 1700; ten years after the Grant was considerably enlarged and belongs now to the Heirs of the said Family; the Island of St. Heleina is a dependance thereof. Here is a small stone Fort with four little tow[ers] which form a square of about one Arpent in superficies."

[2] Isle Perro, upon the north shore of the St. Lawrence River at the confluence of the Grande or Ottawa. It was granted to the Sieur Perrot in 1672.

[3] Fort Chambly. The parish of Chambly and Ste. Thérèse "is the first establishment upon the River Richelieu; it was conceded to a French Officer Monsr. Chambely in 1680 and now belongs to several co-heirs of the Family. Hartell, and the Nivervilles, it extends three leagues upon each side of the Richelieu upon a depth of one. . . . Near the Rapide of Chambly there is a Fort of four Bastions, Picketed in." (*Holland's Map.*)

1760. Sept. fourteen hundred, will be there this day from General Amherst's army. Eight Sachems, of different nations, lately in alliance with the enemy, have surrendered, for themselves and their tribes, to General Murray: these fellows, after conferring with his Excellency, and that all matters had been adjusted to their satisfaction, stepped out to the beach opposite to Montreal, flourished their knives and hatchets, and set up the war-shout; intimating to the French, that they are now become our allies and their enemies. While these Chieftains were negociating a peace, two of our Mohawks entered the apartment where they were with the General and Colonel Burton: after viewing the others with great earnestness, they made a set at that [385] side of the room, in order to seize upon them; but the General and Colonel interposed, and exacted a promise from the Mohawks that they would not molest the others, who had been put out for a few minutes, and were again called in; upon their re-entering, they looked eagerly at each other, uttering *heh! heh! heh!* with great vehemence; after which one of the Mohawks expressed himself, in disjointed sentences, to the following effect: 'It is 'well for you that you have surrendered,—and that these 'Generals are here;—it is they that protect you,—or we two 'Mohawks would scalp every man of you.' Hereupon one of the French warriors took a small stick with his knife, and notched it: the other then re-assumed,—'Do you remember, 'when you treacherously killed one of our brothers at such 'a time?—Ye shall one day pay dearly for it, ye cowardly dogs, '—let the treaty be as it will:—I tell you, we will destroy you 'and your settlement,—root and branch;—ye are all cowards; '—our squaws are better than you,—they will stand and fight 'like men,—but ye sculk like dogs, &c. &c.' Between every pause the French chief uttered *heh! heh!* and repeated his notches on the stick, till at length, being reproached with cowardice, and equalled to the squaws, he could no longer contain himself, but set up a horrid yell, and, with a tenfold

emotion, cut a long sliver off the stick, which seemed to be a signal for his companions to fall on; but the General and Colonel exerted themselves in keeping the peace, put the Mohawks out of the room, and laid both parties under the strongest injunctions not to molest each other, on pain of being most severely chastised by the Commander in Chief.[1] 1760. Sept.

General Murray and Colonel Burton, with the grenadiers, light troops, and detachment, returned from the south coast early this morning: the latter were relieved by a body of rangers under Major Rogers. Soon after the following orders were issued out to the army on the island of Teresa.—Parole *King George*; countersign *Hanover*. 7th.

[386] ORDERS.

"The army will get to cross the river as soon as possible; "the tents to be struck, and the baggage to be carefully "packed up, and left in care of a guard, which will consist of "one Serjeant and six men from each corps, and a Subaltern "from each brigade. The first landing will consist of

[1] The surrender of the Indians seems to have taken place at Longueuil, September 5, according to the certificate signed by Murray, taken from the private papers of Murray preserved at Bath:

"These are to certify that the chief of the Huron Tribe of Indians, having come to me in the name of his Nation to submit to His Britannick Majesty and make Peace, has been received under my protection with his whole Tribe, and henceforth no English Officer or party is to molest or interrupt them in returning to their settlement at Lorette and they are received upon the same terms with the Canadians, being allowed the free Exercise of their Religion, their Customs and liberty of trading with the English Garrisons recommending it to the Officers commanding the posts to treat them kindly.

"Given under my hand at Longuil this 5th day of September, 1760.

"Sig[d] JA. MURRAY.

"By the Generals Command
Sig[d] JOHN COSNAND
Adj[t]. Gen[l]."

Endorsed
"Copy of a certificate granted by Gen[l] Murray to the Huron Indians
"5th Sept: 1760."

(*Report of the Work of the Archives Branch for the Year* 1910, p. 50.)

1760. Sept. "grenadiers, light infantry, with the first brigade, and as "many of the third as the boats will contain; the boats will "immediately return for the remainder of the troops. Should "the enemy oppose the debarkation, the troops will quickly "form under the bank, and instantly march up, charge them "with their bayonets, and give them one discharge; the light "infantry and rangers will endeavour to gain the nearest the "enemy's flanks, and pursue them spiritedly, when they fly; "in which they must be supported by the grenadiers with "vigour and vivacity. The boats of the light infantry will "be upon the left flank; those of the grenadiers between "them and the battalions; and the rangers upon the right. "When the enemy has been routed, or should we land without "opposition, the Brigadiers will form the line, with a reserve "agreeable to their former orders. The army will march "from the left in two columns; Brigadier Burton will lead "the right column, and Brigadier Howe the left: Lord "Rollo of course, in his place, will be at the head of that "part of his brigade, which will be of the right column. The "van-guard of the army will consist of three companies of light "infantry, supported by three companies of grenadiers, two "from the first, and one from the third brigade, commanded "by Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew; the fourth company of light "infantry will cover the flank of the right column *. The "rear-guard will consist of the rangers and Major Scott's "battalion. Should the enemy attempt the flanks of the right "[387] column, Brigadier Howe will form the line, with their "front to the woods, if a considerable body of the enemy should "be in front; but, if there should not, he will form his brigade "only to the front, in order to oppose them: in either of these "cases the General will dispose of the reserve; and the light "infantry will do their utmost to cover the forming of the "army, by skirmishing to check the enemy: but, when the "army is formed, they will give *overflanks*, viz. the Louisbourg

* Our left flank was covered by the river, as we marched.—*Note by author.*

" companies on that of the right, and those of Quebec on that 1760. Sept.
" of the left. The Pioneers, with the Quarter-Masters, will
" march with the van-guard, and must be completed with tools
" from the train. The regulars and light troops of General
" Amherst's army wear green boughs, to distinguish them from
" the different corps of the enemy; our army will do the same;
" and the soldiers will be very careful they do not fire upon our
" friends, as the Commander in Chief's army are actually landed
" on the island of Montreal. The two field-pieces will march
" at the head of Brigadier Howe's brigade; and, upon the
" assembly-beating, the army will get under arms."

Several powerful nations of Indians, among whom the Cherokees are said to be the most respectable for their numbers, on the frontiers of South Carolina, having committed great ravages on our back settlements, and, by repeated barbarities, spread terror throughout the neighbouring provinces: His Excellency General Amherst detached Colonel Montgomery,[1] in the beginning of this campaign, with a select corps, composed of four companies of the Royal, under Major Hamilton;[2] four of the seventy-seventh, commanded by Major Grant;[3] two companies of grenadiers, by Captain Wall,[4] and two of light infantry, by Captain Williams;[5] amounting, with their Officers, to about one thousand men; in order to chastise their insolence and perfidy. This day we had the pleasure to receive the agreeable intelligence of the Colonel's success; he marched into the heart of their country, burned the capital of the lower Cherokees,[6] consisting of upwards of two hundred houses; destroyed [388] a number of hamlets and well-cultivated settlements; this service being performed, the

[1] See note, vol. i. p. 476.

[2] Frederick Hamilton, appointed Major of the 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, May 7, 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel, October 22, 1761.

[3] James Grant, appointed Major of the 77th Foot, January 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel of the 40th, July 26, 1760.

[4] James Wall, Captain in 1st Regiment of Foot, February 1756.

[5] Probably Manly Williams, appointed Captain of the 1st Regiment, July 16, 1758.

[6] See plan of Cherokee country.

1760. Sept. Colonel directed his march to another quarter, in order to subdue them still more sensibly, when, passing through a *defilé* in a woody and intricate part of the country, he was furiously attacked on both flanks by a large body of Indians, whereby an obstinate action ensued; our troops, having withstood this shock with great firmness, gallantly charged them in their own way, and routed them, with the loss of forty killed on the spot, besides a great number of wounded, whom, according to their custom, they carried off with them. The forces then continued their march to a neighbouring town belonging to these people, which they laid in ashes, the enemy having, in vain, attempted to relieve it; in these different encounters twenty were killed on our side, and near an hundred wounded: which last circumstance, the Colonel having no place of security for them, induced him to retire to Fort Prince George, in Carolina;—these are the most interesting particulars of this well-conducted enterprise.[1] This morning, at eight o'clock, our army were ordered to accoutre, and prepare to

[1] The Cherokee Indians inhabited the interior of the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama. They were allies of the English against the French, allowed forts to be erected in the country, and sent a force to accompany the expedition of 1758 against Fort Duquesne. While returning from the campaign the warriors became involved in a quarrel with the western settlers of Virginia and the Carolinas. Some of their chiefs who went to Charleston to settle the dispute were made prisoners, and Governor Lyttelton of South Carolina invaded the Cherokee country in 1759 and exacted hostages for the surrender of the Indians who had killed the settlers. After Lyttelton's withdrawal the Cherokees attempted the rescue of the hostages, who were in Fort Prince George on the Savannah River, whereupon the garrison murdered them. The war was now renewed with vigour, and the Provincials appealed to Amherst for aid. About June 1, 1760, Colonel Montgomery entered the lower Cherokee country, destroyed the villages, and returned to Fort Prince George. It was now expected that the Indians would sue for peace, but as they made no move, Montgomery advanced again on June 24. He entered the Middle Settlements and burned the town of Etchoé, but was unable to do much damage to the Indians. Having been ordered by Amherst to return as soon as possible for the Canadian campaign, Montgomery marched back to Charlestown and embarked for New York. (See Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, pp. 264–268, 284–293; Colonel Montgomery's letters to Amherst, enclosed in Amherst to Pitt, August 26, 1760: *Canadian Archives*, M. 216; C.O. 5: 59; formerly A. & W. I., vol. 94.)

march: at ten our camp was struck, tents and baggage packed up, boughs mounted in our hats, and all were in readiness; between one and two we embarked, and soon after landed, without opposition, at the lower end of the parish of Point au Tremble,[1] on the island of Montreal. The place w[h]ere we disembarked is about three leagues and an half from the city. The country-people brought horses to draw our artillery, and others saddled, for the Officers to ride, besides carts for our baggage. We marched through a delightful country, and a pleasant village, bearing the name of the parish, where there is a convent of Nuns, whose inhabitants, with their Curate, or Rector as among us, came to the door and saluted us as we passed, and told us we were welcome; at the same time the roads were lined with men and women, who brought pitchers and pails of milk and water for the refreshment of the soldiers, with many courteous expressions of [389] concern, that they had not better liquor for the Officers. We met with frequent interruptions in our march, the enemy having destroyed all the bridges before us, which retarded our motions, insomuch that, by nine o'clock, we got no farther than the parish of Longue Pointe,[2] where, the night being dark, we received orders to take up our quarters in the houses and barns along the road, which are numerous, resembling a long straggling village; before we were thus cantoned, a few Mohawk Indians, from the south side of the river, passed us on the march, who were going express to General Amherst, with the news of Brigadier Haviland, and the forces under his command, being actually arrived, within a day's march of the meadows and parish of Longueüil, opposite to Montreal. 1760. Sept.

[1] Point-aux-Trembles, on the island of Montreal. "This Parish is of much the same extent as that of la Chine; upon it is a Village Picketed in, and forming a kind of Fortification. It takes it's name from the great quantity of Wood upon it before it was cleared." (*Holland's Map.*)

[2] Longue Pointe, a parish on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, established in 1733. See plan. It was part of the seigneury of the Isle of Montreal granted in 1640 to Pierre Chevrier de Foucamps and Jérome Le Royer de la Dauversière.

1760. Sept. 8th. At day-break, this morning, our advanced-guard, with the Quarter-Masters and Pioneers, moved forward to repair the roads and bridges; about nine the army marched, but it was noon before we reached our ground on the north-east side of the city, where we immediately incamped, with the high Cape or Mount,[1] whence this island derives its name, in the rear of the right of our line; and General Murray took up his quarters in the suburbs.

Before I resume the operations of the forces under the Commander in Chief, with the concerting and effecting this glorious junction of the three armies, and the completion of the conquest of Canada, I cannot pass over in silence an event that has happened in the vicinity and government of Quebec; which, though inconsiderable, redounds to the honour of his Majesty's arms in this country.

On this day Colonel Fraser, pursuant to orders transmitted for that purpose by General Murray,[2] with the Majors Prevost and M'Pherson, a detachment of eleven Captains, twenty-eight Subalterns, forty Serjeants, nineteen Drummers, and about nine hundred rank and file, with a suitable train of artillery, embarked and sailed from Quebec, to reduce the fortress of Jacques Cartier; it was late on the evening of the 9th, when they landed above the fort without opposition, and instantly possessed themselves of an advantageous piece of ground, [390] which, by its unevenness, saved the Colonel the trouble of erecting any cover, either for his guns or his men. As it was customary for ships to pass up and down, since the departure of the forces under the General, the enemy were not alarmed at the movement of this little armament, neither did they suspect any design against their post, from a belief that the garrison at Quebec were too weak to undertake such an enterprise, or that it did not deserve our attention, and well knowing that all would depend on the fate of Montreal and the

[1] Mount Royal, so named by Jacques Cartier.

[2] See letter of Murray to Fraser of July 29, 1760, in Appendix.

upper country; this being the case, an attack upon Jacques Cartier was not expected, particularly as the General, in coasting upwards, had not discovered any design to molest the enemy there, or at the Three Rivers. Colonel Fraser having secured all the avenues leading from the fort to the country, the detachment lay on their arms until the morning of the 10th, when, a small party being advanced to reconnoitre the works of the place, and the ships having by this time fallen lower down, the garrison was alarmed, and the drums beat to arms. M. le Marquis d'Albergotti,[1] the Commanding Officer, was then summoned in form to surrender;—but he refused, with great parade, farcically returning the usual answer —*that he would defend that post to the last extremity;* which was seconded by a discharge of a few guns. The Colonel then ordered up two field-pieces and as many howitzers, under cover of a rising ground, to play upon the fort, and, at the same time, formed his corps into three divisions, being determined to storm the place without loss of time; all things being prepared, the assailants boldly advanced to the attack, which the Marquis perceiving, instantly beat a *chamade*, and surrendered at discretion. The garrison consisted of two Lieutenants and fifty of the regulars, with one hundred and fifty militia, two Gunners, a few indifferent guns, with a very trifling proportion of ammunition, but no provisions, except a few calves, pigs, and poultry. After the garrison were disarmed, and the usual oath tendered to the Canadians, they were permitted to disperse, and return to their respective habitations. The Colonel [391] then left a Captain, two Subalterns, and fifty men at Jacques Cartier, and returned, with the remainder of his detachment and prisoners, by land to Quebec. The works of the place are in good condition, and

1760. Sept.

[1] Marquis d'Albergatti, recommended for a commission as an officer in the Colonial troops, 1755. Officer in command of the fort of Jacques Cartier, 1760, after Lévis had raised the siege of Quebec. In 1761 he was given a pension of 300 livres in recognition of his services.

1760. Sept. very tenable against musketry, but are so extensive, that they would require a garrison of fifteen hundred men to defend them properly: thus has this mighty fortress been at length reduced without any bloodshed, which was reputed so respectable a barrier on the side of the enemy, while, at the same time, it served as a rendezvous for all their detachments, who, in the course of the winter, were such troublesome neighbours to our army at the capital.

I come now to take a view of the proceedings of the army upon the lakes, under the Commander in Chief, &c.

Although M. de Levis had made a vigorous effort for the recovery of Quebec, and exerted his whole force and abilities to that important end; yet his endeavours, as I have already shewn, were by no means propitious to his cause. On the contrary they contributed to the success of our future operations in facilitating the final reduction of Canada, the object of the campaign, and the ultimate of the General's wishes in America. With this view, three armies were proposed to rendezvous at Montreal: one to penetrate by lake Champlain, to consist of regulars, rangers, provincials, &c. as here particularised.

(*Notes for p.* 525.)

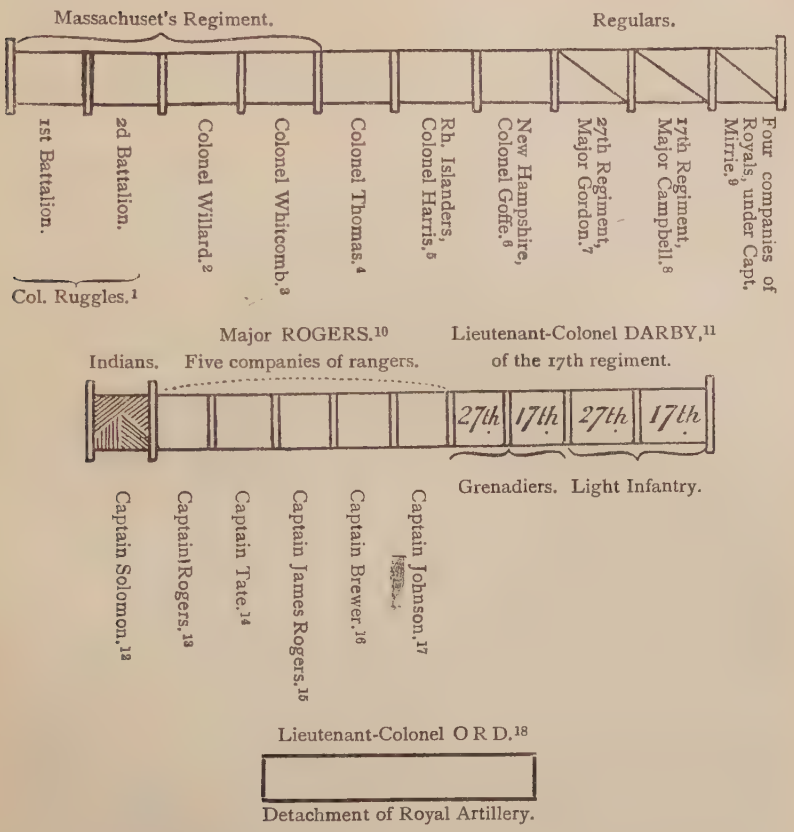
[1] Timothy Ruggles was born in Rochester, Mass., in 1711. He graduated from Harvard College in 1732, and entered the legal profession, in which he achieved distinction. He was appointed Judge of Common Pleas in 1756, and from 1762 to the Revolution was Chief-Justice of that Court. In 1755 he received a commission as Colonel, and served under Sir William Johnson at Lake George and under Abercromby at Ticonderoga. He was elected President of the Colonial Congress assembled in 1765 to oppose the Stamp Act, but refused to sanction the addresses it adopted. In the Revolution he adhered to the loyalist side, and lost his estates. He received a large grant in Wilmot, Nova Scotia, where he died in 1795.

[2] Abijah Willard was born in Lancaster, Mass., in 1722. He served as Captain in the Louisbourg campaign, and in 1759 he was given the command of a Massachusetts regiment. At the beginning of the Revolution he was roughly treated by the people of Massachusetts because of his loyalist sympathies, and in 1778 he lost his property by confiscation. He accompanied the British army from Boston to Halifax, and later was Commissary in New York. After the war he settled in New Brunswick, naming his settlement

SIR JEFFERY AMHERST, K.B.

Engraved by James Watson from the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

[392] 1760. Sept.



Commanded by Brigadier-General Haviland;[19] a second corps under Governor Murray, with a suitable fleet, to work up from Quebec, composed of the flower of the remainder of his

Lancaster. He became a member of the Legislative Council, and died at Lancaster in 1789.

[3] Colonel Whitcomb, joint commander with Willard of the Massachusetts Regiment in 1760.

[4] John Thomas was born in Marshfield, Mass., in 1725. He became prominent as a physician and served on the medical staff of the provincial troops. In 1759 he was appointed Colonel in the Massachusetts forces. In 1775 he raised a regiment for the Revolution, was appointed Brigadier-General, took part in the siege of Boston, and, on the news of Montgomery's death, was

1760. Sept. garrison, reinforced by two intire battalions from Louisbourg, amounting to between three and four thousand men; while the Commander in Chief, reserving the most difficult depart-

sent with the rank of Major-General to take command of the army in Canada. He died of smallpox during the retreat, 1776.

[5] Colonel Christopher Harris.

[6] Colonel John Goffe, Captain 1746, Major 1756, Commander of the New Hampshire Regiment, raised in 1760.

[7] Major Archibald Gordon, appointed Major of the 27th Regiment, July 1758.

[8] Major John Campbell, appointed Major of the 17th Regiment, July 1759.

[9] Captain Robert Mirrie, appointed Captain of the 1st or Royal Regiment, June 1747; and Major, 77th Regiment, March 1761.

[10] Robert Rogers, Commander of the Rangers, was born, probably, in Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1727, and spent his early life in the frontier districts of New England. In 1755 he commanded a company from New Hampshire in Sir William Johnson's expedition to Lake George. In 1756 he was given command of a company of Rangers by General Shirley. During the rest of the war he was in command of the Rangers, and served chiefly on the Lake George frontier. On April 6, 1758, he was given a commission as Major by Abercromby. He served in the war against Pontiac, and was made Commander at Michilimackinac in 1766. He was arrested on charges of misconduct there, but was acquitted. He served on the British side for a short time during the American Revolution, and then removed to England, where he died, it would appear about 1800. He published two books, both in London in 1765: one, the *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, narrating his campaigns from 1755 to 1761; the other, *A Concise Account of North America*.

[11] John Darby, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 17th Regiment, May 1759.

[12] Captain Solomon, of the Rangers, mentioned in Rogers's *Journal* as placed in command of Captain Jacobs's company of Indians during his imprisonment.

[13] This indicates the company of which Major Rogers was captain.

[14] Possibly a certain Tate who was associated with Rogers at Michilimackinac in 1767. (See *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (ed. Franklin B. Hough: Albany, 1883), p. 239.)

[15] Captain James Rogers, brother of Robert Rogers and commander of a company under him. He seems to have attained the rank of Colonel.

[16] David Brewer, of Massachusetts, was appointed Ensign of Rangers in 1756, and was Captain by 1758. He served with Rogers throughout the war, accompanying him in his expedition to Detroit in 1760 after the fall of Montreal.

[17] Noah Johnson was Ensign in Robert Rogers's first company in 1755, became Lieutenant in 1756, and Captain by 1759. He was killed in a fight near Isle aux Noix on June 5, 1760.

[18] Thomas Ord, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, November 1759.

[19] William Haviland was born in Ireland in 1718. In 1739 he entered the

ment for himself, proposed to enter the colony by the lake Ontario, which, with that of St. Francis, [393] communicates with the river St. Lawrence, a few leagues above the island of Montreal. The troops that compose his Excellency's army consist of 1760. (Sept. 8th.) June.

The first battalion of the forty-second regiment,
Second battalion of ditto,
Forty-fourth regiment,
Forty-sixth ditto,
Fifty-fifth ditto,
Fourth battalion of Royal Americans,
Seventy-seventh regiment,
Gage's light infantry,
Captain Ogden's,[1] } companies
Captain Waite's,[2] } of rangers.
Colonel Scuyler's[3]—New Jersey's.
Colonel le Roux's,[4] }
Colonel Woodhull's,[5] } New-Yorkers.
Colonel Corsa's,[6] }

army as Ensign. He became Captain in the 27th Regiment, and served in the Jacobite rising of '45. He was appointed Major in 1750, and Lieutenant-Colonel in 1752. In 1757 he came with his regiment to America, and was with Abercromby at Ticonderoga in 1758. After the reduction of Canada he went to the West Indies, where he served in the expeditions against Martinique and Havana. He became Major-General in 1762, Lieutenant-General 1772, and General 1783. He died at Penn, in Buckinghamshire, in 1784.

[1] Amos Ogden, of New Jersey. He had been wounded in the attack on the Indian village of St. Francis in 1759.

[2] Captain Waite, in command of one of Rogers's companies of Rangers.

[3] Peter Schuyler was born in Newark, N.J., in 1710. On September 7, 1746, he received a commission as Colonel of the Provincial forces of New Jersey. In 1755 he was stationed at Oswego, and was taken prisoner there in the following year. He died in 1762.

[4] Bartholomew Le Roux, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1758; wounded at Ticonderoga; Colonel of the 2nd battalion of New York in 1759; Colonel of the 1st battalion in 1760.

[5] Nathaniel Woodhull was born at Mastic, Long Island, in 1722. He served as Major under Abercromby in the expedition to Ticonderoga, and under Brad-

1760. (Sept. 8th.) June.

Colonel Lyman's,[7]
Colonel Worster's,[8]
Colonel Fitche's,[9]
Colonel Whiting's,[10]
} Connecticut's.

A detachment of royal artillery, under Colonel Williamson;[11] and a corps of Indians, under Sir William Johnson.

How this arduous undertaking has been effected by the Brigadiers Murray and Haviland, the reader has already, in some measure, seen: it remains, however, to be noticed, that the latter sailed from Crown-Point on the 11th of

street in the attack on Fort Frontenac, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel, commanding the 2nd Regiment of New York Provincials. He joined the revolutionary party in 1775, was appointed Brigadier-General of Militia, was captured by the British, and died of a wound in 1776. An account by him of the Montreal expedition of 1760 was published in the *Historical Magazine*, 1861.

[6] Isaac Corsa, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st battalion of New York, 1759; served in the expedition to Niagara; Colonel of the 2nd New York battalion, 1760.

[7] Phineas Lyman was born in Durham, Connecticut, in 1716. He graduated from Yale College, and became a member of the Connecticut Legislature. In 1755 he was appointed Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Connecticut forces, and served under Sir William Johnson at Lake George. He served under Loudoun in 1757, and was at the battle of Carillon, or Ticonderoga, in 1758. In 1762 he commanded the Provincial forces taking part in the expedition against Havana, Cuba. In 1772 he obtained a grant of land on the Mississippi, and died near Natchez, Miss., in 1774.

[8] David Wooster, or Worster, was born in Stratford, Conn., in 1710. He graduated from Yale College in 1738, and in 1739 entered the Provincial forces as Lieutenant. He served in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. In 1755 he was made Colonel of Provincials, and in 1756 Brigadier-General. In 1775 he entered the revolutionary army as Brigadier-General. He took command of Montgomery's army at Quebec, after the death of that general, and was mortally wounded at Danbury, Conn., in 1777.

[9] Colonel Fitch. See note, vol. i. p. 470.

[10] Colonel John Whiting, born 1717, died 1770; Captain 1758, Major 1759, Lieutenant-Colonel 1760, and Colonel 1761.

[11] George Williamson, born about the year 1704, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Artillery, February 3, 1757. Commanded the Artillery at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. Appointed Colonel of the Royal Artillery in November 1759; Major-General, July 10, 1762. Died a Lieutenant-General, November 10, 1781.

COLONEL WILLIAMSON

From a print in the Dominion Archives

August, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Foster,[1] of the Royal, with a sufficient force to garrison and defend that post with its dependencies; that the enemy made no preparations to oppose this armament, except at the Isle au Noix, where, after giving [394] the Brigadier the trouble to break ground and erect batteries, they abandoned the island, and afterwards every other post in like manner, according as he advanced, until he reached Longueüil. The greatest embarrassments now lay in the route of the main army, whence the enemy formed the highest expectations of being able to protract the intire reduction of the colony for some time longer, flattering themselves that the news of a peace might arrive, whereby the colony would be restored to the state in which we found it last year, and all the British troops be withdrawn. This, however, was mere delusion :—a steady resolution and perseverance, on the part of the Commander in Chief, surmounted every difficulty, and, by the most approved discipline and zeal of the troops, his Excellency had the happiness to reap the fruit of his labours, to the accomplishment of which, every preparation was made. The regiments were completed, both Europeans and Provincials, as fast as they arrived at Albany, the place of their first rendezvous, and incamped : there they were instructed in the regular and irregular, if I may so express it, method of fighting, and exercised in firing ball; in fine, they were trained up in every particular that prudence, with experience, could dictate, to render the troops expert in an open or covered country; thus were the General and army employed, until the season approached for opening the campaign. It has already appeared, that there was little or no preparation made to oppose Brigadier Haviland, until he was well advanced; and then, if we may believe the country-people, they would have struck a blow, had they not been over-awed by the critical arrival of the forces from Quebec, with their frequent descents on the north

1760. (Sept. 8th.) June.

[1] William Forster, appointed Colonel of the 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot on December 24, 1755.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) June. and south coasts, which infused such terror in the Canadians, that, to prevent military execution on their parishes, they dispersed: and this conduct had so great an effect upon the French regulars, who deserted their cause in such numbers, that those who remained were incapacitated from making any attempt on the Brigadier's corps; moreover, having experienced that Governor [395] Murray acted cautiously, and did not appear disposed to undertake any thing of consequence, they turned their principal attention towards the Commander in Chief's army; reinforced such of their remaining frontier-posts, in his route, as time and circumstances permitted; detached scouting parties to watch his Excellency's motions, or harass his troops in case of landing; and their armed vessels were in motion, on Lake Ontario, early in the month of June.

Thus far I think proper to premise, by way of introduction, to General Amherst's operations.

21st. All things being in readiness, the forces embarked for Oswego, and, the greatest part of them being well advanced up the Mohawk river, his Excellency took his departure from Shenectady, and proceeded, by the same route, through Lake Oneida, which communicates with the said river Mohawk, and that of Onondaga, thence into the Ontario.[1]

July 6th. Two French vessels having this day appeared off Oswego, some batteaus, with a detachment, are sent express to Captain Loring, who is equipping our own armed vessels at Niagara, to acquaint him with that event.

9th. The General, with part of the troops, arrived this day at Oswego; before his Excellency left Albany, Brigadier Haviland's corps had passed up Hudson's river, on their way northward; the women were not allowed to proceed with the army *.

[1] See plan facing this page.

* The allowance of conveyances for baggage is one waggon per company of a regiment whose establishment is seven hundred men, or seventy per company; and three waggons to two companies of the regiments of a thousand men; besides one waggon to the Commanding Officer, and one to the Staff of each corps. The Sutlers of the former have two ox-carts; of the latter, three

[396] The French armed vessels appeared off the harbour, and, as our two snows,[1] the Onondaga * and Mohawk *,[2] were hourly expected, some batteaus were detached that way, hoping the enemy's vessels would endeavour to intercept them; but they disregarded them, and bore away for the bay of Cataraqui. The troops are daily dropping in; as they arrive, they are employed in clearing ground for an incampment, and erecting sheds or booths for hospitals. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) July. 12th.

A fort is marked out to be constructed here, in which we are well seconded by the provincial troops, who furnish us with artificers of all professions; gallies are likewise building to proceed with the army; they are to mount cannon, and to be worked with oars. Our two snows made their appearance this evening; they were equipped with every thing that could be wanted without loss of time, and ordered to proceed to the river St. Lawrence, to intercept and fight the two vessels of the enemy. 14th.

Several men, both of the regulars and provincials, who had inlisted to serve for a limited time, having applied for discharges, were refused: the General having issued orders, that, as the service required it, no man should be discharged until the end of the campaign; but, in consequence of their being thus compelled to continue, a suitable gratification is directed to be paid to them respectively, which has prevented any discontents, many of them having desired to be re-inlisted. The French vessels appeared again to-day off Oswego; our snows went in pursuit of them, and, notwithstanding every precaution 20th.

each: and, for water-carriage, they have batteaus in proportion to this allowance.

N.B. The General's humanity always extended to the poor women, who had subsistence granted them, when not permitted to follow their husbands. —*Note by author.*

[1] Snow, a square-rigged vessel, differing from a brig only in having a try-sail mast close abaft the mainmast.

* The former carried eighteen guns, four were nine-pounders, and the rest sixes, with one hundred men; the other carried sixteen six-pounders, and had ninety men.—*Note by author.*

[2] These vessels were built on Lake Ontario, under the direction of Captain Loring, in 1759.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) July. was taken to intercept them, they escaped. All our advanced posts are ordered to intrench, to prevent a surprise; quarter and rear-guards are faced outwards, with the same directions to strengthen their ground.

[397] ORDERS.

The orders of the 16th express the General's desire, "That "the regiments will have their ground for incampment so clear "by that night, that they will be able to furnish most of their "men for completing the works of the fort, which are so "essential for the future protection of this country, that no "time must be lost in effecting it before the troops are all "assembled here, at which time the whole will proceed over "the lake for the reduction of Canada."

23d. The army continues healthy, being supplied with fresh and salt provisions almost alternately; a market is established in the center of the line; spruce-beer is brewed, and issued to the men at three coppers, or English halfpence, per gallon; and fresh bread is baked for them according to the following regulation:

ORDERS.

"No Baker, in this army, will be allowed to take more "than one penny sterling for baking seven pounds of flour, "which makes a loaf nine pounds weight; if the provincials "pay the Bakers in kind, they are not to take seven pounds of "bread for seven pounds of flour, which is a shameful de- "duction from the portion allowed to the soldier, and too "exorbitant a profit to the Baker; any of the corps are at "liberty to get it baked cheaper, if they can."

The troops from Shenectady and Albany are daily joining us, and Sir William Johnson, with a great part of the Indians, are this day arrived.

25th. The works at the fort are carrying on with great diligence;

above four hundred labouring men, with Officers in proportion, are daily employed there, besides artificers of every occupation; and a [398] number of Ship-carpenters, &c. are engaged in the navy-yard on the row-gallies, and repairing other vessels; there are to be six of these floats, some of which are nearly completed. Batteaus, with large detachments, proceed frequently to the great falls for artillery-stores and provisions. The Indians having been very riotous lately in their camp, the General was much disobliged thereat, and has given orders to Sir William Johnson to prevent such irregularities for the future; and, that the soldiers may not be concerned in their disturbances, they are injoined not to stir out of their own camp, after retreat-beating, on pain of being severely punished. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) July.

ORDERS.

"In consequence of a general court-martial at London, "ordered by his Majesty, for the trial of L—— G—— "S——,[1] for having disobeyed the orders of Pr—— F—— "of Br——,[2] at the battle of M—d—n,[3] on the 1st of "August, 1759, the following sentence, pursuant to his "Majesty's commands, *is this day published to the army*:— "That the Officers being convinced neither high birth nor "great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, "and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse "than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they "may avoid the fatal consequences arising from the dis- "obedience of orders." The sentence runs thus:

'—— This court, upon due consideration of the whole 'matter before them, is of opinion, that L—— G—— S——

[1] Lord George Sackville, first Viscount Sackville, son of the seventh Earl of Sackville and first Duke of Dorset.

[2] Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

[3] Minden. For particulars of this dismissal, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, article "Germain, George Sackville."

1760. (Sept. 8th.) July. 'is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Pr—— F—— of 'Br——, whom he was, by his commission and instructions, 'directed to obey, as Commander in Chief, according to the 'rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that 'the said L—— G—— S—— is, and he is hereby adjudged, 'unfit to serve [399] his Majesty in any military capacity 'whatever.'—Which sentence his Majesty has been pleased to confirm.*

31st. The working party at the fort is now commanded by a Field-Officer, and augmented to six hundred; moreover, in order to expedite this business, and as the weather is cooler at present than it has been for some time past, the troops are ordered to continue, from morning until night, working by three reliefs. The forty-fourth regiment, with a detachment of Gage's light infantry, and New-Yorkers, who had been detached to Presqu' Isle †, rejoined the army.

ORDERS.

August 1st. "A charitable society formed in England, under the "denomination of the society of the British troops abroad, and "for the orphans of soldiers slain in battle, having been pleased "to transmit to the General a sum of two thousand one "hundred and one Spanish dollars, to be by him disposed of "in such a manner as he shall think proper, the Commanding "Officers of regiments will make a report of any widows or

* By way of friendly hint to some young, unthinking, and inexperienced brethren, who are very frequently given to cavilling, and displaying what they would have pass for wit, when an order is issued out, laying them under some restraints, which perhaps they themselves have incurred; I shall take the liberty to subjoin the following sentiments:—'He who intrenches himself 'within the strict punctilio's of discipline, who scans syllables, weighs words, 'and debates phrases, may protect his person from punishment, but will never 'shelter his character from scorn.'—*Note by author.*

† This fort is on Lake Erie, on the opposite side to Long Point, and about one hundred miles from the east end of the lake, which communicates with that of Ontario at Niagara.—*Note by author.*

" orphans of soldiers slain in battle in America, or of any other " object deserving of this charitable and humane donation, that " the General may distribute amongst such the aforesaid sum, " agreeable to the intention of the donors." [1] 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

[400] The regiments are out alternately, exercising and firing balls; for this purpose, stuffed gabions are fixed up for them, that the shot may be recovered, when ordered to be sought for.

This day we received the agreeable intelligence of Colonel Montgomery's success over the Cherokee Indians, having defeated them in an engagement, burned several towns, and laid waste the greatest part of their country.—Divine Service

[1] This society appears to have been formed in 1760, by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Granby, and others, to provide clothing, such as waistcoats, shoes, stockings, and caps, for the British soldiers abroad, and grants of money for the widows and orphans of soldiers who were left destitute. The sum of £75,000 seems to have been collected in the year 1760; and the subscribers to the society, and the disposition of the funds, are set forth in a book, printed in London in 1760, and edited by Jonas Hanway, which bears the title, "An Account of the Society for the Encouragement of the British Troops, in Germany and North America. With the Motives to the making a present to those troops, also to the widows and orphans of such of them as have died in defence of their country, particularly at the battles of Thonhausen [Minden], Quebec, &c." The "Account" sets forth at some length the importance of the conquest of Quebec, and the wish of the subscribers not only to relieve the needy, but also to give "a mark of acknowledgement to the *soldiery*, who had been the immediate instruments in bringing them [the campaign] to so happy an issue." The writer feels it necessary to reassure his readers against their conscientious scruples at the encouragement of improvidence among the soldiers. He admits that "the troops at *Quebec* have been supplied, through the whole winter past, with *provisions*, and consequently they might have saved a great part of their money if they pleased." To the reader who has followed the narrative of sufferings undergone by the unpaid soldiers at Quebec comment is needless. Nevertheless, "all circumstances considered, it must be presumed, that many soldiers in *America* have worn out their cloaths very fast, and that a *pair of shoes* will be very welcome to some of them, especially when the present is considered as a token of approbation for good conduct." "Therefore in this general view, it was *resolved*, to send to AMERICA, *eight thousand pair of the best shoes* which could be procured, at the price of *five shillings* a pair, half part to be conveyed directly to *Quebec*, and the other half to *New York*." In addition, the society remitted to General Amherst £500 for the relief of widows and orphans.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. is regularly performed every Sunday to the army; the regulars, provincials, rangers, and Indians alternately, to some in the morning, to others in the afternoon; the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie[1] officiates to the Indians.

5th At a muster, taken this day, of the corps of savages under Sir William Johnson, they amount to thirteen hundred and thirty, composed of the following different nations, most of whom were lately in alliance with the French, and by them called Iroquois:[2]

Senesagos,	329
Cayugas,	284
Tuscarores,	37
Cunasarages,	20
Mohawks,	51
Mohians,	12
Oquagos,	18
Oswegatcheis,	15
The Belt Party,	12
Senecas,	114
Onondagoes,	203
Oneidas,	60
Canajorakies,	85
Schonaries,	22
Chennogoas,	31
Mawas,	3
Caunadroghas,	34
Total	1330

[401] warriors, who for the most part inhabit the country on the banks of lake Erie. There is, however, little dependance to be had in those people; and to govern them requires no

[1] This is probably the Rev. John Ogilvie, Indian missionary.

[2] Mr. Duncan C. Scott, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, has kindly furnished the editor with the following note regarding the Indians here mentioned:

"I have been able to trace most of them, but two remain unexplained—

small fund of address, being of a dissatisfied, unsettled, wandering disposition. 1760. (Sept. 8th.)

The troops are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march and embark on the shortest notice.[1] The forty-sixth regiment joined the army to-day. The grenadiers of the army, amounting to about six hundred men, are imbodied; and Lieutenant-Colonel Massey[2] commands this corps, with Captain Campbel,[3] as Major, to assist him; the light infantry companies of the regiments are also incorporated, forming six hundred men in like manner, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Amherst,[4] with Captain de Lancy,[5] as Major, to be his assistant. The following corps are directed to receive the complement of batteaus and whale-boats annexed to them. August. 6th.

First battalion of Royal Highlanders,	42d regiment,	23 batteaus
Second ditto,		21
Forty-fourth regiment,		30
Forty-sixth,		...
Fifty-sixth,		26
Fourth battalion of Royal Americans,		21
Seventy-seventh regiment, Highlanders,		27
Colonel Massey's grenadiers,		29
Eightieth regiment, light infantry,		32 whaleboats
Colonel Amherst's battalion of ditto,		40

Senesagos and Mawas. The former may be a corruption of Senecas, but I do not think so.

"Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Mohawks are all divisions of the Six Nations.

"Mohians must be Mohegans, the well-known Algonquin tribe.

"The Oswegatchies were immigrants of the Six Nations, chiefly Onondagas, settled at La Gallette, on the river St. Lawrence.

"The remaining names are those of Indian villages belonging to the different tribes of the Six Nation League.

"Cunasarages—this is a variant of Kannassarago, which means 'White House.'

"Oquagos is the same as Oquaga (wild grape): Tuscaroras.

"Schonaries, probably Schoharie—a Mohawk village near the present place of that name in New York State.

"Chennogoas, probably Shenango—a village settled by Nanticokes from Maryland under Iroquois protection."

[1] See embarkation returns in Appendix. [2] See note, p. 187.

[3] John Campbell, appointed Captain of the 42nd Regiment, April 9, 1756.

[4] See note 3, vol. i. p. 459.

[5] James de Lancey, appointed Captain in the 46th Regiment, February 12, 1759.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. Two companies of rangers, seven whale-boats each, and one batteau for baggage: every corps is allowed two batteaus over and above the foregoing numbers, for their staff, medicine-chest, and suttler; except the eightieth regiment, which is to have three, and Amherst's battalion of light infantry, four, for the same purposes. Eight oars, six paddles, four setting-poles and one scoop to each batteau: eight oars, twelve paddles, two setting-poles and one scoop to each whale-boat. Each corps are to mark their own [402] batteaus on the starboard bow, and to be ranged in two ranks, extending up the river; and the Colonels commanding brigades, with the Officers commanding battalions, will be allowed one whale-boat respectively, for their own use. The complement of men in each batteau, besides a quantity of provisions, not exceeding fourteen barrels of flour, or twelve of pork, to be about twenty, a few more or less; and in each whale-boat about fourteen.

7th. Colonel Massey's battalion of grenadiers, with Colonel Amherst's corps of light infantry, the first battalion of Royal Highlanders, and the two companies of rangers: all under the command of Colonel Haldimand are detached to take post at the bottom of the lake, and to assist the Onondaga and Mohawk in finding a passage to la Galette;[1] an Officer and thirty men are put on board each of these vessels: and two Engineers, with a batteau laden with intrenching-tools and a number of felling-axes, set off at the same time.

9th. The Jersey blues, commanded by that brave expert Officer Colonel Scuyler, joined the army yesterday and to-day; this is a well disciplined, regular corps; their uniform is blue faced with scarlet, a good body of men, and make a respectable appearance. The works of the fort are now completed, as to the outward defences; but the interior parts are left for the garrison to finish: about half-way between this fortress and lake Oneida[2] stands a blockhouse, and at the west end of that

[1] See plan, p. 558.

[2] See plan, p. 530.

water, which is about ten leagues long, we have another fort, with a strong post also at the eastern extremity of it; by these means a communication is kept up with the lakes, and the circumjacent country is protected from farther insults, or apprehensions. Five row-gallies have been built here, and mounted with twelve-pounders; a sixth was intended, but, as the summer is far advanced, the General does not seem disposed to retard the business of the campaign any longer, and, having a sufficient force [403] without it, the army will proceed to-morrow, every preparation being made for this purpose. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

The troops were ordered to embark early this morning, but this business being unavoidably attended with great delay, where such prodigious numbers of batteaus and other craft are necessary, the General went forward with the remainder of the regulars, leaving the provincials and rear-guard of the army to follow with all convenient speed, under Brigadier Gage. At night we had a violent storm, which continued, whereby several batteaus and boats were staved and lost, but very fortunately we had only one man drowned. Captain Stuart,[1] of the Royal Highlanders, with one hundred and sixty-nine men, remain at Oswego for garrison-duty; besides sixty artificers to carry on the works of the fort, under the direction of Captain Sowers,[2] Engineer: our number of sick, in the hospital there, amounts to almost two hundred and ninety. 10th.

Brigadier Gage completed the embarkation, and departed from Oswego on the 11th; to-day he came up with the first division, without meeting with any accident, and the army joined Colonel Haldimand's[3] advanced corps. By the number of men left to garrison the different posts behind us, and a 14th.

[1] In the 42nd, or Royal Highland, Regiment, there were a Captain James Stewart, appointed to that rank July 18, 1757, and a Captain John Stuart, appointed July 20, 1758.

[2] Thomas Sowers, Engineer-Extraordinary and Captain-Lieutenant, appointed March 1759.

[3] Colonel Haldimand. See note, vol. i. p. 493.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. variety of other casualties, the embarkation return of the army does not exceed ten thousand one hundred and forty-two: and, notwithstanding our strong muster of Indian warriors on the 5th instant, they are now, by desertion, reduced to seven hundred and six; the army sails in the same order as heretofore, except that we form three columns only instead of four.

15th. The Onondago and Mohawk, whom we passed to-day, having got out of the right channel, cannot accomplish to proceed with the forces; and the General having received intelligence by an Indian that one of the enemy's vessels lies off la Galette; that the other is a-ground and so much damaged that she cannot sail from the fort; his Excellency has determined not to wait for the snows, but to push forward with all expedition, and route the enemy from [404] their advanced post at l'Isle Royale, the only obstruction, we are told, we may expect in the river, the navigation excepted.

16th. The General has advanced with the five row-gallies, after first fixing an eight-inch howitzer on board one of them, attended by the van of the army, commanded by Colonel Francis Grant,[1] consisting of the grenadiers, light infantry corps, and rangers: but, as it was late in the afternoon before we reached the Point de Barille,[2] an express was sent back to Brigadier Gage, with orders, in case he cannot make that point, to land the army on the north shore. Some time after we got a view of the enemy's brig, who, upon discovering us, fired signal-guns; upon which, the weather being mild and favourable, we endeavoured to push on and attack her, but, sable night interposing, we are obliged to postpone it, and therefore have taken shelter in the south shore; the remainder of the army arrived very late at the Point de Barille.

17th. The Outawa brig attempted to escape up the river very

[1] See note, vol. i. p. 469. [2] Point de Barille, Point au Baril.

early this morning, but was interrupted by our row-gallies, commanded by Colonel Williamson,[1] who attacked her vigorously, when, after an obstinate engagement of two hours and upwards, wherein she had fifteen men killed and wounded, her Commander, M. de la Broquerie[2] thought proper to strike; it has been observed before, that four of these gallies carried each a brass twelve-pounder, and the fifth an howitzer. This is a remarkable action, and does great honour to the Colonel, who was a volunteer on this occasion; for the brig mounted one eighteen-pounder, seven twelve-pounders, two eights, with four swivels, and had one hundred men on board, being a topsail, of near one hundred and sixty tons: she discharged seventy-two rounds; and the gallies, who had five Officers and twenty-five artillery-men only exclusive of provincial rowers, fired one hundred and eighteen: the General was highly pleased at this capture, which he testified by his acknowledgments to the Colonel and Officers, with a generous reward to the Gunners. Such was the service performed by four guns and one howitzer, with the sole loss of one man [405] killed and two wounded; and such the prowess displayed in this fight by a Land-Officer, in the lake Ontario, that it deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity, and registered among the

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

[1] "All this while, one of the enemy's vessels kept hovering about the army; and, as Captain Loring had not yet got into the right channel, it became necessary, for the safety of the army, either to compel this vessel to retire, or to take her. The General was, therefore, obliged to order Colonel Williamson, with the row-gallies well manned, to do one or the other. On the 17th, the gallies advanced with the utmost intrepidity, under a very heavy fire from the enemy; but it did not in the least damp the ardour of the assailants; their fire was returned with such resolution and bravery, that, after a severe contest of about four hours, the French vessel struck her colours. She mounted ten twelve-pounders; and had on board one hundred men, twelve of whom were killed or wounded. Two of Colonel Williamson's detachment were killed, and three wounded. The General immediately named the vessel the Williamson, in honour of the Colonel, and to perpetuate the memory of so gallant an action." (Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, p. 303.)

[2] Captain Labroquerie of *l'Outawa*, formerly Captain of *l'Huron* on Lake Ontario.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. most memorable naval engagements that are recorded in the British annals. Two Engineers, with covering parties, were, immediately after the action, detached down the river, to reconnoitre l'Isle Royale, with the adjoining coasts and islands. Brigadier Gage, with the main of the army, joined, from the Point de Barille; and the General having possessed himself of Oswegatchie *, the whole incamped there.

18th. The weather is exceedingly unfavourable to our operations, yet the General, intent on a vigorous prosecution of his measures, resolves to lose no time: this morning was taken up with the repairs of the row-gallies and prize-vessel, and at ten o'clock the Engineers, with the covering party, returned, and made their report; but his Excellency was predetermined, and the army are in readiness. The first division, consisting of the grenadiers, two battalions of light infantry, the right brigade of regulars, Scuyler's regiment, the greatest part of the Indians with Sir William Johnson, three row-gallies, and some field artillery, are to proceed down by the north shore, commanded by the General in person; pass the fort, and take possession of the islands and coasts below it; at the same time the second division, composed of the left brigade of regulars, Lyman's regiment, two ranging companies, the remainder of the Indians, and two row-gallies, under the command of Colonel Haldimand, to row down to the south coast, and take post opposite to the fort, where they will not be exposed to the [406] fire of the place, whilst the prize, now deservedly called the Williamson Brig, under Lieutenant Sinclair, will sail down the center of the river, between the two divisions, with directions to moor at random shot from the fort; Brigadier-General Gage, with the rest of

* Called by some Geographers *Chouagatcchie*, and by the French *la Galete*, where there is a considerable rivulet of the same name: it lies to the southward of l'Isle Royale, l'Isle Galot, and a clutch of other islands, of which the former is the most northerly, at the head of the Rapids; and is computed to be about twenty miles down to [*sic*] the river, from the north-east corner of Lake Ontario.—*Note by author.*

the army and the heavy artillery, to remain at Oswegatchi. Such is the disposition his Excellency made, before the return of the Engineers, and it was spiritedly executed accordingly, under a brisk and continued cannonade, directed against the brig and the General's column, whereby one galley was sunk, ten men were killed and wounded, one of whom lost a thigh, and many batteaus and oars were grazed with shot; as the north division rowed in single files, it was eleven at night before the sternmost boat joined, and then the blockade of the fort was completely formed. Our Indians landed on the islands Galot [1] and Picquet, which the enemy abandoned with the greatest precipitation, having left a number of scalps, two swivel-guns, some barrels of pitch, a quantity of tools and utensils, with some iron, behind them; our Indians were so exasperated at finding the scalps, that they fired all their houses, not sparing even the chapel. Late in the night an attempt was made to weigh up the galley that was sunk, but we could not succeed. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

The General, with Colonel Williamson and Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre *, reconnoitred the fort and the islands nearest to it, on two of which ground is made choice of for batteries, about six hundred yards from the fort, as also for a third on an advantageous point of land on the south shore; and detachments are immediately ordered to break ground, cut and make fascines, with every other preparation for carrying on the siege. Orders are sent to Oswegatchi for [407] the heavy artillery, which are expected down this night. The Onondaga and Mohawk appeared to-day, they received orders, in like 19th.

[1] Gallop Islands; see plan.

* This genteel fellow arrived at that rank solely by his merit, of which he had a large share; he was unfortunately drowned in his passage to Ireland, long after the conclusion of the war, and in the prime of his life. In his profession, as an Engineer, he was exceedingly eminent, and an honour to his country; the service and the army, to whom he was a shining ornament, have sustained a very considerable loss by his death.[2]—*Note by author.*

[2] See note 3, p. 182.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) manner, as the brig, to come to an anchor at random shot from the fort, and, if cannonaded, not to return it.

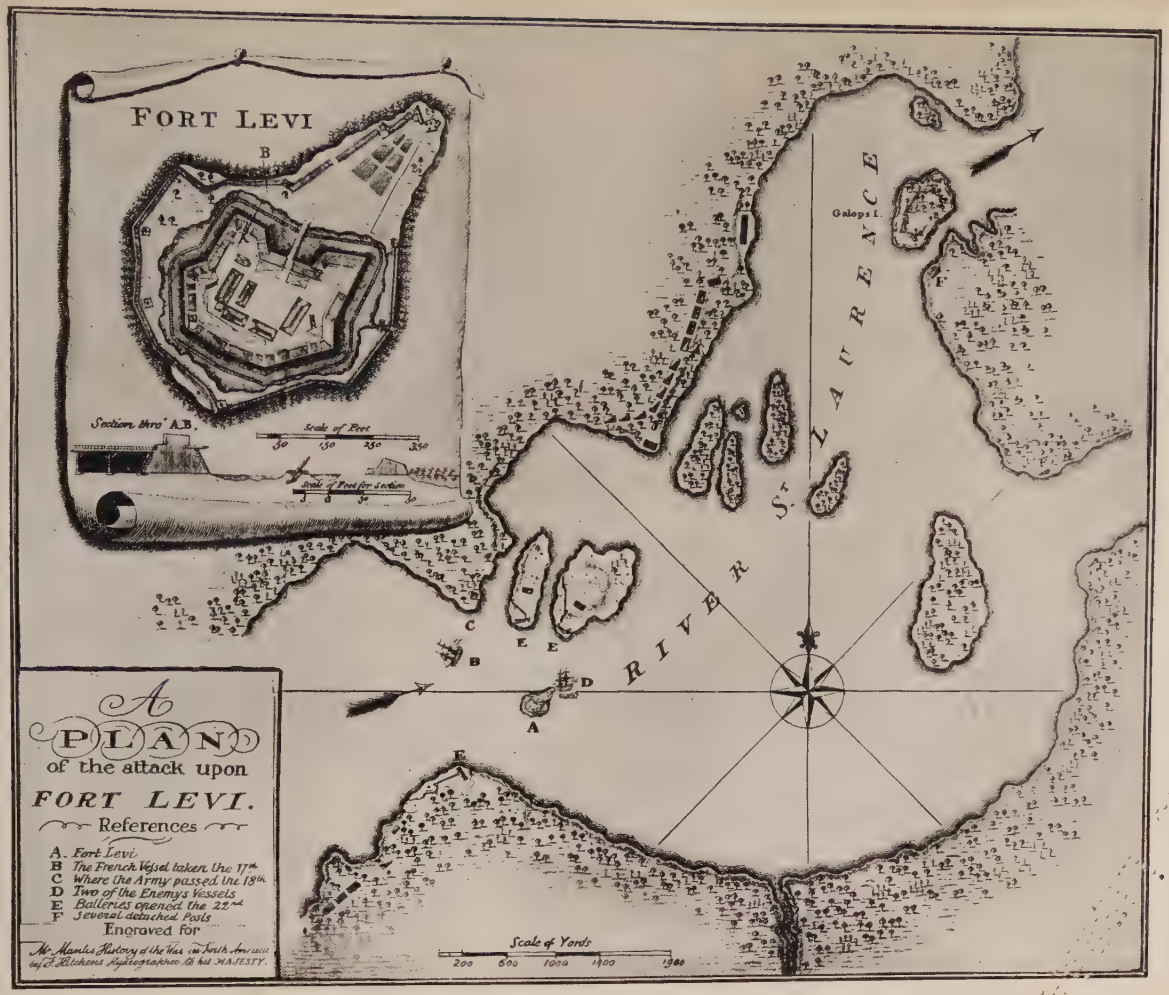
August. 20th. The remainder of the army, except one Connecticut regiment, are ordered down from Oswegatchie; whence our heavy artillery arrived late last night, and the row-galley, with her gun, were weighed up. The fort fired on the brig yesterday, which she spiritedly returned, until ordered to desist.

22d. The troops have worked with such diligence, that our batteries will be completed this night, and ready to play on Fort Levis[1] to-morrow.

23d. The batteries were opened this morning, and had such effect, that the enemy drew in their guns, and endeavoured to serve them *à couvert*. After some hours' firing a disposition was made to storm the fort with the grenadiers of the army, in which the three vessels were to have assisted; for this purpose a number of marksmen were judiciously placed on board each ship, with a view of compelling the enemy to abandon their guns; and they were ordered to fall down on the fort, within the range of small arms; but whether the vessels were confused with the weight of the enemy's fire, or that the miscarriage may be imputed to the navigation, or the wind, is difficult to determine; for the General, not approving of their manner of working down, sent orders to them to return to their former station, and desisted from his project for the present. The garrison expended a great deal of ammunition to little purpose; and our artillery were so well served, that the enemy were rather shy of standing to their guns.

25th. We have had warm cannonading on both sides, but their guns being at length dismounted by our superior fire, M. Pouchot, the Governor, after displaying as much gallantry as could be expected in his situation, beat a *chamade*, and, in the afternoon, capitulated for his garrison, who are become

[1] See plan.



A PLAN OF THE ATTACK UPON FORT LEVI

From Mante's "History"

prisoners of war; they consist of two [408] Captains, six Subalterns, and two hundred and ninety-one men, all ranks included; they had a Lieutenant of artillery, with twelve men, killed, and thirty-five wounded; our loss, in this siege, are, twenty-one men killed, and twenty-three wounded.[1] The ordnance, mounted at Fort Levis, are twelve twelve-pounders, two eight-pounders, two sixes, thirteen fours, four of one pound each, and four brass six-pounders; Lieutenant-Colonel Massey has taken possession of the Fort with three companies of his battalion. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.

Fort Levis,[2] on l'Isle Royale, is in a most advantageous

[1] Amherst in his despatch to Pitt of August 26 reported the number of prisoners from the fort as 247 men (of whom 21 were artificers), and from the two captured brigs 137. Of the garrison 12 were killed and 35 wounded, and of the crew of the *Ottawawa* 3 killed and 12 wounded. The British lost 22 killed and 23 wounded in the land forces, and 4 killed and 19 wounded on the ships. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 216; C. 5 : 59; formerly A. & W. I., vol. 94.)

[2] See note 2, p. 506. Pouchot tells the story of the siege thus:

"As soon as the vessels were placed, they began a very brisk and continuous fire from twenty-five cannon, and at the same time the enemy unmasked the battery at Ganataragoin, consisting of two twenty-fours and four twelves, as also that on the Island of La Cuisse, of fourteen pieces of twelves and eighteens, and a third one on the Isle la Magdelaine, of two pieces of twenty-four and six of twelve. At the first volley M. Bertrand, artillery officer, was instantly killed by a cannon ball through his loins, as he stood pointing out to M. Pouchot the calibre of their guns.

"A quarter of an hour later they began to throw bombs from the Island la Magdelaine, where they had two twelve-inch bomb mortars, six mortars for royal grenades, and two howitzers. On the Island La Cuisse six mortars for royal grenades, and on Point Ganataragoin two twelve inch mortars, two for royal grenades and two howitzers, making in all seventy-five mouths of fire.

"M. Pouchot received quite a bruise from a piece of wood ten feet long and fourteen inches square, which a twelve-inch bomb knocked over, injuring his back, but this did not prevent him from being wherever he was needed.

"All these batteries were served with the greatest vigour and without ceasing till noon, and made the fort fly into pieces and splinters. Our men remained under cover, each one at his post, and the sentinels only observed the movements of the enemy. Thinking from our silence that we were perhaps disconcerted, they advanced their vessels to within pistol shot of the fort. They were filled with troops, even to the rigging, and were supported by the fire of all the land batteries.

"Fortunately they could only come before the fort one by one, from the

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. situation; the island is small, and intirely comprehended within the works, which are carried on in the same irregular manner as Nature has formed the insulary shores about it;

manner in which the first vessel came up, and which saw as far to the entrance of the fort, which was also enfiladed by the battery of La Magdelaine. M. Pouchot had in advance covered this with heavy blindages, leaving only a passage sufficient for one man.

"He thought that the enemy intended to attack with a heavy force. At least three thousand men, volunteers, grenadiers, and light troops, were embarked in bateaux, and placed behind the point of La Cuisse Island, from whence they could emerge under the aid of the fire of the three vessels and the land batteries.

"The movements of the vessels soon induced M. Pouchot to place 150 men and four officers on the side opposite the epaulment. He fought the vessels one after another with five guns, the only ones that were mounted, charged with balls and grape, without replying to the land batteries.

"Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's fire with our five pieces and our musketry, we forced the *Outaouaise*, and then the *Oneida*, to run aground half a league from the fort, near the Galot Islands. One of the two was not in further condition to serve. The *Seneca* of 22 guns, in trying to come nearer the fort grounded also, and was so cut to pieces that she struck her flag, having then on board three hundred and fifty men. The side of the vessel towards the fort was in very bad condition, her battery touched the water and her port holes made only one opening. The water she had taken in made her lean towards the fort. M. Pouchot gave orders to discontinue the fire as he wished to save his powder. The second captain and some sailors came to surrender. M. Pouchot retained them as hostages, but could not receive the whole, as they were more numerous than his garrison.

"In the intervals between these combats the enemy attempted to land two or three times, to make an attack from the point opposite the Isle la Cuisse. Two guns that were pointed in that direction restrained them, and made them retire behind that point. It is probable that the bad condition in which they found their vessels took away their desire of advancing. This action lasted from five in the morning to half-past seven in the evening, without the fire ceasing. We had forty men killed or wounded. We cannot too much praise the firmness which the officers, colonial soldiers, militia, and especially the cannoniers, who were sailors, displayed on the occasion. Three or four of the latter could never be rewarded for their address and activity in serving their pieces. The enemy, like ourselves, fired ball and grape constantly. M. Pouchot directed a blacksmith to cut up some old irons, with which he filled sacks and put into the bore of his guns, adding a ball, which did terrible execution upon the vessels, on account of the height of the ramparts which placed them under our fire, so that we could see upon their decks.

"One thing which amused the garrison at the most serious moments of the battle was, that the Indians, who were perched upon their trenches and

but the area of the fort is a regular square within four bastions only, which seems to have been the first intention upon fortifying the island; so that the other defences, to all appearance, 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August,

batteries to watch the contest with the vessels, which they regarded as on their side, on account of the names that had been given them, and because they carried an Indian painted upon their flags, made furious cries at seeing them so mal-treated. The English had assured them that with these vessels alone they would make the place surrender. When these Indians saw them drift off and ground, they redoubled their cries, and sung out railing names at the English, saying: 'You did not want to kill our father at Niagara; see how you are taking him! If you had listened to us, you would not have been here! A Frenchman's fist has made you cringe!' This action had, however, dismantled all the tops of the parapets around half of the fort, thrown down the fascines that were placed on the side of La Cuisse Island and in front of the two demi-bastions.

"At night, M. Pouchot endeavoured to repair with sacks of earth the batteries of the bastion opposite the island so that they could be served. This bastion was ready to tumble down, and we could have walked upon the slope formed by the earth that had fallen down.

"The enemy continued through the night to bombard us, and fired volleys of cannon from each battery, loaded with shot and grape, at intervals, to prevent us from making repairs. We had two men killed and several wounded.

"On the 23d, the enemy continued to bombard and cannonade vigorously all day. At night we tried the same bombardment and volleys of cannon at intervals as on the night previous.

"On the 24th, they unmasked a new battery to break down the wooden redoubt at the end of the island, and to enfilade our intrenchments on the side opposite the islands. Their batteries continued as violently as on the preceding days, and fires caught in the ruins of the magazine, and in the quarters of the commandant, but these were happily extinguished without the enemy observing our difficulty. We had but little trouble to take care of what little powder and balls we had left. The enemy's batteries dismounted all the cannon of the bastion opposite the islands. The coffers of the parapets were razed down to within two feet of the terre-plein, greatly exposing the powder magazine, which was only made of some large beams.

"On the 25th, at day break, M. Pouchot fired vigorously three pieces upon the batteries which troubled us the most, and which were the only ones left on the side attacked. Even one of these three pieces, and the most important one, wanted a third of its length, having broken twice. Notwithstanding its calibre we put in two or three small balls. We had perceived by the enemy's movements that this kind of firing troubled them much in their trenches, but we found it out of our power to ruin or even to materially injure their batteries.

"The activity of our fire put the English in bad humour, and in the afternoon they redoubled theirs from all their batteries, and fired red-hot balls, fire-pots,

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. have been occasionally added to render the place more respectable, and cut off our communication to Montreal; to which it is an excellent barrier, at the head of a number of dreadful rapids, and commands, in a great measure, the navigation between Lake Ontario and Canada. The country north and south is apparently even, rich, and capable of great improvement, inhabited principally by Indians, which, with the uncommon fertility of the circumjacent islands, producing Indian and other corn in great abundance, and the prospect of an immense fur-trade, induced the Governor-General of the colony to establish a strong settlement in this district. The batteries erected against Fort Levis consisted of six guns each, besides mortars, though designed for a greater number, if necessary, and the two islands whereon they are constructed are occupied chiefly by Colonel Massey's grenadiers, with Brigadier Gage's and Colonel Amherst's corps of light infantry, who first took possession of them; and the remainder of the army, except Colonel Haldimand's detachment on the south-point battery, are dispersed on other contiguous islands, in such manner as to surround the fortress, and cut off the enemy's retreat, in case they had been inclined to abandon and retire.

[409] As the occurrences of this campaign are extremely interesting, I shall present the reader with another narrative, equally authentic, of the foregoing transactions; different men make different observations, and the following relation contains some particulars not already told, therefore I am persuaded it will be very satisfactory:

'Between the 6th and 14th of July the enemy's armed

and carcases. This was too much for this miserable fort, which was now only a litter of carpenter's wood and fascines. The hot shot set fire to the saucissons of the interior revetment of the bastion, already down, but we extinguished it. From this we may see how the rampart was ruined. Some fire-pots also kindled twice in the debris of the fort, and we also extinguished these flames with water found in the holes made by bursting bombs.

"This determined M. Pouchot, with the advice of all the officers of the garrison, to write to General Amherst." (Pouchot's *Memoir upon the Late War in North America* (edited by F. B. Hough, 1866), vol. ii. pp. 28–34.)

'vessels appeared on Lake Ontario, and Captain Loring, who 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.
'came round to us from Niagara with our two snows, was
'ordered in quest of them; foggy weather happening, the
'enemy discovered Captain Loring's vessel only, and, thinking
'him alone, bore down to fight him, which he declined, by
'edging away towards his companion, and thereby gave the
'French, as we afterwards learned, an opportunity to discover
'both our snows; whereupon they crowded sail, and got down
'to La Gallette, Oswegatchie, notwithstanding the General's
'orders were peremptory, "to intercept and fight the enemy's
'"vessels in their passage down the Cataraqui."[1] This was
'looked upon as an unfavourable circumstance, being appre-
'hensive lest the enemy, having once discovered our strength,
'would not venture up the river again, and the taking or
'destroying them would greatly accelerate our getting forwards;
'besides, we had reason to suspect they might moor their vessels
'as floating-batteries against our batteaus and whale-boats in
'going down. From this to the 9th of August, we were em-
'ployed in getting our batteaus and whale-boats in order, and
'distributing them, together with five row-gallies, properly
'manned, to fight the enemy's brigs, and cross the lake. On
'the 10th we moved forward, having detached the light
'infantry on before, under the convoy of two sloops; in four
'of our gallies, which are something like Folkstone cutters,
'though not so strong, we mounted four heavy brass twelve-
'pounders, and in the fifth an eight-inch howitzer. By the
'16th we got down within three miles of Oswegatchie, where
'we saw one of the French brigs lying in wait for us (the other
'having grounded, and thereby rendered useless). In our
'passage [410] we saw our two snows at anchor,[2] not trusting

[1] See note 1, p. 192.

[2] Loring reported as follows to the Admiralty:

"Ile Royal in the River St. Lawrence,
August 26th 1760.

"SIR,—I must beg the Favour of you to acquaint their Lordships, that I received Orders on the seventh of August to proceed with the Two Snows, the

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. 'to go any farther, having taken a wrong channel, among 'many islands, and being to go back part of the way to find 'the right one; we thought this an unlucky event, yet re-

Onandago and Mohawk, then laying in Oswego Harbour, to the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, and endeavour to find out the Channel to Ile Royal, an Island the French had fortified in the River. The Army was to follow in two or three Days. I accordingly proceeded into said River, but the Navigation being extremely difficult, and having no Pilot, was not able to get down to the Island till the 19th, the Army arriving there two Days before. During this time the Enemy Attempted to get one of their Vessells up the River to annoy the Army, but was attacked by our Row Gallys, and a Number of Battoes, with light Infantry ready to board, and carried in a very little Time. We came to an Anchor within about eight Hundred yards of the Fort, where we lay four Days, during which Time the Enemy never fired a Shot at us. Our Army was now employed in erecting three Batteries consisting of Six Twenty four pounders, some twelves and Mortars. On Friday Evening we received Orders to drop a little nearer the Fort, which we did and were ready at Day Light. About seven in the Morning Our Batteries opened, when we likewise began to fire from Our Vessells, on the Fort very briskly, then within Six Hundred Yards. We continued in this situation till Eleven O'clock, when we received Orders to slack our Fire and haul close in with the Fort, which we Accordingly did, and at a Quarter after one, Weighed, run down and came to an Anchor within Pistol Shot, and after the Vessell was properly moored began firing. The Mohawk and Williamson, the latter of which was the Brigg taken from the French some Day before, came to an Anchor a little below us. The Mohawk after laying three Quarters of an Hour cut her Cable and fell down the River out of reach of the Enemy's Fire, having received Damage. The Williamson in Half an Hour afterwards did the same, having three Feet Water in her Hold. We were then left alone exposed to the whole Fire of the Garrison; in this situation we lay till a Half Hour after Three, our Ammunition being then all expended, having fired eight hundred and ninety two shot, Our Vessell allmost totally destroyed, eight of our Guns dismounted, and in short every thing tore pieces [*sic*]. I then sent the Boat on Shore to Know if the Grenadiers, and Light Infantry, who were ready in their Boats, and whose Landing the Vessells were to cover, were to land, when I was informed they would not be landed that Day. I likewise requested Some Boats to assist in towing the Vessell off but could obtain none. I thought it high Time then to save the Vessell if possible and accordingly slipt my stern Cable and hove short on my best Bower that lying to Windward, got the Anchor up and set what sail I could upon her, but the currant being very strong and we so near the Fort, were ashore close to the Island in a few moments. I then got the sails hauled down and ordered the men into the Hold, to secure themselves in the best manner they could from the Enemy's Fire, which was now very heavy, our ammunition being entirely expended. In this situation we continued till a half after five and no Boats coming to our

'solved to persevere, and not wait for them: we were disposed 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.
'of in three divisions, one to go a-head with the grenadiers
'and light-armed infantry, headed by the row-gallies; the other

Assistance, which we expected every Minute, during this time having several of our People wounded in the Hold, the men then in a Body came off and called out, that they had fought bravely during the whole Action, and did not understand their being Sacrifised in this manner, and therefore insisted on striking the Colours, which I refused, but soon after having two men badly wounded, and the vessell set on Fire in two places by red Hot Shot, they run up and struck the Colours, which as soon as I knew of, I went upon Deck and endeavoured to persuade the People to stand by the Vessell, which they refused and insisted on going on Shore, having a Number of them got into a Boat, on which I took up a Muskett and said I would shoot the first man that layed his Hand on an Oar, by which means I got them on Board again, but was obliged to permit an officer and two men to go on shore, which I was rather induced to do, in order to delay the Time, that I might get some assistance from our Army, the Grenadiers and light Infantry of which were Then laying within Six Hundred Yards of us behind an Island. The Enemy at this Time were calling on me to come ashore which I refused, and Two Boats with Twenty Grenadiers in each having put off from the Shore at the same time The Enemy then began their firing again, and in a moment afterward I had the misfortune to loose the Calf of my right Leg by a Cannon Ball. The Boats with the Grenadiers soon got on Board us but were glad to quit the Deck in a moment and get into the Hold, having one Third Killed and Wounded. In this situation we lay till eight o'clock when there were Boats sent off for the wounded. The rest of the people remained on Board till about two o'clock, the Enemy still keeping up a hot Firing, when the whole crew were landed the Vessell being almost full of water. The Enemy in the morning on discovering we had quited her ceased firing and never after fired a Shot at her nor even attempted to go on Board, though she lay so very near. The Damage that the Fort received from our Batteries and Shipping obliged them to surrender Prisoners of War the next Day.

"My being confined prevents my giving their Lordships a particular Account of the strength of the Fort. The situation is strong, being on an Island in the middle of the River, about four Hundred and fifty men, they had some 18, 12, 9 & 6 pounders, but how many I cannot tell.

"I flattered myself, that I should have gained Honour and Representation by this Days Beheavour, but upon my landing found my Conduct much blamed by the Army for permitting the Colours to be struck, which I Knew nothing of, and suffering the Boat to land, which I did for the reasons already given and which likewise prevented the Enemy from sending their Boat on Board.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

"JOS^A. LORING."

(From the copy in the *Canadian Archives:* Captains' Letters, vol. 2049.)

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. 'two to follow, within sight, and a-breast of each other, the 'river being broad enough for that purpose. Colonel Williamson having requested he might have the honour to attack the 'Frenchman with his five gallies, the General consented: they 'then got within random-shot of her, but, falling dark, de-'ferred the undertaking until the grey of the next morning, 'the 17th, when they contrived it so well, that in two hours 'and a quarter she struck, which gave great satisfaction to 'the General and the whole army. The howitzer did not 'fire above twice, some timbers in that galley having given 'way; so that we may say only four guns took a topsail 'vessel of one eighteen-pounder, seven twelve-pounders, two 'eight-pounders, one hundred and fifty tons, and one hundred 'men; on board the gallies, independent of the provincials, 'who only rowed, were twenty-five of the royal artillery, 'together with Captain Strachey,[1] Lieutenants Williamson,[2] 'Standish,[3] Davis,[4] and Conner,[5] six to each vessel; and 'Colonel Williamson rowed, in a small boat, from galley to 'galley, giving directions how to attack most effectually, and 'with greatest safety. We had one Serjeant killed and two 'wounded; the French had three killed and twelve wounded. 'The troops had not an opportunity to fire, though three 'hundred grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Francis Grant, 'were in motion to board her. As our two snows were not yet 'come down, taking this prize greatly facilitated our moving 'on, and the General, having thanked the Officers for their 'gallant behaviour, named the prize the Williamson Brig, in

[1] Captain Samuel Strachey, appointed Captain of the Royal Artillery, February 1757.

[2] Lieutenant John Williamson, of the Royal Artillery, appointed Captain-Lieutenant, February 1761.

[3] Lieutenant David Standish, appointed Captain-Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, August 1761.

[4] Lieutenant Thomas Davis, of the Royal Artillery, appointed Captain-Lieutenant, March 1762.

[5] Lieutenant Nathaniel Conner, appointed First Lieutenant, December 1759.

'compliment to the Colonel, and generously presented the 1760. (Sept. 8th.) August.
'artillery-men with twenty-five guineas. We repaired our
'[411] capture next day for service, and the whole army rowed
'down and took possession of La Gallette, abandoned by the
'French and Oswegatchie Indians, who declared neuter.

'On the 18th of August we moved forwards to destroy
'another vessel, and five or six small row-gallies with four-
'pounders on board; but they were covered by the fort on Isle
'Galot, about three miles below Gallette: the French having
'lately called it Isle Royale, on account of its being fortified to
'oppose our passage down to Montreal. The 19th we rowed
'down, one by one, at about fifty yards asunder, not minding
'their fire, within reach, and took possession of all the other
'islands round, hemming the enemy in on every side; on two of
'which islands we erected batteries at about seven hundred
'yards, to contain sixteen pieces of artillery, twenty-four and
'twelve-pounders, with one ten-inch mortar, and two howit-
'zers; which was begun to open at sunrise on the 23d, and,
'in sixty hours' time, the fort surrendered to us prisoners
'of war.

'During this space of time an odd circumstance happened:
'the General intended an assault on the fort, with the grenadiers
'first, &c. and ordered the Williamson Brig, with Captain
'Loring in the Onondago, and Mr. Phips[1] in the Mohawk,
'who had joined us that morning, as also the four row-gallies,
'to cover the landing. The Mohawk came down, without
'the other two, who seemed inclinable to follow, and fired
'briskly, when very near the fort, for a considerable time; but
'was so roughly handled, that she was obliged to cut her cable
'and away, for fear of sinking. By this time the Williamson
'came into play, but, receiving a shot in an unlucky place,
'started a plank, which obliged her to retire to a neighbouring

[1] Lieutenant Phipps was placed by Amherst in charge of the whale-boats in use on the lake, and was afterwards given the command of the *Mohawk* and the rank of Captain. He was wounded during the month of August 1760.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. 'island to be repaired: the Onondago at length came down, 'but, not taking the same course, stopped in shallow water 'pretty near the enemy, who fired every time into her, when 'she could not help herself, though within four hundred yards 'of one of our batteries; she struck to the enemy, and sent a 'batteau to them [412] with four men and Mr. Thornton,[1] the 'Commodore's second, who looking at that distance so like 'Loring, we thought at the batteries it was he. The same 'boat rowing back again to the ship with one of her crew, 'probably to fire her, Captain Adam Williamson *,[2] the 'Engineer, pointed a gun, and fired through her, taking 'both that fellow's arms off, which made her row into shore 'directly; perceiving then there was a squabble on board the 'Onondago about what they should do, the General sent an 'Officer's party on board, who hoisted the colours again, and 'saved her for ourselves.

'Mr. Thornton says Captain Loring ordered him to strike, '&c. we are told he acknowledges he did, and insists that he 'can answer it;[3]—I confess I am not conversant in sea-rules; 'but, if he and the crew could not stand it on board, they ought 'not to strike so near our batteries, but come over to us, and 'leave every thing standing, to wait an happier issue; these 'vessels coming down separately, and not together, stopped 'the grenadiers from going on.

'The fort was worse handled than we imagined; as it is an 'island, having no land within seven hundred yards of it, it may 'be fortified, capable of a good defence, against a small army 'and light artillery; the two vessels of the enemy were behind their island, filled with water, that we might not take them: 'they had five small row-gallies, with three of our iron three-

[1] Joshua Thornton, Second Lieutenant of the Marines, March 1757.

* Son to that identical Colonel, now Major-General George, Williamson.—*Note by author.*

[2] Adam Williamson, Engineer-Extraordinary and Captain-Lieutenant, appointed to the Staff, January 1758.

[3] See letter of Joshua Loring, p. 549.

'pounders, very good guns, in three of them;—the other two 1760.
'had French fours, but did not make use of them. All round (Sept. 8th.)
'the island, except two places, twenty yards wide each for boats, August.
'had a strong *abattis* of branches of trees, running ten or four-
'teen feet into the river; this opposition would have made a
'bloody landing: within that was a covered-way, badly made;
'next a ditch, partly wet, not deep, with a stockade in the
'middle, running all round the fort. The [413] fort, not well
'flanked, is raised to its *cordon* height with excellent well-bound
'fascines, then a frize all round, the stakes sticking out horizon-
'tally; over this runs a general frame of squared timbers, as a
'basis whereon to build the merlins, which are cased with square
'timbers, dove-tailed, with land-ties; and the embrasures look
'on every part of the water, to annoy boats at landing.'

From the reduction of l'Isle Royale[1] to the 30th inclusive, the army have been employed in repairing the fort, with our batteaus and other vessels, landing stores and provisions for the new garrison, which consists of two hundred men, with Officers in proportion, under the command of Captain Osborn;[2] as also for the sick and wounded, who are left in hospitals here to the number of two hundred and fifteen.

All things being prepared, the army proceeded down the 31st.
river; we passed the rapids Galot and Plat, through a most terrifying navigation, without any accident; reached Cat Island where we incamped, about forty-four miles from Ontario. The country on both sides is seemingly fruitful, the ground level, some cleared, and some producing extensive veins of excellent timber of various kinds. The Indians exceedingly disappointed at not being permitted to butcher and scalp the late garrison of Fort Levis, twenty whale-boats of them have deserted Sir William Johnson since the reduction of that fortress: this is quite uniform with their conduct on all occasions, whenever opportunity seems to offer for their being serviceable to us.

[1] See Articles of Capitulation of Fort Levis, in Appendix.

[2] Captain Thomas Osborne, appointed to the 46th Regiment in July 1758.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) August. This day we passed the long falls, and, the river being narrow as well as dangerous, the boats were obliged to keep at a distance to avoid riding, and to row in single files; the rapids are frightful, and full of broken waves; the batteaus took in water, and, unluckily, four men of the forty-second regiment were drowned. Detachments were sent forward to Lake St. Francis, but the main body remained at Johnson's Point,[1] which is fifty-eight miles distant from the north-east corner of Ontario, and fourteen from Cat Island. Sir William [414] Johnson and his Myrmidons went to Hasquesashnagh, a small Indian village of the five nations, to smoke the pipe of peace, and to assure them of our protection, upon their future good behaviour.

Sept. The army reached Point Baudet, in the Lake St. Francis, being about twenty-five miles from Johnson Point. A detachment of the enemy under M. Capitaine la Corne,[2] had occupied this place to watch our motions, but upon the approach of our Indians, he went off.

We had a violent storm of wind and rain last night, and, continuing to-day, the army are obliged to halt. A prisoner was brought in, by one of our scouting parties, from the Cedars, where we have a guard of one hundred and fifty men posted. The lands on the banks of this lake are not so good as they are higher up, though an industrious people might soon render them fertile and profitable; at present they are inhabited by different tribes of Indians; but the islands here, being numerous, of which St. Peter's is the principal, are settled, well improved, and occupied by Canadians; their chief subsistence is beaver and salmon; in these the country and its waters abound.

4th. Fine weather to-day; the army reimbarked very early this

[1] See map facing p. 558 for situation of the places mentioned.

[2] Chevalier de la Corne, Commander of a battalion of the Troupes de la Marine, commanded the French forces on the upper St. Lawrence in 1759, was wounded at the siege of Quebec in 1760, and perished in the wreck of the *Auguste*, 1761.

morning, and put off; but the navigation was inconceivably dangerous, insomuch that the loss of the greatest part of the troops seemed inevitable: we encountered the rapids, *cotau du lac*, *battures des Cedres*, *Buisson*, *trou et le Cascade*, of which the two last are the most dreadful that can be imagined. The General, apprehensive lest the enemy, whose greatest dependence was placed in what might happen in working through those rifts, had provided a parcel of gallies and armed boats, with troops, to surprise the army, upon a supposition that it would be no difficult matter to rout or destroy them in this dismal passage, pushed through, regardless of his own safety, with all expedition, at the head of the grenadiers, light infantry battalions, rangers, row-gallies, and a detachment of artillery, leaving Brigadier Gage, with the remainder of the forces, to follow more [415] leisurely, one boat after another, hoping, by his own presence, to prevent a total discomfit, in case of an enemy being immediately before him: his Excellency most happily effected this passage, with the loss only of forty-six batteaus, seventeen whale-boats, and one row-galley, whereby eighty-four men were unfortunately drowned, a few pieces of ordnance, and some stores and provisions lost: trifling, indeed, to what otherwise might have happened, if the enemy had been more attentive to this place, which it was extremely natural to suppose they would; and why they disregarded a project of this kind is amazingly unaccountable. The greatest part of the army worked through without any farther accident, and reached l'Isle Perrot,[1] about two miles from the river St. Lawrence; but, it being too late for the remainder to join, they were obliged to put a-shore, and incamp by themselves. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept.

The troops halted, to repair their whale-boats and batteaus, 5th.

[1] According to the Brigade Order Book kept by the Hon. William Hervey, Captain of the 44th Regiment, the army encamped at Isle Perrault on the 4th. All the inhabitants of the island were assembled on the 5th to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Great Britain, after which they were allowed to return to their habitations and occupations. (Hervey, *Journals*, p. 122.)

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept. which afforded time for the rest to come up, who joined us this day; there are several settlements on this island, but the inhabitants abandoned them, and concealed themselves in the woods; some of them were afterwards taken, and others, seeing there was no violence offered to their houses, came in, and took the oath of neutrality. The poor creatures rejoiced that they have now so fair a prospect of peace and quietness, and expressed the greatest astonishment at the excellent discipline kept up in this army, particularly among the Indians, of whom they were under the greatest apprehensions.

6th. The army reimbarked at day-break this morning, rowed along the south coast in four divisions, and, having no farther obstructions in the river, happily arrived, in a few hours, at La Chine,[1] on the south-west end of the island of Montreal, the period of our labours, without any material opposition. The enemy were more complaisant to General Amherst than to their old acquaintances from Quebec, his Excellency having only one bridge to repair as he advanced: the greatest part of the army marched on directly towards Montreal, about two leagues and a half from the place of landing, where five [416] battalions of provincials remained in charge of the batteaus, &c. &c. The General formed the troops at a small distance from the city on the north-west side of it, got up ten field-pieces from three to twelve-pounders, detached the picquets of the line to cover his ground, and doubled all his

[1] Nathaniel Woodhull, a Colonel of Provincials in Amherst's army, says they "landed at the King's Storehouse [Lachine] about 2 miles above the falls" [Lachine Rapids]. (See *Historical Magazine*, 1861, p. 259.) General Amherst, on arriving before Montreal, took up a position across the plain to the south-west of the town, his right on the river St. Lawrence and just east of the present tail-race, his left carried on to the high ground, extending to the old towers of the Montreal College on Sherbrooke Street. Amherst a few days later moved his encampment to the ridge overlooking the town, probably occupying the ground on the line of Dorchester Street from Beaver Hall to Guy Street, with the Light Infantry in advance of his left, halfway down the hill. (We are indebted for this information to Mr. George H. W. Birch of Montreal.)

advanced centries; the same steady precautions were taken at La Chine, and the whole army lay on their arms this night. 1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept.

Two French Officers came to one of the advanced-posts this morning, and, desiring to be conducted to the Commander in Chief, presented him with the following billet, dated from Montreal:[1] 7th.

'SIR,

'I send to your Excellency M. de Bougainville, Colonel of 'Infantry, accompanied by M. de Lac,[2] a Captain of the 'Queen's regiment; you may rely on all that the said Colonel 'shall say to your Excellency in my name, &c. &c.

'(Signed) VAUDREUIL.'

The conversation, that ensued between the General and the Colonel, terminated in a cessation of hostilities until noon, at which time proposals for capitulating were sent out, and returned by the General, along with his own and the annexed letter:

'Camp before Montreal, &c.

'SIR,

'I am to thank your Excellency for the letter you honoured 'me with this morning by Colonel Bougainville; since which 'the terms of capitulation, which you demand, have been 'delivered to me. I send them back to your Excellency with 'those I have resolved to grant you; and there only remains for

[1] It will be remembered that M. de Vaudreuil had offered terms to General Murray three days before (see note, p. 395, and Murray to Pitt, October 7, 1760, in Appendix). Bougainville at first proposed a truce for a month (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 304), but the "conversation ended with a cessation of arms till twelve o'clock, at which time the Proposals came" (Amherst to Pitt, September 8, 1760: *Canadian Archives*, M. 215–2).

[2] M. de Laas entered the Regiment de la Reine in 1745, became Captain in 1760, and obtained the Cross of St. Louis.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept. 'me to desire, that your Excellency will take a determination as 'soon as possible, [417] as I shall make no alteration in them. 'If your Excellency accepts of these conditions, you may be 'assured that I will take care they shall be duly executed, and 'that I will take a particular pleasure to alleviate your fate, as 'much as possible, by procuring to you, and to your retinue, 'all the conveniences that depend on me."

'(Signed) JEFFERY AMHERST.'

'His Excellency the Marquis
'de Vaudreuil, &c.'

This was followed by an exchange of letters here subjoined:

The Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Amherst.

'I have received the letter your Excellency has honoured 'me with this day, as well as the answer to the articles which I 'had caused to be proposed to you by M. de Bougainville. I 'send the said Colonel back to your Excellency; and I persuade 'myself that you will allow him to make, by word of mouth, a 'representation to your Excellency, which I cannot dispense 'with myself from making.'

The General, being determined upon the surrender of the colony on his own terms, declined an interview with M. de Bougainville, by sending Major Abercrombie to receive the foregoing letter, to which his Excellency returned the following answer:

'Major Abercrombie has, this moment, delivered to me 'the letter with which your Excellency has honoured me, in 'answer to that which I had addressed to you, with the con- 'ditions on which I expect that Canada shall surrender: I have 'already had [418] the honour to inform your Excellency, that 'I should not make any alteration in them; I cannot deviate 'from this resolution.—Your Excellency will therefore be

'pleased to take a determination immediately, and acquaint me 1760. (Sept. 8th.)
'in your answer whether you will accept them or not.' Sept.

The General then received a letter from the Chevalier de Levis, which, with his answer, came next in succession:

'I send to your Excellency M. de la Pause,[1] Assistant 'Quarter-Master General to the army, on the subject of the 'too rigorous article which you impose on the troops by the 'capitulation, and to which it would not be possible for us to 'subscribe; be pleased to consider the severity of that article. 'I flatter myself that you will be pleased to give ear to the 'representations that Officer will make to you on my part, and 'have regard to them, &c. &c.'

When the bearer of this billet saw that the General had perused its contents, he attempted to support the Chevalier's complaint, respecting the article alluded to: but his Excellency commanded him to silence, and told him,—'he was 'fully resolved, for the infamous part the troops of France 'had acted in exciting the savages to perpetrate the most horrid 'and unheard of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, 'and for other open treacheries, as well as flagrant breaches of 'faith, to manifest to all the world, by this capitulation, his 'detestation of such ungenerous practices, and disapprobation 'of their conduct; therefore insisted he might decline any 'remonstrances on this subject.'—When the General had thus nobly expressed his sentiments to M. de la Pause, he dismissed him with the following answer to the letter addressed him by the Chevalier:

'The letter which you have sent me by M. de la Pause 'has this instant been delivered to me: all I have to say in

[1] Charles de Plantavit, Chevalier de la Pause, was Adjutant in the battalion of Guyenne. He took part in all the campaigns in Canada from 1755 to 1760. He was present at almost all the important military actions. He was entrusted with difficult missions, which he discharged successfully. Montcalm and Lévis repeatedly praised his activity and ability. He has left a journal and several memoirs relating to his residence in Canada. They are in the possession of the Countess of Ledinghem, his great-grandniece.

1760. (Sept. 8th.) Sept. 'answer to it is, that I cannot alter, in the least, the conditions 'which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil; and I 'expect his [419] definitive answer by the bearer on his return; 'on every other occasion I shall be glad to convince you of the 'consideration with which I am, &c.'

Brigadier Murray, who was now on the eastern extremity of the island, having received certain information of General Amherst's army being actually arrived before the city, and concluding, from the apparently peaceable disposition of the islanders, a choice of authentic intelligence, and many other circumstances conformable to the present crisis, that the Governor-General might be in treaty with our Commander in Chief, advanced in great order with the forces under his command, and two twelve-pounders in front, towards the city, to add weight to the General's measures, and to be nearer at hand to co-operate with his Excellency, in case any event might happen to make it necessary. By the time we had reached Long Point, the Brigadier received an express from the General, by which he acquainted him, that a cessation of hostilities had taken place, that proposals for capitulating were sent out to him, and that the enemy were deliberating on those he was resolved to grant, and had transmitted to them in return; to which he demanded, and was in hourly expectation of, a final determination and answer: the General desiring an expert Officer from our troops might be instantly transmitted to him, from whom he could get certain information of such matters as he wished to know, respecting our armament, the navigation up the river, the face of the country, and the posture of affairs at Quebec: Captain Malone,[1] of the forty-seventh regiment, was immediately detached for this purpose; at the same time, the night being very dark, the roads indifferent, and in some places rendered impassable by

[1] Edward Malone, appointed Lieutenant of the 47th Regiment in July 1753; Captain-Lieutenant, May 1759; Captain, March 1760; and Major, May 1764.

PIERRE RIGAUD, MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL

After the painting in the possession of the Countess de Clermont-Tonnerre

a number of bridges broken up, the Brigadier thought proper to canton his forces, except the van and rear guards, who lay on their arms until morning; as did likewise the Commander in Chief's army, as on the preceding night. 1760. Sept.

[420] Early this morning, the General received the following letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, dated from the city, as before: 8th.

'I have determined to accept the conditions which your 'Excellency proposes: in consequence whereof I desire you will 'come to a determination, with regard to the measures to be 'taken relative to the signing of the said articles.'

The General then returned this answer by Major Abercrombie, who was charged to bring back the articles of capitulation, signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil:[1]—'In order 'to fulfil so much the sooner, on my part, the execution of the 'conditions which your Excellency has just determined to 'accept, I would propose, that you should sign the articles 'which I sent yesterday to your Excellency, and that you would

[1] On August 29, Vaudreuil had written to the minister: "I am taking the most just measures to unite our forces when circumstances demand it, and, if our situation permits, to fight a battle or several battles. It is to be feared that we shall go down before an enemy so powerful both in numbers and in artillery; but, whatever may be the event, we will save the honour of the King's arms. I have the honour to repeat to you, Monseigneur, that if any resource were left me, I would, no matter what the progress the English might make, maintain myself in some part of the colony with my remaining troops, after having fought with the greatest obstinacy. But I am absolutely without the least remnant of the necessary means. . . . In these unhappy circumstances I shall continue to use every manœuvre and device to keep the enemy in check; but if we succumb in the battles we shall fight, I shall apply myself to obtaining a capitulation which may avert the total ruin of the people. . . . It is with this view that I shall remain in this town, the Chevalier de Lévis having represented to me that it would be an evil to the colonists past remedy if any accident should happen to me." (*Canadian Archives*, F. 204 (F^3 16-1), pp. 209 *et seq.*: *Collection Moreau de St.-Méry*, vol. 14-1.) Once within the walls the Governor seems to have thought no more about fighting. He was very industrious in preparing articles of capitulation, several sections of which refer to his personal comfort; and he appears to have been so eager to secure this that he offered terms to Murray three days before the arrival of Amherst.

1760. Sept. 'send them back to me by Major Abercrombie, that a duplicate 'may be made of them immediately, which I shall sign and 'transmit to your Excellency. I repeat here the assur- 'ances of the desire I have to procure to your Excellency, and 'to the Officers and troops under your command, all possible 'conveniencies and protection: for which purpose I reckon that 'you will judge it proper that I should cause possession to be 'taken of the gates, and place guards, immediately after the 'reciprocal signature of the capitulation: however, I shall leave 'this to your own convenience, since I propose it only with 'a view of maintaining good order, and to prevent, with the 'greater certainty, any thing being attempted against the good 'faith and terms of capitulation; in order to which I shall give 'the command of those troops to Colonel Haldimand, who, 'I am persuaded, will be agreeable to you.'

M. Vaudreuil having immediately signed the capitulation, and thereby surrendered Canada to his Majesty's arms: the General lost no time in returning him a counterpart thereof also signed, together with the following letter to the Marquis:

[421] 'I have just sent to your Excellency, by Major 'Abercrombie, a duplicate of the capitulation, which you have 'signed this morning; and, in conformity thereto, and to the 'letters which have passed between us, I likewise send Colonel 'Haldimand to take possession of one of the gates of the town, 'in order to inforce the observation of good order, and prevent 'differences on both sides. I flatter myself that you will have 'room to be fully satisfied with my choice of the said Colonel 'on this occasion.'

While these important affairs were in agitation this morning, Brigadier-General Murray and his troops were in motion: and having received intimation from Captain Malone, that, in proceeding last night towards General Amherst's camp, he fell in with the enemy's advanced post, where he was detained a prisoner, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances, without effect, to M. Bourlemacque of the injustice of such a

detention; whereupon the Brigadier, justly exasperated at so inconsistent and ungenteel a procedure, pushed forward with grenadiers and light troops, leaving orders that the main body, with the artillery, should follow as fast as possible: several expresses were sent out to request the Brigadier would not advance, for the enemy were very apprehensive of our resenting the insult offered to Mr. Murray and his forces in the person of Mr. Malone, but it was to no purpose; we marched on until we got within a little way of an advanced redoubt, where we halted, and made a disposition for an attack; which the enemy perceiving, immediately presented a flag of truce, and M. Bourlemacque advanced singly under another flag, and desired to have the honour of a conference with Governor Murray, who instantly stepped up to him. However, all the rhetoric that the former could urge had no weight; for his Excellency assured him, if Captain Malone was not sent out to him in the space of five minutes, he would commence hostilities, and not leave one stone upon another in Montreal. The Brigadier, having thus declared his intentions, in order to inforce them, drew out his watch, and subjoined, [422] 'Sir, 'go back to your post; I now allow you five minutes; if my 'Officer is not returned to me before the expiration of that 'time, you must take the consequences.' Happily, however, before that short period was elapsed, an Officer from General Amherst, accompanied by a French Officer, came out to us on a full gallop, and acquainted the Brigadier, 'that the articles 'of capitulation were ratified on both sides, whereby the French 'troops had consented to lay down their arms, and the colony 'had surrendered to his Majesty.' Our project being thus frustrated, we marched on to our ground; and, the like notice being transmitted to Brigadier Haviland, now arrived with all his corps at Longueüil, the three armies incamped, and the following orders were immediately published by the Commander in Chief:[1] 1760. Sept.

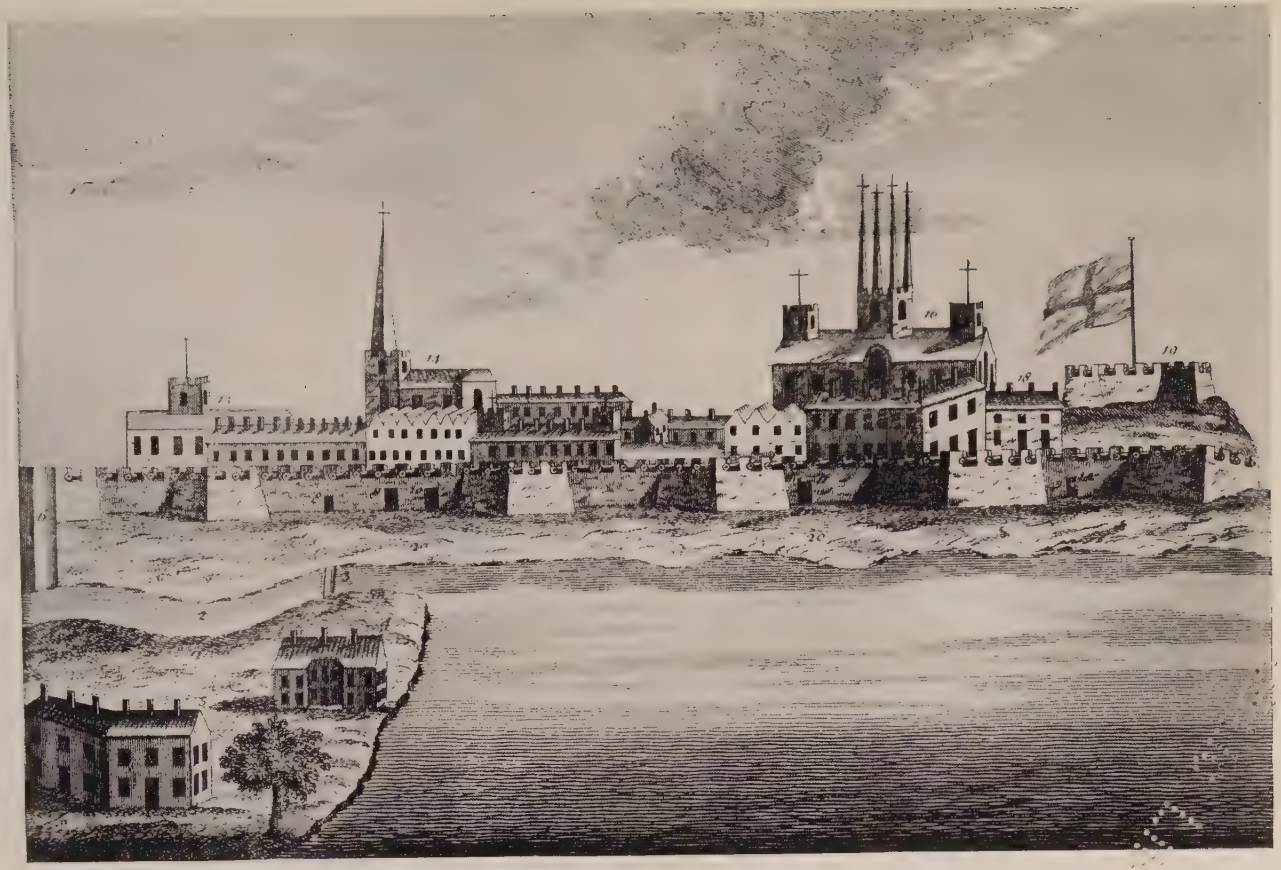
[1] For the position of the troops, see plan, p. 600.

ORDERS.

1760. Sept. "The grenadiers and light infantry to parade at the "grenadiers' incampment, where they will be joined by a twelve-"pounder: Colonel Haldimand will take the command of these "corps, to take possession of the city of Montreal; and the "eldest Ensign of the army will go in, to take charge of the "colours. Colonel Haldimand will not permit any one person "to go in or out of the town, except the guards, and those in "public offices, and Officers in all the departments, for the care "of the King's stores; and a list of these last must be given in "to the Colonel. The General sees, with infinite pleasure, the "success which has crowned the indefatigable and faithful "efforts of his Majesty's troops in North-America. The "Marquis of Vaudreuil has capitulated; the troops of France, "in Canada, have laid down their arms; they are not to serve "during this war: and the whole country has submitted to the "dominion of Great Britain. The three armies are all intitled "to the General's thanks on this occasion, and he assures them "he will take the first opportunity [423] of acquainting his "Majesty with the zeal and bravery which has always been "exerted by the Officers and soldiers of the regular and pro-"vincial troops, and also by his faithful Indian allies. The "General is confident that, when the troops are informed this "country is the King's, they will not disgrace themselves by "the least appearance of inhumanity, or by any unsoldierlike "behaviour of seeking for plunder: but that, as the Canadians "are now become British subjects, they may feel the good "effects of his Majesty's protection."

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION [1] between their Excellencies Major General Amherst, Commander in Chief of his

[1] The Articles of Capitulation here printed agree with the copy enclosed in the despatch of General Amherst to Pitt, dated Camp at Montreal, September 8, 1760. (*Canadian Archives*, M. 215–2; C.O. 5: 58; otherwise A. & W. I., vol. 93.)



A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE TOWN AND FORTIFICATIONS OF MONTREAL IN CANADA, 1759

From "The Royal Magazine"

Britannic Majesty's Troops and Forces in North-America, on the one Part; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, &c. Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada, on the other. 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE I.

Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the British General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal: and the British garrison shall not enter the place till after the French troops shall have evacuated it.—'The 'whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and 'shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after 'the signing of the present capitulation, the King's troops 'shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards 'necessary to preserve good order in the town.'

ARTICLE II.

The troops and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out by the gate of Quebec, with all the honours of war, six pieces of cannon, and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil [424] shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece; and the same shall be granted to the garrison of the Three Rivers, as to the honours of war.—'Referred to the next article.'

ARTICLE III.

The troops and militia, who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honours; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or the Three Rivers, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first sea-port in France by the shortest way. The troops, who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at

1760. Sept. Detroit, Michilimaquinac *,[1] and other posts, shall enjoy the same honours, and be treated in the same manner.—'All these 'troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms. The rest is GRANTED.'

ARTICLE IV.

The militia, after evacuating the above towns, forts, and posts, shall return to their habitations, without being molested on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE V.

The troops, who keep the field, shall raise their camp, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garrison of Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.—'These troops, as well as the others, must lay 'down their arms.'

[425] ARTICLE VI.

The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, soldiers, militia, or seamen, who shall have deserted or left the service of their Sovereign, and carried arms in North-America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crime; they shall be respectively returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is without being sought after or molested.—'REFUSED.'

ARTICLE VII.

The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and, in general, every thing that belongs to his most

* The most remote post the enemy had on this side situated at the N. N. W. point of Lake Huron.—*Note by author.*

[1] Michilimackinac.

Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, as in the forts and posts mentioned in the third article, shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the Commissaries, who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.—'This is every thing that can be asked on this article.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds, or sickness, as well as in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.—'The sick and wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.'

[426] ARTICLE IX.

The British General shall engage to send back, to their own homes, the Indians and Moraigans,[1] who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation. And, in the mean time, the better to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said Generals shall give safeguards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.—'The first 'part REFUSED. There never have been any cruelties com-'mitted by the Indians of our army:[2] and good order shall 'be preserved.'

ARTICLE X.

His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and shall oblige them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in the country.—'Answered by the preceding article.'

[1] This is another name for the Mohicans or Mohegans, an Algonquin tribe.

[2] This is very doubtful.

ARTICLE XI.

1760. Sept. The British General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before and no person shall be quartered in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levis, Commander of the land-forces and colony troops, the Engineers, Officers of the artillery, and Commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal till the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, Intendant, the Commissaries of marines and Writers,[1] whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for; and no person shall be lodged at the Intendant's house before he shall take his departure.—'The 'Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all [427] these gentlemen, shall be 'masters of their houses, and shall embark, when the King's 'ship shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all possible con-'veniences shall be granted them.'

ARTICLE XII.

The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud,[2] the Governor of Montreal, and the suite of this General, by the straitest passage to the first sea-port in France; and every necessary accommodation shall be made for them. This

[1] *Ecrivains du Roi.* An *Ecrivain du Roi* appears to have occupied a position similar to that of an inspector. In the early days of the French regime in Canada, we find that the King appointed judges, to whose position was attached the duties of *Ecrivain du Roi*, e.g. the Sieur de Goutins was appointed judge and *ecrivain*, and in the latter capacity he was to see that "economy is used, and that the contracts for works are duly fulfilled." (*Canadian Archives*, F. 218; *Archives des Colonies*, B. 15[1].)

[2] François-Pierre, Marquis de Rigaud, brother of the Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, was born February 3, 1703. He became Lieutenant in 1724, Knight of St. Louis in 1738, and Governor of Three Rivers in 1749. He distinguished himself under Montcalm at the taking of Oswego in 1756. He was Governor of Montreal from 1755 till the conquest, when he removed to France.

vessel shall be properly victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty: and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined; and his equipages, plate, baggage, and also those of his retinue.—'GRANTED, 'except the archives[1] which shall be necessary for the govern- 'ment of the country.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XIII.

If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and that, by treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec, or Montreal; every thing shall return to its former state under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.—'Whatever the King may 'have done, on this subject, shall be obeyed.'

ARTICLE XIV.

Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France le Chevalier de Levis, the principal Officers, and the Staff of the land-forces, the Engineers, Officers of Artillery, and their domestics. These [428] vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodations provided in them. The said Officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined, and also their equipages and baggage. Such of the said Officers as shall be married shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall also be victualled.—'GRANTED, 'except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the Officers, of 'whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver to us all 'the charts and plans of the country.'[2]

[1] Many papers that were of vital importance were taken to France. A list of the papers left in the country was prepared at the request of Sir Guy Carleton in 1787.

[2] Few of the plans and charts appear to have been delivered to Amherst.

ARTICLE XV.

1760. Sept. A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the Intendant,[1] with his suite; in which vessel the

[1] François Bigot was born at Bordeaux, January 30, 1703. His father was Louis Amable Bigot, a king's councillor for the *parlement* of Bordeaux, and his mother, Mademoiselle Lombard, belonged to an important family of Guyenne. Bigot had influential connections at Court, being a cousin of the Marquis de Puisieux, who filled several ministerial positions, and of Count (later Marshal) d'Estrées. He was also a near relative of Count de Morville, secretary of the Department of Marine. Through him, Bigot entered that department in 1723. After several years of service, he was, in 1731, appointed a Commissary of Marine at Rochefort by Count de Maurepas. Through the same protector, probably related to him, he received the appointment, in 1739, of "Ordonnateur" (Commissary) at Louisbourg, which place he reached September 9, 1739. There, with money partly lent to him by some Bordeaux merchants and partly advanced by his father, he successfully carried on various trading operations. In 1744, on the declaration of war, he armed several privateers, some on his own account alone and some in partnership with others. Prizes were seized and sold with profit. All this was done with the knowledge of the home government. He also carried his activity into a new field. Sums of money had been set apart for re-fortifying Louisbourg. Owing to the lack of artizans, soldiers were employed on the works, being promised a supplementary pay. But something apparently went wrong, for, in October 1744, the garrison mutinied, charging Bigot with withholding their pay, their clothing, and even their provisions. He succeeded in quieting them by a few timely concessions, and followed, during the winter, the same policy when the men appeared too threatening. In 1745, Louisbourg surrendered, after a siege. Rumours circulated that Bigot had contributed to the defeat by meddling with the funds voted for the fortifications of the place. He saved the stores and the military chests, and disposed of the goods. Not only did he escape all censure; the money from the sale was given him as a reward for his work in the colony. He was, moreover, allowed his regular salary for 1746 and 1747. In the year 1747 he was appointed Commissary of the fleet under the Duke d'Anville for re-conquering Louisbourg. He sailed from France with the fleet, which was ruined by storms on the coast of Nova Scotia. Bigot himself returned to France.

On January 1, 1748, he was appointed Intendant of Canada, and arrived at Quebec August 26, 1748. In the following year, 1749, he applied for an increase of salary, on account of the expensive establishment required for his official position. In 1750 he asked the minister to send him, at Quebec, his friend Vergor from Isle Royale, and Landriève from France; these requests, which were assented to, show him in the preliminary step of surrounding himself with devoted friends in order to carry out his extensive malversations. His profitable operations soon gave rise to complaints against his administra-

proper accommodation shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him: he shall likewise embark with him his 1760. Sept.

tion. In 1754 he thought it wise to cross to France in order to dispel suspicion and to strengthen his position at Court. He returned in 1755 and resumed his system of fraud. The colonial expenses had risen to a tremendous height. Soon after his arrival the yearly expenditure had doubled, but after his return from France they reached an average of over 20,000,000 livres a year. At the same time, the country was starving and military expeditions were sometimes interrupted for want of provisions. Bigot and his clique, who were amassing enormous fortunes, paid little attention to the state of the country. The Intendant was living in sumptuous style, lavishing costly entertainment on his friends and gambling recklessly. During the carnival of 1758, he lost 200,000 livres. He had found his Madame de Pompadour in Madame Péan, a young, lively and witty Canadian, whose husband he had enriched by the grant of a government contract. She became the channel through which the public patronage flowed. Quebec was really a miniature Versailles.

This was going too far. Complaints and accusations crossed the ocean to France, and Bougainville, sent home in 1758 to ask for reinforcements, gave such a picture of the state of the colony that the ministers were aroused. On January 19, 1759, the President of the Navy Board wrote to Bigot that abuses existed everywhere in his administration. "How is it possible that the small-pox among the Indians can have occasioned a million of extraordinary expenses?" he asks. The more goods they send, the more goods Bigot asks for. He must think from the transactions that the property of the King, sufficient for all proper consumption, is in reality sold back to the King at excessive prices. In August 1759, the minister is more severe: he tells Bigot that it is useless for him to pretend to justify, as due to trade, the fortunes that are made in Canada. He has heard nothing and seen nothing, in the letters received, but continual jobbing in provisions and goods. On the same date, August 29, 1759, the minister writes another letter: that there was never seen such an enormous expenditure: 24 millions for 1758, and the expenses of 1759 are expected to reach 33 millions! These evils are attributed to Bigot: "of having restrained the commerce for the free victualling of the colony; of having charged with the provisioning one individual only, who, under the name of Commissary-General, made himself master of all supplies and named what prices he desired; of having purchased for the account of the King, at second and third hand, what he could have procured at first hand, at half the prices paid; of having made the fortunes of persons who had relations with him by the interest he gave them in these purchases or in other transactions; of having himself maintained the most splendid state, on the most extensive footing, in the midst of public misery. All the letters from the colony unite in attributing the situation to his bad administration and in taxing M. de Vaudreuil with weakness in not taking upon himself the work of reform."

Canada was conquered. Bigot sailed from Quebec, on board the *James*, October 18, 1760. It would seem probable, from the correspondence, that some of the ministers had long known of the conditions in Canada, though they

1760. Sept. papers, which shall not be examined; his equipages, plate, baggage, and those of his suite; this vessel shall be victualled

took no effective means of remedying them. On the loss of the colony, however, they may have thought it necessary to take vigorous measures. On October 13, 1761, an order was signed for Bigot's imprisonment in the Bastille, where he was placed, November 17, 1761. On December 12, 1761, an *arrêt* of the King ordered the trial of the "authors of the monopolies, abuses, vexations and prevarications which had been committed in Canada." Fifty-five persons were charged, including the Governor, Vaudreuil, the Intendant, Bigot, the Contractor-General, Cadet, and thirteen commandants of posts. In the same month a Royal Commission was appointed, composed of twenty-seven judges of the Châtelet, with M. de Sartine, the Lieutenant-General of Police, as president: the reporter was M. Dupont. The inquiry lasted fifteen months. On August 22, 1763, in his summary of the case, the Attorney-General requested, in the name of the King, that François Bigot should be declared convicted of having since 1748 "tolerated, favoured, or himself committed the abuses, exactions, malversations, prevarications, infidelities, and thefts, more amply detailed during the trial"; that "in reparation the said François Bigot is condemned to make the *amende honorable* before the principal gate of the Tuileries, whither he shall be escorted by the public executioner in a tumbril, having a rope about his neck and bearing in his hand a lighted torch of yellow wax, two pounds in weight. On his chest and on his back shall be placed a placard with this inscription, THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR PERFIDIOUS THIEF. And there kneeling, bareheaded and with bare feet, clad only in his shirt, he shall declare in a loud and intelligible voice that, during his administration of New France, in peace and in war, he has been guilty of the frauds, extortions and thefts set forth in the indictment." From his property, 50,000 livres should be confiscated as a fine, and 1,150,000 as a restitution, due to the King; and finally he was to be conducted to the Place de Grève and executed. (*Archives of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.*) But the court did not accept this suggested sentence. On December 10, 1763, the Commission gave its judgment against the speculators: two were sentenced to perpetual banishment, and five to banishment from Paris for nine years, two for five years, and one for three years. Restitution for different sums amounting to 11,530,000 livres to the King was decreed from twelve culprits. Bigot, for his part, was given a sentence of perpetual banishment with a fine of 1000 livres, and was ordered to make restitution of 1,500,000 livres. Vaudreuil was discharged of all accusations. (*Canadian Archives*, F^3 16–2: *Collection Moreau de St.-Méry*, vol. 14–2). On December 13, 1763, Bigot was notified of the judgment, and the Governor of the Bastille wrote, at the same date, to M. de Sartine: "I was present and alone with M. de Berville when he read the judgment to M. Bigot, who protested against several articles, saying that there was no proof for them at the trial, but, in short, I think that I well perceived that this prisoner was only playing a part; inwardly, he was expecting something worse: he did not change colour, he did not appear discountenanced at all, he did not shed a single tear, and at

as before-mentioned.—'GRANTED, with the same reserve, 1760. Sept.
'as in the preceding articles.' [1]

ARTICLE XVI.

The British General shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. de Longueüil,[2] Governor of Trois Rivieres, the Staff of the colony, and the Commissary of the marine; they shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage, and equipages; and they shall be properly victualled, during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XVII.

The Officers and soldiers, as well as of the land-forces, as of the colony, and also the marine Officers and seamen, who are in the colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient [429] and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The Land and Sea Officers, who shall be married,

heart I think he was glad." But even this attenuated sentence was commuted, for Bigot was allowed to live in Bordeaux, where, according to general opinion, he lived comfortably till his death, the date of which is nowhere given. No portrait of Bigot has come down to us, but he is generally described as a man well formed, but of short stature, with a plain face, marked by smallpox. He liked cards, good living, and women. He was haughty and hard, very judicious and efficient in public business, when his own interests were not affected.

(On Bigot, see Régis Roy, *Les Intendants de la Nouvelle France*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, vol. ix. (1903); *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1126, note; L. Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la Domination Française;* René de Kellarain, *La Jeunesse de Bougainville et la Guerre de Sept Ans;* and, especially, *Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot, ci-devant Intendant de Justice . . . Contre Monsieur le Procureur-Général du Roi en la Commission, Accusateur*, Paris, 1763.)

[1] "Article" in Amherst's copy.

[2] Paul Joseph, Chevalier de Longueuil, was born at Longueuil, September 17, 1701. He was Lieutenant of the Regiment of Normandy in 1718, became Commander of Fort Frontenac, Lieutenant of the King at Quebec, and Governor of Three Rivers in 1760. He died in France in 1778.

1760. Sept. shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall [take] their haversacks and baggage; these vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Officers, soldiers, and the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the fields, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XIX.

An hospital ship shall be provided by the British General, for such of the wounded and sick Officers, soldiers and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick Officers, soldiers and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered. They shall have liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants, and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited nor forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XX.

A Commissary, and one of the King's Writers, shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and whatever may relate to the service of his most Christian Majesty.—'GRANTED.'

[430] ARTICLE XXI.

The British General shall also provide ships for carrying to France the Officers of the supreme council, of justice,

police, admiralty, and all other Officers, having commissions or brevets from his most [Christian] Majesty, for them, their families, servants, and equipages, as well as for the other Officers: and they shall likewise be victualled at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the colony, if they think proper to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.—'GRANTED; 'but, if they have papers relating to the government of the 'country, they are to be delivered up to us.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXII.

If there are any military Officers, whose affairs should require their presence in the colony till the next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.—'All those whose 'private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who 'shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall 'be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.'

ARTICLE XXIII.

The Commissary for the King's provisions shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be inabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the colony, on account of what he has furnished; but, if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave, till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off, all [431] his papers, without being inspected. His Clerks shall have leave to stay in the colony, or go to France; and, in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXIV.

1760. Sept. The provisions, and other kind of stores, which shall be found in the magazines of the Commissary, as well in the towns of Montreal and of the Three Rivers, as in the country, shall be preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King; and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French and English.—'Every thing that is actually in the 'magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered 'to the British Commissary, for the King's forces.'

ARTICLE XXV.

A passage to France shall likewise be granted, on board of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as victuals to such Officers of the India company as shall be willing to go thither, and they shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage. The chief Agent of the said company, in case he should chuse to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper till next year, to settle the affairs of the said company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The said chief Agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXVI.

The said company shall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines and Castors, which they may have in the town of [432] Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary licences shall be given to the chief Agent, to send this year his castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the British would pay it.—'GRANTED, with regard to what may belong to the company,

'or to private persons; but, if his Most Christian Majesty 1760. Sept.
'has any share in it, that must become the property of the
'King.'

ARTICLE XXVII.

The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist intire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly, or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay their Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Christian Majesty.—'GRANTED, as 'to the free exercise of their religion; the obligation of paying 'the tithes to the Priests will depend on the King's pleasure.'

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Chapter, Priests, Curates, and Missionaries, shall continue, with an intire liberty, their exercise and functions of cures, in the parishes of the towns and countries.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXIX.

The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal See, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the [433] diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.—'GRANTED, except what 'regards the following article.'

ARTICLE XXX.

1760. Sept. If, by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his Most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman Religion.[1]—'Refused.'

ARTICLE XXXI.

The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French Dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.—'This article is 'comprised under the foregoing.'

ARTICLE XXXII.

The communities of Nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules; they shall be exempted from lodging any military; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries: safe-guards shall even be given them, if they desire them.—'GRANTED.'

[434] ARTICLE XXXIII.

The preceding article shall likewise be executed, with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollects, and of the house of the Priests of St. Sulpice, at Montreal; these last, and the

[1] See regulations regarding the exercise of the Catholic religion in Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 425.

Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.—'REFUSED, till the 'King's pleasure be known.' [1] 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

All the communities, and all the Priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the Seignories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they be; and the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honours, and exemptions.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXXV.

If the Canons, Priests, Missionaries, the Priests of the seminary of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and the Recollects, chuse to go to France, a passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships: and they shall have leave to sell, in whole, or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British Government.—They may take with them, or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the XXVIth article. And such of the said Priests, who chuse to go this year, shall be victualled, during the passage, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty; and they shall take with them their baggage.—'They shall be masters to dispose of their 'estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their 'persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.'

[435]

ARTICLE XXXVI.

If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, Merchants, and other persons, who chuse to retire to France, shall have leave

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 426.

1760. Sept. so to do from the British General, who shall procure them a passage : and, nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian Merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the British General. Both the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XXXVII.

The Lords of Manors, the Military and Civil Officers, the Canadians as well in the towns, as in the country, the French settled, or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the intire peaceable property and possession of the goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandizes, furs, and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatever. They shall have liberty to keep, let, or sell them, as well to the French as to the British ; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, specie, or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the XXVIth article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal; and, for this purpose, they shall have leave to send, this year, or the next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts.—'GRANTED, as in the XXVIth article.'

[436] ARTICLE XXXVIII.

All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.—'The King is to dispose 'of his ancient Subjects: in the mean time, they shall enjoy 'the same privileges as the Canadians.'

ARTICLE XXXIX.

None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimaquinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers, remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the British colonies, or to Great Britain; and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.—'GRANTED, except with 'regard to the Acadians.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XL.

The savages, or Indian allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they chuse to remain there, they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his Most Christian Majesty; they shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their Missionaries. The actual Vicars General, and the Bishop, when the Episcopal See shall be filled, shall have leave to send to them new Missionaries, when they shall judge it necessary.—'GRANTED, except the 'last article, which has been already refused.'

ARTICLE XLI.

The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to [437] take arms against his Most Christian Majesty, or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever; the British Government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.—'They become subjects of the King.'

ARTICLE XLII.

The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and they shall not be subject to

1760. Sept. any other imposts than those which were established under the French dominions.—'Answered by the preceding articles, and 'particularly by the last.'

ARTICLE XLIII.

The papers of the Government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.—'GRANTED, with the 'reserve already made.'

ARTICLE XLIV.

The papers of the intendancy of the Offices of Comptroller of the Marine, of the ancient and new Treasurers, of the King's Magazines, of the Offices of the Revenues and Forges of St. Maurice,[1] shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the Intendant, and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him; these papers shall not be examined.—'The 'same as in this article.'

ARTICLE XLV.

The registers, and other papers of the Supreme Council of Quebec, of the *Prevôte* *, and Admiralty of the said city; those of [438] the Royal Jurisdictions of Trois Rivieres and of Montreal; those of the Seignorial Jurisdictions †[2] of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the Notaries of the towns and of the countries; and, in general, the acts, and other papers, that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens,

[1] The forges were situated on the river St. Maurice about seven miles below the town of Three Rivers. See plan, and note, p. 482.

* The Court of a Provost-Martial, as Chief Magistrate of a city or town, who has the government thereof, respecting the inhabitants in their police, &c. nearly the same as a Mayor's Court with us.—*Note by author.*

† As our Court-leets in England, &c.—*Note by author.*

[2] The seigneurs had by their original grants authority to name judges and also to administer justice. (See Shortt and Doughty: *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, p. 62.)

shall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.—'GRANTED.' 1760. Sept.

ARTICLE XLVI.

The inhabitants and Merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favours and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above, as in the interior of the colony.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE XLVII.

The negroes and panis *[1] of both sexes shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.—'GRANTED, 'except those who shall have been made prisoners.'

ARTICLE XLVIII.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the General and Staff Officers of the land-forces, the Governors and Staff Officers of the different places of the colony, the Military and Civil Officers, and all other persons who shall leave the colony, or who are already absent, shall have leave to name and appoint Attornies to act for them, and in their [439] name, in the administration of their effects, moveable, and immoveable, until the peace; and, if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominions, these Officers, or other persons, or Attornies for them, shall have leave to sell their manors, houses, and other estates, their moveables and effects, &c. to carry away, or send to France, the produce thereof, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the XXXVIIth article.—'GRANTED.'

* I believe this implies convicts, or malefactors condemned to slavery.—*Note by author.*

[1] *Panis* was a term applied to Indian slaves.

ARTICLE XLIX.

1760. Sept. The inhabitants, and other persons, who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British Government, who shall render them due justice against the person to whom it shall belong.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE L, and LAST.

The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide*, on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence, with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.—'GRANTED.'

POSTSCRIPT.

ARTICLE LI.

The British General shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns, and that they do not, in any manner, insult the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.—'Care shall 'be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of 'his Most Christian Majesty.'

[440] ARTICLE LII

The troops and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.—'Answered by the XIth article.'[1]

[1] The Chevalier de Lévis (*Collection de Lévis*, vol. ii. pp. 384–8) gave the following report regarding the end of the campaign and the return of the French troops to France:

"To the Maréchal de Belle-Isle.

"La Rochelle, November 25, 1760.

". . . I subjoin here the remainder of the account of the campaign which ended with the signing of the capitulation made by the Marquis de Vaudreuil,

ARTICLE LIII.

The troops and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and incamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts which 1760. Sept.

wherein I had no other share save that of having protested against it in respect of the treatment meted out to the troops of the line, who should have deserved more attention on the part of M. de Vaudreuil and more consideration from General Amherst. My proceedings on that occasion did not allow of my receiving from General Amherst, nor of my shewing him personally, the civilities which ordinarily pass at a meeting between generals. I deemed it my duty to shew my dissatisfaction and to decline to admit the excuses whereby the English general justified his course of action, to wit, that it was in retaliation for cruelties committed by the Indians, with whom the troops had been associated.

"Immediately after the surrender of Montreal, I reviewed the eight battalions, whom I found to consist of about two thousand two hundred men all told, including those in hospital, the wounded and the invalids. Since these troops with everyone else were to proceed to Quebec by river in English ships, where a division of the embarkations was to be made, I at once sent off M. de Bougainville to meet them there, and to keep order and discipline. I sent also the commissioner Bernier, to co-operate with the English commissioners for the maintenance and quartering of the troops, instructing him to give the same attention to the troops of the Marine and to the sailors, since no one was there to act for the Navy.

"When the battalions had left Montreal, I followed with M. de Bourlamaque, with the full intention of being the last to leave Quebec. I wished to obtain for them, by my presence, from the commander of the English squadron, all the comforts possible for their voyage. Notwithstanding my trouble and efforts, however, they had to suffer greatly, first, from the few transports which the English had at their disposal; secondly, by a terrific north-east wind, which kept them in danger in the river during twenty-two days and made several ships unseaworthy; thirdly, this made it necessary for the English to overcrowd the troops in the remaining ships, even if they did not exceed their usual rule of putting one man per ton, to which I gave the closest possible attention; fourthly, the general lack of the means to procure the comforts needed for the voyage from the English merchants, resulted, in the case of most of them, in their having nothing more than the allowance of a common sailor.

"As a consequence of this most contrary and unusual wind, the battalions reached Quebec in driblets. They had to be sent off, nevertheless, in the same way, since the time of year did not allow of further delay. This prevented all order and regulation in the shipment.

"I confined my efforts to seeing that all the King's troops were embarked; I gave orders and instructions to each officer commanding the soldiers in each

1760. Sept. they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure: passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them, for the different places of the colony, to take care of their affairs.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE LIV.

All the Officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New-England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and, if any of these Officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.—'GRANTED.'

ARTICLE LV.

As to the Officers of the militia, the militia, and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New-England, they shall be sent back to their countries.—Done at Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760.

'VAUDREUIL.'[1]

ship; I made an approximate list of the ships and of the number on board of them. I was compelled to leave myself, and, on leaving, I instructed M. de Bourlamaque, whose ship was not to be ready till among the last, to take the same pains in respect of the three remaining ships, and to make a fresh list, should any change be made. I embarked on a vessel of two hundred tons."

[1] Vaudreuil received a letter from the minister, dated December 5, 1760, containing these words: "Though His Majesty was perfectly aware of the state of Canada, nevertheless, after the assurances you had given to make the utmost efforts to sustain the honour of his arms, he did not expect to hear so soon of the surrender of Montreal and the whole colony. But, granting that capitulation was necessary, His Majesty was not less surprised and ill pleased at the conditions, so little honourable, to which you submitted, especially after the representations made you by the Chevalier de Lévis." (Parkman: *Montcalm and Wolfe*, iii. p. 222; see also *Archives des Colonies: Orders of the Kings and Despatches*, Series B., vol. 112.)

'GRANTED, except what regards the Acadians.' 'Done in 'the camp before Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760. 1760. Sept.

'JEFFERY AMHERST.'

I shall here subjoin an exact return of the state of the French army in this country, comprehended in the foregoing capitulation.

[441]

	MEN.
The second battalion of La Reine, second battalion of La Sarre, the second battalion of Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, Guyenne, and Bearn, with the second and third battalions of Berry, and two de la Marine, or colony troops, of all which the total is	4011
The militia of Canada consists of sixty-four companies, in the Government of Quebec, amounting to	7976
Nineteen companies in the Government of Trois Rivieres.	1115
Eighty-seven companies in the Government of Montreal.	7331
Total effectives at the reduction of the colony .	20,433 [1]

[1] The Chevalier de Lévis gives the following return of the troops of the line at Montreal on September 9:

Officers present	179	
Officers gone to France		46
Soldiers present	1953	
At the hospital or sick . . .		241
In the rural districts [2] . . .		257
Deserted or missing . . .		548
Absent		122
	2132	1214

(*Collection de Lévis*, vol. i. p. 315.)

M. Bernier, the French Commissary, estimated the Colony (or Marine) troops at Montreal as scarcely 650 men (*New York Colonial Documents*, vol. x. p. 1121). Apparently most of the militia had before this abandoned the struggle.

Amherst, in his letter to Pitt of October 4 (*Canadian Archives*, M. 216;

[2] Textually, "Camps agniés," probably a misprint for "campagnes"; otherwise, "In the Mohawk camps."

1760. Sept. Upon Colonel Haldiman's taking possession of Montreal, he demanded the colours of the French regiments, as well as those of ours, which had fallen into their hands in the course of the war: the former they refused, declaring, 'that, although 'each regiment had brought their colours with them from 'France, they found them troublesome,—of little use in this 'woody country, and had therefore destroyed them*;' this answer being transmitted to the General at camp, his Excellency immediately insisted that the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Chevalier de Levis should affirm it on their *parole d'honneur*, which they instantly complied with, and then restored two stands of British colours, that were taken from the late [442] regiments of Pepperel and Shirley, at Oswego†, in the infancy of the war.[1]

C.O. 5 : 59; otherwise A. & W. I., vol. 94), gave the following statement of prisoners made at Montreal:

Troops of the Line—		
Officers	193	
Non-Commissioned Officers and Men	2192	2385
Marines (Colonial regulars)—		
Officers	107	
Men	1052	1159
		3544

In Amherst's letter to Pitt of October 18, statements are given of the strength of the various corps, whether at Montreal or elsewhere, comprised in the capitulation. These in all—troops of the line, colony troops, artillery, and naval forces—seem to number 3963 men.

* If we may rely on their word, this must be since the memorable 13th of September, upon the adverse turn of their affairs; because it is notorious they had their colours that day in the field; and, if the cloud of smoke after the general fire had vanished half a minute sooner, I would actually have possessed myself of one stand, for the Officer who carried them was wounded, and ill able to drag them off; they were a white silk flag, with three *fleurs de lys*, within a wreath or circlet, in the center part, and two tassels at the spear-end, all of gold.—*Note by author.*

† The other two stands, if I am rightly informed, were hanging in the cathedral church of Quebec, when it was destroyed, during the first siege.—*Note by author.*

[1] In 1745 a regiment had been given to William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, and to Sir William Pepperell, commander of the expedition

I have already observed, that, on the 5th of August last, at Oswego camp, Sir William Johnson had thirteen hundred and thirty Indians under his command, and that they were reduced, by desertion at the embarkation of the forces, to seven hundred and six; the reader has also seen that twenty whale-boats of these very uncertain friends had quitted the army immediately after the reduction of l'Isle Royale, because they were not permitted, as heretofore, when in alliance with our Most Christian enemies, to drench their hands in the blood of the French garrison: the Commander in Chief having persevered in restraining them, wherever we advanced, from plundering and butchery, they were so disgusted at his humane conduct, that their numbers now on this island are farther diminished to one hundred and eighty-two; and his Excellency, being charmed with the fidelity and good behaviour of this remnant, not only presented them respectively with a curious silver medal, but has transmitted orders to all our forts and posts, that they may have port-entrance, and be treated with such farther marks of friendship as are due to their services. 1760, Sept.

The critical and happy junction of our three armies at this place, effected in the space of forty-eight hours,[1] with so inconsiderable a loss, must appear extremely providential to the reader, when he reflects on the immense difficulties they had every-where to encounter, from a numerous and wary enemy, still infinitely heightened by the singular nature of the country and the dangers of an uncommon navigation, the most formidable and hazardous that can possibly be conceived: such an

against Louisbourg, as a recognition of the successful issue of that campaign. The two regiments were disbanded in 1748, but on October 26, 1754, directions were given that they should be once more embodied (*New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi. p. 915). They were raised in America, but were enrolled as part of the Royal Army, bearing the numbers 50th and 51st. They formed part of Shirley's expedition against Niagara in 1755, which got no farther than Oswego, where they remained till troops and fort were captured by Montcalm in 1756.

[1] Murray had been in the immediate vicinity of Montreal for three days, waiting for Amherst.

1760. Sept. instance can scarcely be paralleled in any history, and will remain an everlasting monument of the conduct and intrepidity of the General, and other Officers, who commanded on this particularly intricate service.

[443] Having now deduced the French war in America to a glorious period, reflecting the highest honour on his Majesty's arms; and extended the British empire in the new world: a final review of the most remarkable events that happened there, since the commencement of this work, cannot fail to be acceptable to every reader.

In the year 1757 we were said to be Masters of the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia,[1] which, however, was only an imaginary possession; it is true, we had a settlement in Chebucto harbour, namely, Halifax;[1] a garrison at Annapolis Royal, one at Chiquecto, called Fort Cumberland; and three other insignificant stockaded intrenchments, Fort Sackville, Lunenburgh, and Fort Edward, all in the southern peninsula; but the troops and inhabitants of those several places could not be reputed in any other light than as prisoners, the French being possessed of the north and north-east, with all the interior parts of it, considerably above three fourths of the whole; together with its islands, of which the principal are Cape Breton and St. John. The condition of our provinces, west and south of Acadia, was truly alarming, the enemy having drawn a line from Cape Canseau, on the east side of the peninsula, opposite to Cape Breton, a-cross the bay of Fundi, to the river Penobscot in the province of Main, through New-Hampshire, New-England, and along the frontiers of Albany, through New-York and Pennsilvania, excluding also the greatest part of Virginia, by the Allegany mountains, down through the Carolina's and Georgia, as far south as Cape Escondide,[1] in the gulph of Mexico, claiming all the countries, lake, and rivers, north and west of this line: which immense extent of territory they secured by a chain of forts, thereby depriving us of the greatest

[1] See general plan.

part of our most valuable settlements, and the benefit of the fur-trade with our Indian allies on the Lakes Champlain, Erie, and Ontario. Moreover, by frequent *sorties* and excursions from these numerous posts, which they could reinforce at pleasure, they continually struck terror into the unfortunate inhabitants of those countries, by scalping and otherwise barbarously butchering [444] our people of both sexes, of all ages; and dragging some, whose lives they chose to spare, into a horrible captivity. Such was the unbounded power of France in the new world, and such the state of British America in the year 1757. 1760. Sept.

A respectable armament, under the Earl of Loudon and Admiral Holborne,[1] was sent out this year, to reduce the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, hoping thereby to curb the unparalleled insolence of these restless, and, I may add, faithless invaders; those isles, by their situation in the gulph of St. Lawrence, being deemed barriers to Canada, and the keys of the eastern navigation into the bowels of their country; at the same time General Webb was left at Albany to assemble a body of provincial troops to cover Fort William-Henry on Lake George, garrisoned by a body of regulars under Colonel Monroe.[2] How the expedition to the eastward miscarried, and what befel the brave but unfortunate Colonel and his abandoned forces, would, I am of opinion, be unacceptable in the recital, especially as these events are still recent in all mens' remembrance: suffice it to say, the one did not take place, and the other was wrested from us and demolished, its garrison, after a gallant defence, being obliged to capitulate; and fell afterwards a prey, by the connivance of the French, contrary to that good faith which should subsist between Christian nations, to the fury of a merciless savage enemy, and this in the presence of the Marquis de Montcalm and his whole army. The enemy, farther encouraged by these successes, continued their depredations, spreading terror

[1] See vol. i. pp. 19, 29, and notes.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 67–70, and notes.

1760. Sept. throughout our back settlements, and threatening destruction to our fortresses in Nova Scotia, which they flattered themselves they should be able to effect by surprise, with strong detachments from Louisbourg; but, by the disposition made of the forces by the Earl of Loudon, their intentions were defeated: his Lordship having reinforced the garrisons at Halifax, Annapolis, Fort Cumberland, &c. assigning the command of the troops in that province to Major-General Hopson, while he, with the remainder of the army, proceeded to the southward, to stop the enemy's career in that quarter.

[445] In the year 1758 our affairs assumed a better aspect; for, though the army led by General Abercromby, then Commander in Chief, towards Crown-Point, were roughly handled in storming the lines at Ticonderoga, with very considerable loss, yet the success of the armament against Cape Breton, under Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, and the happy consequences thereof, in a great measure, compensated for that fatal blow, and paved the way to our future conquests.

After the reduction of this important island, with that of St. John, the General detached Brigadier Monckton up the bay of Fundi, and Brigadier Wolfe up the River St. Lawrence, to the bays of Chaleurs and Gaspée,[1] who respectively executed their orders in so masterly a manner, that the British forts and settlements in the province of Acadia were completely secured against any attempts from the enemy, the Indians of those countries, and the other barbarous inhabitants, being routed from almost every corner, with the loss of many lives, houses, and effects, *the just punishment of all traitors;* besides, numbers of them, who fell into our hands, were transmitted, in captivity, to Europe: in these expeditions Brigadier Monckton re-established a fortress on the north side of Fundi Bay, at the entrance of the River St. John; dignified it with the name of Frederic, and reinforced all the garrisons throughout the

[1] See vol. i. pp. 262–282, and notes.

province, wherein he himself commanded the following winter. 1760. Sept.
General Abercromby, after his undeserved discomfit at Ticonderoga, took post at Lake George, with the remainder of his army, to cover the frontiers of New-York, Albany, and New-England: thence he detached a corps of three thousand men to Lake Ontario, where he reduced Fort Frontenac, the object of the enterprise; and destroyed an immense quantity of stores, provisions, and artillery, which proved a severe stroke to the enemy on that side, as there was their grand magazine, whence the numerous chain of forts they had established to defend their encroachments were to have been supplied. The Colonel made many prisoners, took nine armed vessels, from eight to [446] eighteen guns, being the whole of their naval force on the lake, with a prodigious collection of furs, to an incredible amount; and this service was executed without any loss. Another fortunate circumstance derived, in a great measure, from the success of that enterprise, was, that it facilitated the conquest of Fort du Quêne,[1] now Pittsburgh, by which we recovered an extensive tract of fertile country, on the River Ohio; which expedition was admirably conducted, amidst innumerable difficulties, in this same year, by Brigadier-General Forbes; so that, upon the whole, we gained considerable advantages over the enemy, in the course of this campaign.

In 1759 we were still more prosperous: General Amherst was now (happy for his country and the honour of the British arms) Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's troops and forces in America; his Excellency proceeded, with the greatest part of the army, by Lake George, and, upon his arrival before the once fatal lines of Ticonderoga, he wisely erected batteries, drew up his artillery, and besieged them in form: the enemy, perceiving the old inconsiderate farce was no longer to be acted, of attempting to surmount impossibilities by a mere *coup de mousqueterie*, abandoned their trenches and contiguous

[1] See general plan.

1760. Sept. fort; and, shortly after, the fortress of Fort Frederic, or Crown-Point, in like manner. The General also detached some troops, under Brigadier Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, to Oswego, thence to Niagara, which was presently reduced, after an action with a respectable corps of the enemy, who advanced in full expectations of relieving the place, but were defeated by Sir William, the Brigadier being unfortunately killed by an accident in the trenches some time before.[1] These several strong-holds being thus subdued, the Commander in Chief ordered them to be repaired, and others to be erected, more effectually to secure the countries bordering on the lakes, for the safety of our Indian allies inhabiting thereon, and to protect our frontiers. Upon the General's receipt of the news respecting the death of Brigadier Prideaux, Brigadier Gage was dispatched to take the command of those troops, with [447] orders to proceed, after the reduction of Niagara, and dispossess the enemy of another important post they had on the west side of Cataraqui river, to the northward of Frontenac and Ontario, called La Galette;[2] but the season being far advanced, and many other concurrent difficulties intervening, rendered it impossible that time; so that the project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity. Another corps was detached to the westward, under Brigadier Stanwix, to overawe the numerous tribes of Indians inhabiting the borders of the Ohio, to complete the fortifications of Pittsburg and Fort Ligonier, likewise to reduce the fortress of Venango and Presqu'isle, in order to add greater weight to our influence on the Lake Erie, in all which we succeeded to our wishes;[3] but the most important conquest, in the course of this campaign, was that of Quebec, and a great part of lower Canada: an armament was sent up the river St. Lawrence for this purpose, and to co-operate with the Commander in Chief in the reduction of the colony, under Admiral Saunders and Major-General Wolfe, wherein the Admirals and General Officers

[1] See plan. [2] See plan. [3] See p. 183, and notes.

VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, PUBLISHED TWENTY-NINE DAYS AFTER THE CAPITULATION

From a print in the Dominican Archives

greatly distinguished themselves; the French army, under the Marquis de Moncalm, being amused by Mr. Wolfe, and lulled into a state of security, were, by the sole discerning judgment of that eminent young General, allured from their strong retrenched camp, and defeated; the able Commanders of the land-forces were slain on both sides, and the loss of the enemy was considerable; ours trifling, in comparison, all things considered, except in the death of our amiable and justly lamented General. In consequence of this perfect defeat, the capital of New France surrendered to Brigadier-General Townshend [1] on very advantageous terms, General Monckton, his Superior on that expedition, being then ill of a dangerous wound he received in the action. The winter setting in early preventing General Amherst's advancing farther into the upper country, he therefore contented himself with securing his new acquisitions, garrisoned them with part of his army, and the remainder were quartered in such manner, as to be able, [448] not only to succour them in case of necessity, but to be earlier in readiness, by the next year, to penetrate effectually into the heart of the colony, and thereby complete the conquest of Canada. The forces under Brigadier-General Monckton, now in a fair way of recovery, remained in garrison at Quebec, under the command of Brigadier Murray, as Governor, and Colonel Burton, as Lieutenant-Governor; Admiral Saunders, having furnished the place with artillery, ammunition, and stores of all kinds, with every other necessary that could be required, a twelvemonth's provisions, with a considerable quantity of spirituous liquors, vinegar, &c. &c.[2] sailed with his fleet for Europe, to receive the thanks of his Sovereign, and acknowledgments of his country, for his steady and spirited conduct, throughout the whole progress of this expedition. The troops had no sooner taken possession of the garrison,

1760. Sept.

[1] Quebec surrendered to Saunders and Townshend. See facsimile of capitulation.

[2] The provisions left by Saunders were inadequate.

1760. Sept. than they were menaced by M. de Levis, who publicly declared his intentions of making a vigorous effort for the recovery of Quebec, as soon as the most severe part of the winter should set in. I shall not trespass on the reader by recapitulating all the *petites guerres* that happened in the course of this, or the preceding winter and summer campaigns; it is sufficient to observe, that, though in some, and these in times past, we were worsted, yet, in general, we were successful, particularly in Canada Proper, where they always redounded to the honour of his Majesty's arms; but, passing these by, I shall enter immediately on 1760, a year remarkable in the annals of Great Britain, not only for the constancy and prowess of her troops, but the conspicuous abilities, and faithful conduct, of their several Commanders, together with the total extirpation of the French dominions in North America.

After a winter's campaign, the most irksome and rigorous that can possibly be conceived, the Chevalier de Levis, with the whole force of the colony, took the field, and, in the latter end of April, appeared before Quebec, to put his long premeditated threats in execution, flattering himself with an easy conquest, especially as [449] he was well acquainted with the sufferings of the garrison, and their weakly condition by sickness and mortality, having buried a thousand men since they took possession of the place, and had double that number still in the hospitals; but, notwithstanding all these circumstances, and the great superiority of the Chevalier's army, as to numbers, he found himself grossly mistaken. Brigadier General Murray, in a great measure, surprised him by marching out with the gallant remains of his hitherto victorious forces, who, to use his Excellency's significant and agreeable expressions on this occasion, *were in the habit of beating that enemy*, and gave them battle: the contest was obstinate, and well maintained on both sides; but the British troops, now more considerably reduced, were compelled to retire within their walls. The enemy however reaped no sort of advantage from

our discomfiture, which, on their part, was dearly purchased: on the contrary, they were then in a worse condition than ever, for their loss fell mostly on their regulars;[1] and, after besieging us for near three weeks, in which time the garrison were inconceivably harrassed, and performed prodigies, such as posterity will hardly give credit to, for the defence of their conquest, the enemy raised the siege, upon the arrival of a British squadron, under Commodore Swanton, with the most unaccountable precipitation; leaving all their artillery, implements, stores, provisions, &c. behind them: but they had first the mortification of being eye-witnesses to the destruction of their fleet, which were all burned and destroyed by our ships. 1760. Sept.

After the Governor had indulged his troops with a few weeks' refreshment, he embarked the flower of his garrison, who were soon after reinforced by two regiments from Louisbourg, the fortifications of that famous city being ordered to be demolished; and sailed up the river to join General Amherst's army, upon their arrival at Montreal. In this inland voyage, the Brigadier made frequent descents on the north and south coasts, disarmed a number of parishes on both sides, dispersed manifestoes [450] throughout the country, and compelled the greatest part of the inhabitants to submit, swearing them to an exact neutrality. In the execution of all these affairs, his Excellency paid the most stedfast attention to the preservation of the conquest already made, and, sensible of its importance at that juncture, he wisely declined, though contrary to his own natural disposition, and thirst for glory, to engage in any measures that could possibly put the success of the campaign to the least hazard; and, by this invariable conduct, he apparently defeated the hopes of the French Generals, who not only attended him as his ships advanced, but lay *perdue* for him at different places, with the principal force of the country.

[1] See list of killed and wounded in Appendix.

1760. Sept. Upon the arrival of this armament at the island of Teresa,[1] near to that of Montreal, the Brigadier landed, and incamped his troops there to await the movements of the Commander in Chief; the first intelligence of moment, his Excellency then received, was the advance of a corps under Brigadier Haviland, who had been detached from the main army towards Crown-Point, thence to penetrate by the Lake Champlain, and the river Sorrel, with orders to rendezvous, in like manner, at or near Montreal. This service was also extremely well executed, for the enemy, having perceived by the precautions of that Commander, and the uniform steady conduct in all his proceedings, that any resistance would be entirely fruitless, *fell back*, as he advanced: boasting at the same time of a resolution they had taken to make a firm stand at the Isle au Noix; which, however, upon the nearer approach of these forces, was abandoned, and the enemy continued to retire before the Brigadier, until he reached the meadows opposite to the city of Montreal.[2] The army under General Amherst was early in motion, but the completing a numerous chain of forts, building sloops, gallies, rafts, and other floats for this particular navigation; providing an incredible number of batteaus and whale-boats for transporting so great a force, with all its provisions, artillery, stores of every kind, and intrenching-tools, &c. &c. retarded his Excellency's [451] operations so long, that it was the 10th of August before the first division embarked at Oswego, and the remainder followed the next day, under Brigadier Gage. It is a matter of much greater difficulty, than can possibly be conceived, to convey so considerable an army through the lakes and rivers of this uncommon country: such an undertaking required exquisite judgment, great deliberation, and the most exact order, to prevent, if possible, the various accidents to which a fleet of this nature were exposed, in traversing the vast expanse of Ontario, besides a number of dangerous rapids between that

[1] Ste. Thérèse. [2] For position of troops, see plan of Montreal.

inland sea and the island of Montreal; which, notwithstanding the utmost circumspection to prevent it, proved fatal to many men, upwards of fourscore of them being drowned, and several boats, with artillery, stores, and provisions, staved to pieces. The General met with some opposition and farther delay at l'Isle Royale,[1] the last effort of expiring Canada: but this, with all other difficulties, were nobly surmounted by the activity and valour of the troops, and the incomparable conduct of their Leaders; it must be universally confessed there never was an expedition so admirably concerted, or executed in so masterly a manner, and with so inconsiderable a loss. How well pleased the General was at the manner in which he was seconded by the other principal Officers, and at the behaviour of the three armies, are best expressed in his own words:—'I should not do 'justice to Governor Murray[2] and Colonel Haviland, if I did 'not assure you they have executed the orders I gave them, to 'the utmost of my wishes. I must likewise beg leave to say I 'am obliged to Brigadier General Gage for the assistance he has 'given me; and I have taken the liberty to give, in public 'orders, my assurances to the three armies, that I would take 'the first opportunity of acquainting the King with the zeal and 'bravery which has always been exerted by the Officers and 'soldiers of the regular and provincial troops, as also by his 'Majesty's faithful Indian allies. Sir William Johnson has 'taken unwearied pains in keeping the Indians in humane 'bounds; and [452] I have the pleasure to assure you, that not 'a peasant, woman, or child, has been hurt by them, or a house 'burned, since I entered what was the enemy's country.' In a letter from Lord Colville, then Admiral and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's fleets and ships in North-America, to the King's Secretary of State, is this paragraph, by no means

1760. Sept.

[1] See p. 506, and note.

[2] See letter of Murray to Amherst, p. 437, note. Murray did not wait for instructions, but advised the Commander-in-Chief of the action he proposed to take.

1760. Sept. foreign to my purpose:—'The joint request of Generals 'Amherst and Murray, concurring with my own inclinations 'to serve Captain Deane, of the Diana, has induced me to send 'him to wait on you with this letter. He commanded all the 'vessels employed on the expedition from Quebec to Montreal, 'and, from his own abilities, has surmounted the difficulties 'of an *unknown*, *intricate*, and *dangerous* navigation. To sum 'up his merit in one sentence, he has approved himself a most 'deserving Officer, &c. &c. &c.'[1]

Upon the whole, the mild, yet determined, method of negociating with the Marquis de Vaudreuil does great honour to General Amherst,[2] while his moderation and humanity, which have so conspicuously appeared in the whole course of his command in America, and now more superlatively to a conquered ungenerous enemy, not only reflects the greatest reproach on them for past cruelties, and repeated breaches of faith, which have at length provoked the Almighty to confound all their devices, councils, and measures, and finally to deliver themselves and their country into our hands; but likewise, adds a tenfold lustre to the General's conquest, denominating him the *hero*[3] and the *Christian;* whilst it demonstrates to the whole world the justice of our cause, and the authenticity of what

[1] Deane was tried by court-martial and acquitted for running his ship aground.

[2] The capitulation of Montreal does not appear to have been brought about through any direct action on the part of General Amherst. On May 19 Murray advised Amherst that he intended to press on to Montreal, and hinted to the Commander-in-Chief that if he did not hasten he might be too late to take part in the affair. As soon as Vaudreuil found that Murray was approaching Montreal, he began to prepare the articles of capitulation, and offered to discuss terms with Murray three days before Amherst arrived. As the Commander-in-Chief was within three days' march, Murray refused the offer. The French, however, were ordered to capitulate, and sent Bougainville to meet the British Commander-in-Chief to discuss matters as soon as he landed upon the island on September 7. In the meantime Murray had marched to within one mile of the walls of the town. Amherst refused to grant certain of the articles proposed by Vaudreuil, but there is no ground for supposing that Murray would have accepted less favourable terms.

[3] Murray appears to have been the real hero.

was so sensibly advanced by the immortal Wolfe in his first manifesto: — 'The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the 'French against our settlements in America might justify the 'bitterest revenge in the army under my command:—But 'Britons breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to 'the merciful dictates of *the Christian religion.*'[1] 1760. Sept.

[453] On the 14th of this month I had an opportunity of viewing the interior parts of Montreal; and, for delightfulness of situation, I think I never saw any town to equal it; besides the advantages of a less rigorous climate, it is infinitely preferable to Quebec. It stands on the side of a hill sloping down to the river with the south country, and many gentlemens' seats thereon, together with the island of St. Helen,[2] all in front: which form a most agreeable landscape, the river here being about three miles a-cross, I mean from the south side of Montreal to the south coast. Though the town is not of a considerable breadth from north to south, it covers a great length of ground from east to west, and is nearly as large and populous as Quebec;[3] the streets are regular, the houses well constructed, and particularly the public buildings, far exceeding those of the capital of Canada in beauty and commodiousness: that of the Knights Hospitallers being extremely magnificent. —There are several pleasant gardens within the walls, in which however the owners have consulted profit and convenience more than elegance; among these are the sisters of the congregations, the nunnery-hospital, Recollects, Jesuits, seminary, and a sixth, which, if I am not mistaken, is the property of the Governor; besides these, there are many other gardens and beautiful plantations without the gates, such as the general hospital, and the improvements of M. Liniere, which exceed all

[1] The burning of the villages by the British seems to have been equally cruel.

[2] St. Helen's Island has been for many years a popular summer resort for the people of Montreal.

[3] The population of Montreal in 1912 was about 470,000 and that of Quebec 78,000.

1760. Sept. the rest, and are at an agreeable distance, on the north side of the town. I have been informed that the fathers of the order of St. Sulpicius, at Paris,[1] were proprietors of the island, which they held by grant or charter from the crown, and produced them a considerable revenue. I saw no paintings, or any thing remarkably curious, in their churches, or other religious houses; every thing carried an air of neatness, simplicity, and plainness; how they may be on festival days I cannot take upon me to say.

[454] There are six or seven gates, large and small, to this famous place, but its fortifications are mean and inconsiderable; it is surrounded by a slight wall of masonry, solely calculated to awe the numerous tribes of Indians, who resort here at all times from the most distant parts, for the sake of traffic; particularly at the Fair, a kind of carnival held every year, and continues near three months, from the beginning of June till the latter end of August; I have heard various accounts of this fair from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, and the trade carried on with these barbarians; but they are so confused, contradictory, and, withal, so marvellously romantic, that I shall pass them by in silence, my residence in the country, after the conquest, not affording me an opportunity of being an eye-witness to those scenes.[2] There are no batteries on the walls except for flank-fires, and the most of these are blinded with planks and loop-holes made at the embrasures for musketry; I saw six or seven guns only that were mounted, from four to nine-pounders; and these in a wretched condition,

[1] The Sulpicians are still large owners of land on the island of Montreal.

[2] In the early days of the colony the Indians brought their furs to Tadousac for exchange during the summer. Later on they assembled at Three Rivers, and finally Montreal became the principal place of exchange. The Indians were particularly well treated, and the account of the reception accorded them attracted other tribes until the annual meeting of the Indians assumed the proportions of a large fair. The tribes began to arrive in June, and many solemn rites were observed at which the Governor assisted. The tribes remained until the end of August, and as long as the supply of spirituous liquors was moderate, good order was preserved by the soldiers.

being more for form than for any real service: some writers and travellers have represented these walls to be four feet in thickness, but they are mistaken, because I was at the trouble to examine and measure them in different places: they are built of stone, the parapet of the curtains does not exceed twenty inches, and the merlins at the flank-fires are somewhat thicker, though not near three feet; hence it is evident they were never designed but as a security against arrows or small arms. A dry ditch surrounds this inclosure about seven feet in depth, encompassed with a regular *glacis*.[1] 1760. Sept.

On the inside of the town is a *cavalier* on an artificial eminence, with a parapet of logs or squared timbers, and six or eight old worm-eaten guns, some of which are not mounted: this is called the Citadel or Royal Battery. Such were the fortifications of Montreal, the second place of consequence in the colony, until the enemy raised the siege of Quebec; and then, in expectation that our forces would soon follow them, they threw up a battery, with two [455] faces for nine guns, but they had only four twelve-pounders mounted, two pointing to the navigation of the river, and the others to the road leading from Long Point to the town, with a traverse or lodgement for musketry elevated on the inside of the battery for the defence thereof, together with some picket-works, forming a barrier to the gate or entrance to the place, with loop-holes for their marksmen; and these, with two advanced redoubts, are all the temporary works that were made for the defence of Montreal. The inhabitants are gay and sprightly, much more attached to dress and finery than those of Quebec, between whom there seems to be an emulation in this respect; and, from the number of silk robes, laced coats, and powdered heads of both sexes, and almost of all ages, that are perambulating the streets from morning to night, a stranger would be induced to believe Montreal is intirely inhabited by people of independent and plentiful fortunes.

[1] See plan of Montreal showing position of troops.

1760. Sept. Having obtained General Amherst's permission to return to Europe for the re-establishment of my health, and Governor Murray's indulgence to repair to Quebec, in order to settle some affairs preparatory to my departure from America, I set out, on the evening of the 15th, in a batteau, attended by a Serjeant and six men, and provided with a quantity of sugar, salt, tobacco, and pork, to inable me to traffic with the Canadians, in my passage, for poultry, pigs, &c. against my intended voyage: knowing, at the same time, that it would afford me an opportunity of seeing some parts of the country, between Montreal and the capital, whereof my knowledge, until then, could be only superficial, by seeing it from on board our ships, by conjectures formed from those places where I had been obliged to land with the troops, or from the country immediately in the neighbourhood of Quebec. As I was my own Commander, not pressed in point of time, and had not any thing to apprehend from either shore, the colony being now restored to peace and tranquillity, I was more at leisure to make such observations, respecting [456] this valuable conquest, as I can with certainty communicate to the public, and which the reader may depend on.

I cannot take upon me to determine either the extent or boundaries of Canada, or the source of the river St. Lawrence which runs through it; the former are variously fixed by French Historians and Geographers, while the latter is pretended to be derived from remote northern and north-western lakes, as yet unknown to Europeans: these chimerical absurdities seem to be now adopted by British writers, and consequently it is not improbable they will be thus transmitted to latest posterity; however, leaving these matters to more competent judges, and that I may not exceed the limits prescribed to myself, I shall confine my narrative of this country from Lake Ontario*, the most natural source of this truly majestic river, to its gulph

* This lake lies in north latitude, between 41 and 43; west longitude 79.—*Note by author.*

or entrance at Cape Raye [1] on the island of Newfoundland, and to the lands and settlements immediately in view of this navigation, which I look upon to be the most interesting parts of this colony: the extensive forests backward of them being, to this day, chiefly in their rude primitive state, uninhabited and unfrequented, except by the savage Aborigines, and other Chasseurs, or Hunters, whose accounts are generally extravagant and erroneous. The entrance is formed by Cape Raye, beforementioned, on the north-east and north Cape; on the island of Cape Breton on the south-west, which is about one hundred leagues from Quebec *, thence to les Trois Rivieres, reputed the half-way to Montreal, thirty-three; and, from Montreal to the north-east point of Lake Ontario, it is also by computation near seventy leagues: but there is another entrance into this river from the sea, which is north about, through the straits of Belle Isle †; this, however, being [457] very unsafe, is seldom frequented, except when heretofore French ships, or perhaps vessels carrying on a contraband trade with the enemy, wanted to avoid our men of war, or frigates, cruising in the gulph. 1760. Sept.

The islands in this long extent of river are almost innumerable, and many of them are inhabited and well-cultivated, particularly the Isles of Coudre and Orleans, below Quebec; those of Ignatius, Teresa, Montreal, and Jesus,[2] with some of lesser note in that district, and several others to the south-west of them in the Lake St. Francis, of which St. Peter's is the principal; but, Montreal and Orleans being the most considerable, it may be necessary to say something of them. The

[1] Cape Ray.

* Which is about the center of the province, latitude 46 and 53; west longitude 79.—*Note by author.*

† An island of no great extent, on the eastern coast of New-Britain, which gives name to these straits, and separates the north part of Newfoundland from the continent; it is situated in west longitude 58; latitude 52.—*Note by author.*

[2] See plan in Appendix.

1760. Sept. former is near forty miles in length, and about thirteen, or four leagues and an half, in breadth, where widest: the soil is exceedingly rich and good, producing all kinds of European grain, and vegetables in great abundance, with variety of common garden fruits; but the south side of it is the most inhabited, consequently the best cultivated; and, besides the settlements or parishes which are numerous, the island is adorned with private villa's for the retirement of the more opulent Merchants, and others, in the summer season. There are no Indian inhabitants on Montreal, neither are they any where desirous of settling on islands, which, I am informed, proceeds from an hereditary distrust, lest they should at any time be surprised and cut off by Europeans.

By the situation of this second place of consequence in Canada, they are exceedingly well supplied with all kinds of fresh-water fish, some of which are unknown to us, being, I am told, peculiar to the lakes and rivers of this country; they have likewise neat black cattle, horses, pigs, and poultry in plenty; and, from the neighbouring shores, they are supplied with the greatest variety of game imaginable, in the different seasons; nor are the inhabitants beholden to the main river for their water, the island abounding with delightful soft springs, which form a multiplicity of pleasant rivulets.—I have already said so much of that fertile and beautiful garden, the island of Orleans, in the course [458] of this work, that it only remains to be told, besides five parishes into which it is divided, there are several Gentlemens' seats; and yet its extent does not exceed twenty-one miles, by near four, where it is broadest. The navigation of the river has been also treated of; but it may be proper to add, that, though King's ships, who have been once up to Quebec, may venture there a second time without Pilots, their remarks being generally more accurate than those of trading vessels, yet strangers should, by no means, venture of themselves upon hearsay, or the reports of others; and, with respect to the upper parts, from the capital

to Montreal, it is true there is water enough for ships not drawing more than eleven feet, yet the navigation is both difficult and perplexing, the channel running sometimes by the north, at others by the south coasts; and, in tacking from one shore to the other, obstructions are frequently met with, such as rocks, and shoals of sand or mud, which, if the Canadians may be credited, (and it is not improbable) are frequently removed from one part of the river to another, by the immense floats of ice that roll up and down with the currents, at the breaking up of the winters. To this I shall subjoin, that, as these currents are remarkably rapid in most places, all ships and vessels, intended for this voyage, should be extremely well provided with good and sufficient ground-tackle, and have it always in readiness, whether sailing in company or otherwise. There are no cataracts between Quebec and Montreal, as some writers have advanced, except a strong ripple at what are called the Rapids of Richlieu, between Jacques Cartier and Chambaud;[1] but these are not of the least consequence, for, at high water, though the channel runs serpentine, yet there is a sufficient depth for a forty-gun ship. 1760. Sept.

It is true, there are frequent interruptions in the navigation from Montreal upwards, particularly between that island and Lake St. Francis; but the others, between the lake and l'Isle Royale, are more frightful than dangerous. Sloops, or barges of equal burden, cannot work higher up than Montreal, neither can they come farther [459] down from Lake Ontario than to l'Isle Royale; but the intermedial difficulties may be surmounted by flat-bottomed boats, canoes, or other small vessels. There are great variety of safe and commodious bays and harbours in this river, after clearing the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; of which the principal are Chaleur, Gaspée, Tadousac, Chaudiere, and a great many others needless to be recited; but the haven of Quebec exceeds all the rest, where a hundred ships of the line

[1] Deschambault. See plan.

1760. Sept. may ride in the greatest safety. Upon the whole, this is a most valuable river, and, when you are a little way advanced within the gulph, you are no longer clouded with those fogs so endemial to the coasts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland, but what are usually met with at certain seasons in more moderate climates.

The lower part of the country, from the entrance, is generally wild, uncultivated, and, on the south side, covered with dark impenetrable woods, mostly pine and dwarf spruce, with stupendous rocks and barren mountains, which form a most dismal prospect; while the north, for several leagues, is low, marshy, covered with strong reeds and rushy grass, close forests appearing at some distance to the northward of them. The first settlement you meet with, after clearing the frontiers of Nova Scotia, is at St. Barnaby, on the south shore, about thirty leagues within the gulph, where we were regaled with a prospect of an open, seemingly fertile and civilised country; and, upon reviewing my observations and minutes of the numerous parishes from thence upwards, till you arrive at the settlements opposite to Montreal, I find them, in general, rich, open, and well cultivated, producing corn, flax, and vegetables; stocked with horned cattle, sheep, horses, swine, and poultry; exceedingly well watered by innumerable tributary rivers, rivulets, and smaller brooks, which disembogue themselves into the river St. Lawrence, and are plentifully stored with salmon, eels, and other fish, peculiar to these waters. The north country does not make so promising an appearance, there being no improvements or settlements until you [460] reach what are called the King's Farms at Mal Bay, near the River Saguenny, and haven of Tadousac: there the lands have undergone cultivation, the soil is kind, and grateful for the labour and industry bestowed upon it; but the country, east and north-east of these farms, remains in its primitive state, *rudis indigestaque moles*, with lofty and steep banks to the river: the lands on the south side also rise gradually high and steep,

after you clear the woody island of Anticosti, with trees and under-wood on the face of the declivities; and continue so, for the most part, on both coasts, all the way upwards. From Mal Bay to Cape Tourmente, an extent not less than thirty miles, is mountainous and barren; but then, doubling this cape, you are agreeably surprised with a pleasant settlement, called St. Paul's; the country there, and from that parish upwards, being, in general, clear, fertile, and well improved, in like manner as the lands on the south coast, and intersected by a multiplicity of rivers and streams, whose waters are swallowed up by the river St. Lawrence. I am of opinion the south country deserves the preference, for the goodness of its soil; but neither the one coast, or the other, are uniformly fruitful, there being some exceptionable tracts on both sides, which must be the case in a territory of so considerable an extent: and, in many parishes, one meets with coppices and small parcels of forest, perhaps designedly left by the inhabitants for fuel, shelter, and various other necessary purposes. The lands on the coasts, from Montreal to Lake St. Francis, are capable of great improvements: at present much cannot be said for them, being very woody, with a cold, spungy soil; but, from this lake to that of Ontario, north and south, the ground is much better, producing variety of excellent timber for ship-use, with good grass, and little or no under-wood. The numerous islands you meet with are, in general, well cultivated and rich, particularly the island of Jesus above Montreal, St. Peter's, &c. &c. being inhabited by Canadians, who are in the government and diocese of Quebec, as are likewise part of the lands north and south, interspersed, how- [461] ever, with many tribes of Indians, who are bad farmers, husbandry being intirely out of their sphere; the French have no settlements farther west than the Cedars,[1] about half-way between Ontario and Lake St. Francis; the country round the former, and on the principal rivers flowing into it, being inhabited by the Abo-

1760. Sept.

[1] The Cedars is between Lake St. Francis and Montreal.

1760. Sept. rigines, mostly Iroquois, whose chief employment, when they are not at war, is hunting and fishing.

It is computed there are above a hundred thousand souls in this colony, and, whether that number is confined to Canada Proper, which, according to a modern British writer, does not exceed five hundred miles in length, from N. E. to S. W. and two hundred miles in breadth, I cannot determine; but I presume the different tribes of Indians, who reside in this immense tract of country, are all included. From the island of Coudre, below Quebec, to that of Montreal, the country on both sides of the river is so well settled, and closely inhabited, as to resemble almost one continual village; the habitations appear extremely neat, with sashed windows, and, in general, washed on the outsides with lime, as are likewise their churches, which are all constructed upon one uniform plan, and have an agreeable effect on the traveller or passenger; but, upon entering their houses, you are strangely disappointed, being quite emblematical of the painted sepulchres we read of in Holy Writ; for the peasantry, as well as the lower trade's-people, mechanics, &c. here, as in France, are intolerably dirty,[1] as well as deceitful, ridiculously fantastic, and very ignorant: these peculiarities may be likewise, with great aptness, ascribed to many others in superior stations; but, in enumerating the properties of the bulk of the people of any particular country, persons liberally educated, who are possessed of plentiful fortunes, and endowed with generous polite sentiments, should, nevertheless, be exempted from these and all national reproaches. The women are not handsome nor fair, but sprightly and agreeable, and so complaisant to Britain's brave sons, that, vanity a-part, it may be hoped the next generation will, [462] in all respects, be considerably improved; and, with regard to the complexions of the Ladies of Canada, like

[1] War, famine, and distress may have been accountable for the condition described by the author. The interior of the homes of the inhabitants are generally remarkably clean.

those of their mother-country, all defects of nature are supplied, as much as possible, by art. The winter climate, for above six months, is exceedingly cold, four of which are truly rigorous; but, when once it sets in severe, and the pores of the body are braced up, a person does not much regard it afterwards; for you have generally a serene atmosphere, except when a snow-storm sets in, and that seldom continues above twenty-four hours, during which time it is incessant.* 1760. Sept.

The summers are generally pleasant, except for two months, when it is exceedingly hot, in July and August, with violent thunder-storms; but yet so prolific is this season, that the farmer expects to reap the fruits of his labour, within four months after the seed is put into the ground†; and the forwardness of vegetation in their gardens is really surprising. Great quantities of tobacco are planted in this colony, which is generally used by the poorer and meaner sort of people; but, from their not knowing how to cure or manufacture it properly, it is wretched insipid stuff, which they twist up [463] into ropes, like hay, near two inches round, and afterwards make it into rolls of an immoderate size; I tasted it once

* The stoves that are used in this country are incomparably well adapted to the climate, and contribute, in a great measure, to soften the rigour of that long-frozen season; these, with all other utensils and materials of cast-iron, are made at a foundery contiguous to the Trois Rivieres. I think these inventions would be exceedingly useful, if fixed up in the halls of the old mansion-seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Britain, as the heat may be conveyed by pipes to the most remote apartments, which would not only preserve these buildings, with their furniture, from decay, but prevent those fatal accidents that frequently happen by fires, in the absence of the family, by the carelessness of servants. They stand upon a square frame of the same metal, about six or eight inches from the ground; and, if it is a boarded floor, the place where it is to be fixed should be first covered with leaves of sheet-iron; as should likewise the edges of the holes in wooden partitions, where the pipes are conveyed from one room to another; which renders every thing perfectly safe.—*Note by author.*

† If we will extend our inquiries into the state of the summer climate in other northern countries, we shall be less surprised at this remarkable circumstance; for, in some parts of Norway, barley is sown and reaped in the short space of six weeks, or two months at farthest.—*Note by author.*

1760. Sept. for curiosity, and thought it had no better flavour than common weeds, or cabbage-leaves dried: but, I presume, it will not be thought advisable to encourage the Canadians in the culture of this plant, lest it should, in process of time, become prejudicial to our own natural colonies, those of Virginia and Maryland in particular.

There are various kinds of timber to be met with in this country, such as red and white oak, black and white birch, fir, and pine-trees of different species, maple, alder, cedar, bitter cherry, ash, chesnut, beech, hazel, black and white thorn, apple, pear, plum-trees, and an infinity of other non-descripts; besides a great choice of shrubs, particularly the capillaire,[1] which grows not unlike fern, and has no main stalk, but shoots up its leaves from the root, and its seeds grow in tufts on the back of the foliage, in like manner as fern; they have great plenty of it in the woods, and, I am informed, the inhabitants usually prepared great quantities of its syrup, which they sold to the Merchants at Quebec, who exported it annually to France.

Canada does not, at present *, produce sufficient corn for its own consumption †, which may, in a great measure, be attributed to the want of people to cultivate the ground, the natives having been, for the most part, employed, these fifteen years (even in times of profound peace between the two Crowns) in a military way, incroaching on their neighbours, to aggrandise and extend their dominions, to the great neglect of the true interests of their country: and such as could be spared from that service were usually engaged in the fisheries on the coasts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, La- [464] brador,

[1] The maidenhair fern.

* This implies the year 1760.—*Note by author.*

† Besides cargoes of wheat and flour annually imported from Europe, they boast of having been well supplied with this necessary article from the fertile island of St. John, in the gulph; whence it has hitherto been denominated the Granary of Quebec: the Merchants thereof giving European commodities in exchange. The soil of that island is remarkably rich, and its inhabitants were numerous.—*Note by author.*

&c. as the principal part of their diet consists in the article of fish. For the future, it is to be hoped, every obstacle being removed, and the grand system of their politics intirely changed, due attention will be paid to agriculture and trade, both by the Canadians themselves, and their new Masters, who are ever ready to grant all reasonable indulgences to an industrious and deserving people. In a word, the improvement of tillage should be the chief object, the lands in general being easy, kind, capable of producing all the necessaries and conveniences of life in great abundance; and the climate, notwithstanding its northerly situation, contributing thereto, to the intire gratification of its hardy and healthy inhabitants, who live to an extreme old-age. 1760. Sept.

The multifarious kinds of fish, wherewith the lakes and rivers abound, have been already mentioned, which, if the reader has forgot, he will find between the dates of the 16th and 20th of January last; besides these, and innumerable other benefits, they have variety of all sorts of game, bipeds as well as quadrupeds, in the greatest plenty; and finer poultry, with tame and wild pigeons, no other country can boast of: moreover, the Canadians have an excellent breed of black cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses, with which the farms in general are plenteously stocked. In fine,—this province, though mostly an inland country, has, by means of the River St. Lawrence, the advantages of an extensive sea-coast, thereby affording as well a commodious exportation of its own produce *, as a reasonable importation of foreign commodities, and an easy conveyance from one part to another, even to the most remote corners of the colony. To conclude, Canada is a fruitful, pleasant, most valuable territory, and its warlike inhabitants, together with the national troops of France, were justly sensible thereof, and of its great importance, having, from first to last, persevered, though deserted and destitute as they have been, in exerting

* Furs, skins, masts, yards, ship-timber in general, lumber, &c. &c.—*Note by author.*

1760. Sept. the utmost activity, vigilance, [465] and bravery in its defence; furthermore, the acquisition of this immense tract of country completely secures to us the peaceable possession of Nova Scotia, together with the quiet enjoyment of the frontiers of all our numerous colonies to the southward; blessings, which I sincerely hope the British Americans, who have more or less woefully experienced a long reverse of fortune, will ever most gratefully and dutifully acknowledge to Divine Providence and their benign mother-country, their protector and most generous deliverer, to latest posterity.

Before I sailed from Quebec for Europe, we had not received the least intimation of the melancholy incidents that succeeded the departure of Colonel Montgomery,[1] and his forces, from the country of the Cherokees,[1] and, particularly, the fate of the unfortunate garrison of Fort Loudon:[1] as I cannot advance any thing new upon this disagreeable subject, but what is universally known, every Briton having already heard, with a generous indignation, the horrid tale, I flatter myself, though they even did occur in the course of the present year, I shall be excused putting a tragical conclusion to the British campaigns of 1759 and 1760.

The various other occurrences wherewith America presented us in the continuance of the war, particularly the sensible and effectual chastisement of those southern barbarians by Colonel Grant and Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny,[2] in the year 1761, with the happy consequences thereof;[3] the seizing

[1] See note, vol. i. p. 476.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Moneypenny, appointed Major of the 22nd Foot in September 1760, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the same regiment in April 1761.

[3] See note, p. 520. After the withdrawal of Colonel Montgomery, the Cherokees besieged Fort Loudoun on the Tennessee River, and forced its surrender on August 8, 1760. The garrison was to be allowed to return to South Carolina, whereupon the Indian prisoners were to be released and a lasting peace was to be made. But on the march the soldiers were attacked, many were killed, and the remainder were made prisoners. An appeal was again made to Amherst, who sent Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, of the 40th Regiment, with a strong force to South Carolina. By him the Indians were compelled to submit in 1761.

of St. John's, in Newfoundland, by a French armament, under Colonel Count de Haussonville[1] with M. de Ternay;[2] and, finally, the glorious success of our arms under Colonel Amherst, assisted by a fleet under Lord Colville, in the recovery of that fortress, and the re-establishment of our power in that island[3]; are events that I should take the highest pleasure in recording: but they would considerably exceed the limits prescribed to this work; moreover, they did not happen until the summer of 1762, when I was employed upon service in a different part of the world. 1760. Sept.

[1] Louis Bernard de Celéron, Comte d'Haussonville, was appointed Colonel or *mestre de camp* in the Regiment of Marine, November 30, 1761. In May, 1762, he was given command of a detachment of this regiment accompanying the fleet of M. de Ternay in the expedition against Newfoundland. On June 27, 1762, the town of St. John's was captured. Haussonville was promoted to the rank of Brigadier in July 1762, and was made *marèchal de camp* in 1770.

[2] Charles Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay, born in Ternay, near Laudun, France, in 1722; entered the French service in 1738; commanded a squadron in the invasion of Newfoundland in June 1762. He arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, in command of the fleet that brought troops to America under Rochambeau, July 10, 1780, and died there on December 15, 1780.

[3] For an account of this Newfoundland episode, see Mante, *History of the Late War in North America*, pp. 466–476. The *Journals* of Lord Colville, in the possession of the editor, record his movements from July 1, 1762, when news of the French descent reached Halifax, to September 18, when the enemy surrendered.

The End of the Second Volume

ERRATA.

Page 8, line 3, of the note, for *island of Finian*, read *island of Tinian.*
—— 18, line 12, and first word, for *on*, read *of.*
—— 23, line 5, for *Toulon*, read *Foulon.*
—— 42, line 4, for *inaccessible*, read *accessible.*
—— 42, read *make* between the lines 17 and 18.
—— 59, line 1, for *laids* read *leads.*
—— 64, line 1, for *direct*, read *directions*, and ibid. dele *into.*
—— 72, line 13, in the Parenthesis, dele *St.*
—— 90, and 8th French article of the capitulation of Quebec, read *qu'il eu sera usé*, &c.
—— 100, last line, for *post-guards*, read *port-guards.*
—— 104, line 22, for *envoyant*, read *envoyent*, ibid. and line 29, for *entendons*, read *attendons.*
—— 117, line 10, for *bendent*, read *rendent.*
—— ibid. line 25, for *tres troupes*, read *les troupes.*
—— 124, line 12, for *their serve*, read *the reserve.*
—— 129, line 21, for *as*, read *when.*
—— 136, line 3, for *seduce*, read *induce.*
—— 149, last line of the French inscription, after *celui*, read *qui m'aura*, &c.
—— 157, line 2, for *pleurs*, read *plusieurs*, ibid. line 8, for *celle*, read *cette*, ibid. line 10, for *maigré* read *malgré.*
—— 168, line 18, after *removed*, read *to the*, &c.
—— 188, line 6 of standing orders, for *front*, read *frost.*
—— 213, line 13, before—'*A report*,' should be an asterisk, referring to the note below.
—— 216, line 9, for *commune*, read *comme.*
—— 219, in the allowance of fire-wood, under the column of—'*how many days*,' read *fourteen.*
—— 257, line 2, for *town*, read *tour.*

*** The Author hopes his Distance from Town, where this Work was printed, will be an Excuse for all Errors of the Press, &c. &c.

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